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# Montanist Christianity

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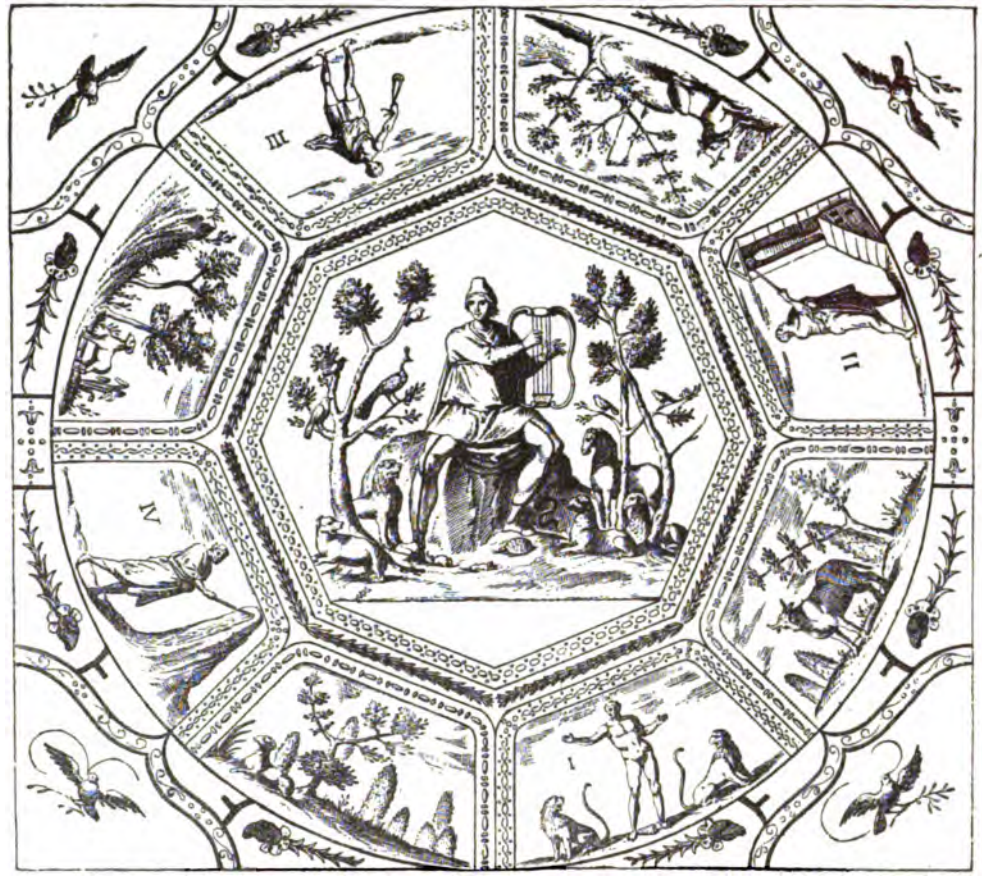


Orpheus as a Pagan Type of Christ. One of the oldest frescoes in the Cemetery of St. Callixtus. 3rd Century.

# MONUMENTAL CHRISTIANITY

OR THE

# Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church

AS WITNESSES AND TEACHERS

OF

THE ONE CATHOLIC FAITH AND PRACTICE

BY

JOHN P LUNDY

PRESBYTER

*Τῃ φανερώσει τῆς αληθείας*

*St Paul*

NEW YORK

J W BOUTON 706 BROADWAY

1876

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TO THE

HONOUR AND GLORY OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD:

IN MEMORY OF

LUCIUS H. SCOTT,

LATE OF PHILADELPHIA;

AND IN GRATITUDE TO

OTHER BELOVED MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY,

WHO HAVE ENCOURAGED AND AIDED THE LABOUR OF MANY YEARS

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

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On one outer cover is the *Labarum* of Constantine, planted on the Serpent, indicative of the triumph of Christianity over the world's evil, as the hope of mankind; on the other is the Christian Monogram.

# PREFACE.

A brief statement of the origin and the object of this work, by way of preface, is here made to the reader. It originated in the simple love of antiquity more especially in the domain of Art and Religion, as presided over by these twin-sister Queens of all that is beautiful and holy.

My first interest in Archæology was awakened about thirty years ago, while a student at Princeton, by reading Stephen's two works on "Central America," and "Yucatan." Some years afterwards, when living in a retired country parsonage, the works of Layard on "Nineveh and Babylon," Belzoni's "Egypt and Nubia," and Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," were read with equal wonder and delight. It is now nearly twenty years ago that I asked myself the question as to what had been done in a like direction for Christianity and the Church. I found that nothing or next to nothing existed in the English language, although there were able works bearing upon the subject in Italian, French, German, and Latin. It is quite true that such books as Charles Maitland's "Church in the Catacombs," Bishop Kip's "Catacombs of Rome," Charles Heman's "Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy," the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt's "Christian Art and Symbolism," and his "Art Teaching of the Primitive Church," and the Rev. Mr. Withrow's "Catacombs of Rome," have been written in the interest of Christian truth, more as modern Protestants hold it; while the late Cardinal Wiseman's "Fabiola," Rock's "Hierurgia," Northcote's two works on the Roman Catacombs, and Melia's 'Virgin Mary," have appeared on the Romish side of the question. But these are all more or less controversial; they do not deal as they ought to do with the simple facts of an entire primitive Christianity before Protestantism and Romanism existed. These works, in many respects able and excellent, being thus narrow and partial in their scope, do not fully meet the requirements of our

times, when the very essential and fundamental truths of Christianity itself are largely called in question. Hence my thought and endeavor have here taken the direction of an appeal to the earliest Christian monuments to ascertain, as far as possible, what evidence they contain as to the real and entire truth of primitive Christianity. But this made an inspection of the monuments necessary. Accordingly I went to Italy and sojourned at Rome as long as possible, where I spent my time chiefly in visiting such of the Catacombs as were accessible, copying inscriptions from the Lapidarian Gallery and elsewhere, inspecting numerous sarcophagi, examining the mosaics of the old churches, and following as I could the results of Marchi's explorations, as well as those of De Rossi. Here I learned that a stupendous monumental record of Christianity exists, equal, if not superior, in richness to any in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Mexico, or Central America, as to the religious manners and customs of their ancient inhabitants. I kept a full journal of all that I saw and learned, which has well served me in this investigation.

Naples, Pompeii, and Pæstum were next visited, where I found much monumental evidence of the vices and profligacy, culture and elegance, shame and glory, of defunct Paganism. Thence I went to Egypt to see something of its ruins and monuments, and to procure some antique bronzes, scarabei, and other curiosities. Palestine and Syria came next in the journey; and Jerusalem, Damascus, Baalbec, Smyrna, and Constantinople furnished some hints and materials for the work.

But the author has not relied on such necessarily hurried observations of foreign travel for the chief materials of his work. His main dependence has rather been the authority of original investigators and explorers, from Bosio down to De Rossi. The single object of the work, then, is to record such facts as I have been able to collect together, bearing upon the original promulgation of Christianity and the establishment of the Catholic Church. The work has assumed the form of an illustration of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed, so far as they embody the Christian faith.

The ancient Christian monuments, from which I have drawn my facts and illustrations, reveal so many obvious adaptations from the Pagan mythology and

art, that it became necessary for me to investigate anew the Pagan symbolism: and this will account for the frequent comparisons instituted, and the parallels drawn between Christianity and Paganism. Many of the Pagan symbols, therefore, are necessarily used in the work,—such, for instance, as seem to be types of Christian verities, like Agni, Krishna, Mithra, Horus, Apollo, and Orpheus. Hence I have drawn largely from the most ancient Pagan religions of India, Chaldea, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and somewhat from the old Aztec religion of Mexico. These religions were all, indeed, systems of idolatry, perversions and corruptions of the one primeval truth as held by such patriarchs as Abraham and Job; and yet these religions contained germs of this truth which it became the province of Christianity to develop and embody in a purer system for the good of mankind.

It is a most singular and astonishing fact sought to be developed in this work, that the Christian faith, as embodied in the Apostles' Creed, finds its parallel, or dimly foreshadowed counterpart, article by article, in the different systems of Paganism here brought under review. No one can be more astonished at this than the author himself. It reveals a unity of religion, and shows that the faith of mankind has been essentially one and the same in all ages. It furthermore points to but one Source and Author. Religion, therefore, is no cunningly devised fable of Priest-craft, but it is rather the abiding conviction of all mankind, as given by man's Maker.

I am not conscious of any mistakes as to matters of fact, or of any perversion of them. Just as I have found things, so I have thought it good to write them down. Mistakes of judgment, or mistakes of interpretation, there may be; but I have patiently tried to find the truth of all the symbols here presented, by consulting cotemporary literature.

In reproducing the original engravings of the monuments, and some of the monuments themselves, I have preferred the photo-engraving process to the wood-cut or the steel engraving to secure greater accuracy. The illustrations, therefore, are fac-similes, true and exact, rather than beautiful and captivating to the eye. They were executed by Rockwood & Co. of New York. So intent have I been on a plain and unvarnished statement of facts, and so engrossing have been the

duties of clerical and parochial life, during the whole period covering the preparation of this work, that I have not been able to pay much attention to the mere graces of style in its composition. There may be brevity which is obscure, and there may be repetition which is tedious. But the illustrations will aid the reader in understanding the whole subject.

The work has been to me a very pleasant occupation, like the delight of having a good daughter near me; it now leaves me and becomes the possession of another. If it should in the least degree aid any doubtful or skeptical mind in solving the mysteries and difficulties of religion, or if it should give to the Christian mind any confirmation of the faith, my labor has not been in vain.

My sincere thanks are herewith tendered to the trustees and officers of the "Metropolitan Museum of Art," in this city, for their courtesy and kindness in permitting me to have copied some of the objects of interest in the Cyprus collection of Di Cesnola, and the Cupids and Psyches of the Tarsine sarcophagus. I also make my grateful acknowledgments to Dr. A. Wilder and to Mr. J. C. Heywood, for valuable assistance in preparing these pages for the press. My thanks are also due to Mr. C. R. Christy for assistance in enabling me to increase the number of illustrations.

This work is not expected to be very popular, nor has it been written with that intent; but the patient indulgence of the intelligent reader is invoked to a careful examination of the facts herewith presented.

*New York, October*, 1875.

# MONUMENTAL CHRISTIANITY.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

*The uses of Archæology, sacred and secular. — Christian and Gentile symbols, their nature and utility. — The two Crosses, heavenly and earthly. — Agni, the Hindu god of fire, a type of Agnus Dei as the Light and Life of the world. — Babylonian cross and star. — The Christian Sacraments and Creeds as symbols.*

ARCHÆOLOGY in general, and Christian archæology in particular, are among the best sources of positive evidence as to past facts and events. An old temple, tower, or ancient coin, or a half-obliterated inscription on a broken gravestone, if correctly interpreted, furnishes testimony of things and persons that can not be gainsaid. Even as a Pickwickian affair, *Bil Stumps His Mark* serves to preserve the record of somebody, however ignorant and unimportant. An old ruined temple or tomb tells a tale of past greatness quite as well, and often more impressively than history does, and it may often be used to verify the statements of history.

Christian archæology asserts a special importance in the verification of the Gospel, and in furnishing an ample exposition of its meaning as held and taught at times nearest its promulgation. In fact, it gives independent evidence of the truth and reality of our religion. Christian writings might be forgeries, or they might be interpolated; but Christian monuments could not well be either. If Chaldean, Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Roman antiquities and monuments serve to illustrate the religion, the manners and customs, the tastes and the culture of the ancient peoples of these names, so do early Christian antiquities and monuments serve to illustrate the faith and practice of the primitive Church. And as in the one case the monument explains some obscure point of history, so in the other, the sense of Holy Scripture is brought out into clearer light.

When I visited Pæstum, some years ago, and obtained a few very old coins there,

with the dim image of the god Thoth upon them, I was most impressed with the fact that the temples there are almost the only things left to tell the tale of a cultivated and religious people, passed away with the city which they inhabited. The painted tombs, the crumbling walls, the traces of an aqueduct, pavement, and gateways may be of more recent times than these grand old temples, so simple and majestic in their proportions, set in that once beautiful plain, now a pestilential morass filled with wild buffaloes, the sea in front, and the hills as a background; but there they are, almost perfect, these monuments of a defunct religion, witnesses to the fact that faith, even though it be superstitious and perverted faith, builds for eternity, and spares no means, ability, or skill, to honor the Invisible and the Spiritual. Who founded old Poseidonia or Pæstum, whether the Phœnicians, or Etruscans, or, as Strabo says, a colony of Sybarites, these ruins and monuments do not tell us; and therefore they confirm no specific truth of its original history; they simply establish the fact that Pæstum was once the seat of a Pagan civilization, superseded by Christianity, and destroyed by the Saracens in the ninth century of the Christian era.

When, however, we come to such a monument as the Arch of Titus, at Rome, built near the Forum, and under the palace of the Cæsars, the case is different. For it has a distinct and most impressive history connected with its erection. It is witness to the downfall of the Jewish nation and the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of the Divine Author of Christianity. Whenever I passed under it, which was once or twice every week during my sojourn at Rome, I took off my hat and was moved to tears; for its very silence was far more eloquent than Josephus in telling the fearful and mournful tale of Israel's ruin and the Roman conquest, by means of those sculptures on its inner sides, which represent the sad procession of captive Jews, the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the silver trumpets, and the conqueror in his chariot crowned by the Genius of Victory. This arch is not only witness to the truth of history, as Josephus and the Roman writers have recorded it, and to the fulfillment of our Lord's prophecy; it is also witness to the whole history of the Jewish people from the Exodus to the final conquest under Titus and Vespasian. For just such a golden candlestick, table, and trumpets, were used in the religious services of Israel in the wilderness; and the art to make them had been learned in Egpyt, after the models used in the temples there. And so this Arch implies the long residence in Egypt, where Israel learned all the arts of civilization, and became capable of independent nationality, so necessary to reclaim them from a nomadic life. It implies, too, a rich, prosperous, and formidable nationality in Palestine, as an object of conquest to the greedy Romans; and, above all, it implies that the work of the Jewish Theocracy for the world was now done, and that another power was rising to take its place,

more catholic and more full of hope and blessing to mankind,—*i.e.*, Christianity. The Arch of Titus, therefore, is a monumental stone reared over the grave of the Jewish nation, whose inscription implies the truth of God both in the Old and the New Testaments.

For Christianity is simply the full development of the old Patriarchal faith of the world, as Abraham, and Job, and Melchizedek held it, the complete realization and efflorescence of the one primitive religion given to mankind. And, therefore, we expect to find in the monuments of Christianity as Christ and His Apostles taught it, some evidences of this one primitive Faith. If Christianity were altogether a new thing in its essence and fundamental principle, there might be reason to suspect it as a mere human invention, as we more than suspect Mohammedanism and Mormonism to be. But if its roots and its source are in the Being of God Himself, then it must have been more or less manifest all along the course of human history from the very start, and among all people, until its grand development in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God. Just as all systems of philosophy, or astronomy, or geology are founded in nature, and are the expressions of human ideas more or less correct, respecting the facts and phenomena of nature, so it is of all primitive religion; it must have some basis and foundation in fact. The human mind is not capable of such invention as that of the religion of the ancient world, unless there is some fact or phenomenon on which to base its ideas. Theology is, indeed, the science of religion, but its systematic arrangement of ideas must be in accordance with discovered facts and verities, just as in the case of physical or metaphysical science. Religion may be modified, perverted, and corrupted by human ideas, fancies, and conceits; but its fundamental facts will remain intact, even though unrecognized. How it is that the facts and truths of nature are discovered by, or revealed to, a few sagacious minds out of the great mass of mankind, is a sort of mystery; and how it is that supernatural verities are made known to some and not to others, is no more mysterious. Galileo's discovery of the earth's revolution is just as much a fiction as Job's discovery of God's purity and justice is, through spiritual intercourse, if the ideas in both cases do not correspond with facts. Sir Isaac Newton's discovery of the great law of universal attraction and gravitation, is just as visionary and unreal as the disclosure of the love of God in Christ by St. John, if both have no basis in fact. Things must be, before men can think about them; though, indeed, there may be a thousand things about which they do not think at all, or think incorrectly. If my thinking about the sun does not create the sun, so my thought about God does not create God. Religion, then, must be based in the Being, attributes, and manifestations of God to the human race alike, in all ages and countries, as the human mind and soul perceive them. The fundamental facts

are the same everywhere, though variously perceived or discovered; and hence the various modifications and perversions of the one primitive religion of mankind. Yet even in this respect, religion has no more variations than science and philosophy. It is so easy to make mistakes in both.

Now it is a fact, that among the first and foremost nations of antiquity, philosophical and religious ideas and truths were expressed by symbols, the better to preserve and teach them. Symbolism was no more than a pictorial language addressed to the mind and soul through the eyes, as spoken language is an address to the inner man through the ears. The painted symbol, however, has the advantage of greater vividness and impressiveness than the verbal statement, just as the portrait of a mother, or the picture of some grand or beautiful scenery, or of a battle, is far more effective than any lengthened description in words. As thought can not be expressed without language, or some outward sign and representation, either in science or religion, so it is an absolute necessity to employ signs, words, or symbols, to embody and teach the facts of both. If the mathematician can not do without his signs and formulæ, or the merchant without his figures and secret marks, so the religion of all antiquity could not do without symbols. And it is difficult to know how any religion can be preserved in its purity and integrity without symbols, or exact and uniform expressions of truth, from which there shall be no variation. It is possible that, in the lapse of time, with the increase of wealth and luxury, and the usual degeneracy of morals and decay of pure religion consequent upon such a state of things, the first symbols of a people might come to lose their significance or influence, and others of a more debased character be added to the list. And it is furthermore possible, that all symbols might be taken for the things or gods which they represented, at least among the ignorant and depraved, and among all such as were incapable of abstract thought, or were more under the influence of the senses than of faith and reason. But how it is possible to have a religion and worship for a people at large, without some kind of external form and expression, or how it is possible to preserve and transmit such religion and worship without symbols and records, it is next to impossible to say. Whether the first expressions of the human mind were pictorial or alphabetical, is not a matter of much moment so far as religion is concerned. It has been much debated by philologists, and the weight of the argument is with those who incline to pictorial language as being the first, as it still is with the Chinese, and as it was with the Egyptians and the Mexicans. Taking this for granted, we shall find that symbols were the chief and necessary modes of expressing religious ideas and truths among the ancient Hindus, Persians, and Egyptians. If these symbols afterwards became idols, it was no fault of theirs, but the fault of those who mistook their meaning.

The great fault always consisted in restricting and limiting God to the symbol, instead of regarding the symbol as the mere expression of the mind respecting Him. This is the essence of all idolatry, ancient and modern. Pagans did indeed, and do now, pay Divine honors to their gods through symbols, and deny emphatically that they worship any symbol or image itself; but then these gods are so numerous that the One Living and True God is lost sight of, and fails to receive the supreme homage of the soul. They are merely personified attributes of God, or the secondary powers of nature, or absurd conceptions of the imagination which are exalted into the rank of the Divine. And this brings us to consider whether any symbol or representation of God is possible.

What, then, is a symbol in its proper sense? A sign, mark, or token, by which something hidden is made known. It is *putting together* two things, viz., an idea or truth, and a visible form. It is a manifestation of pure abstract ideas through bodily shapes or verbal statements. A *visible* symbol is the putting together of idea or truth and its likeness, as the Lion is a symbol of strength, the Lamb of meekness, and the Dove of love and gentleness. A *verbal* symbol is the expression of some hidden idea or meaning, like the symbols of Pythagoras, or some of the dark sayings of Christ and the Prophets, or the creeds of Christendom, which were at first only known to the initiated, and revealed truths hitherto unknown, or dimly recognized and anticipated. Porphyry informs us that the ancients consecrated caves as symbols of the world; and that Zoroaster was the first to do this, in a mountain on the borders of Persia, where he had represented by painted symbols the powers and elements of nature, as well as of other invisible powers, as the Naiades and souls descending into birth. "For," he observes, "the ancients thought that these souls are incumbent on water which is inspired by divinity, as Numenius says, who adds, that on this account, a prophet asserts that the Spirit of God moved on the waters."[1] This looks like baptism, in which the soul is born to a new life, and must be symbolical of it. The rock-cut temples of India, and the palaces and temple-tombs of Egypt, abound in symbols of a like nature, the design being to teach the hidden powers of the world, of the soul, and of the gods. The Druids made circular temples and open ones, no doubt for the better purpose of symbolizing God Himself, who, according to Hermes Trismegistus, is a circle, whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference is nowhere to be found. There can be no doubt that the first temples of religion were places in the open air marked or designated by stones, such as that at Bethel, where Jacob set up a stone and consecrated it with oil in token of his vision of the heavenly ladder;(Gen. xxviii.;) or

[1] Taylor's *Porphyry*, pp. 174-77.

they were sacred groves and vaulted caves as places of silence and retirement apart from the busy throng, and the heat and glare of a hot Eastern sun, and symbolical of the deeper darkness and silence of the place where God hid Himself. As with the ancient Germans, so it was with other primitive races of men, they thought it an absurdity, and a vain attempt to confine the Deity in any covered structure. Tacitus says of the Germans, that "They deem it unworthy the greatness of the gods to confine them within walls, or to represent celestial beings under a human likeness; they consecrate woods and groves as temples; and they apply names of the gods to that Secret Power which they recognize with adoration alone."[1] King Solomon was of the same opinion at the dedication of his splendid temple, which was open. (1 Kings, viii. 27.) But when other temples were previously designated or built, they were circular and open as symbols of God Himself, or of that circle of the world in which He sat. (Isa. xl. 22.) It may have been such circular temples or consecrated places that Moses designated or built at Sinai and at Gerizim, out of the twelve stones set up according to the twelve tribes of Israel, with an altar in the centre. (Ex. xxiv. 4, and Deut. xxvii. 2.) The Pantheon of Agrippa, at Rome, is a well-known example of the circular temple, with a circular opening at the top; and even the first square temples were open to the sky. In the apse of the Christian cathedral, and its open, starry roof, painted in gold and blue, is still preserved the idea of God's habitation and the round world, though the Gothic cathedral does not so well symbolize this as the dome-like churches of the East, or St. Peter's.

Not only were the Patriarchal and Druidical temples constructed in such forms as to symbolize the nature of God, but sometimes they were also made to symbolize His Divine Wisdom or Emanation by the addition of a winged serpent or Phtah, as Aubery, &c. We have symbols in great number and variety from Chaldea, Persia, and Egypt, such as the annexed and following ones.

FIG. 3.—Assyrian Symbols.

This is copied from a rare and beautiful Asiatic cylinder, the precise country of which Lajard does not venture to decide, although from the dress and style he inclines to an

[1] Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur; lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorum nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident. *De Sit. Mor. & Pop. German*, c. ix.

Assyrian or Phœnician origin. It represents an initiation into the sacred mysteries. The high-priest, robed like the Roman Pontiff, with tiara, &c., holds in his right hand the *crux ansata*, as a sign of life and grace, to some subordinate minister of the cult, who seems to be asking the kindness of his chief in favour of two persons desiring initiation, at the same time presenting the victim to be offered, which is an antelope. The symbol or figure hovering over these two is the principal thing in the composition, requiring special notice. It is the symbol of God as a Triad. The circle is the Eternal I Am—God as incomprehensible; the wings are the Holy Spirit, or Motion and Power; the serpents are the Divine Emanation or Wisdom. Or, as the Persians expressed it, *Zarvana-akarana*, *Ormuzd-Ahriman*, and *Mithra*. The two serpents represent the Dualistic emanation, good and bad, the androgynous divinity, male and female; while the circle represents *Zarvana*, or God eternal; and the wings, *Mithra*, or mediator, composed of the two natures of Ormuzd and Ahriman.[1] This *crux ansata*, and this symbol of God as a Triad, are precisely such as appear in the Persian and Egyptian monuments, and seem, therefore, to have a common origin. Only the names differ. The idea is one and the same.

The usual Persian symbol, as well as the Egyptian, is here given.

Christianity inscribed within the circle, the Good Shepherd and the Sacred Monogram, with a dove near by.

Fig. 4.—Persian Triad.

Fig. 5.—Egyptian Triad.

According to Davies and other mythologists, these circles and circular temples have some reference to the Zodiac and its twelve signs and other constellations,[2] where God's power and wisdom are most conspicuous; and how far this was observed by Moses in his circular structures of twelve stones, or by our Lord Himself in founding His Church on twelve apostles, it would not be easy to say. At any rate, here are very striking coincidences; and they start the inquiry whether the universe itself is not a symbol of the Deity? Why are the heavenly bodies all spherical themselves, and moving in elliptical orbits? Why is the earth round, and not square? Who can tell? Plato, who had studied in Egypt, tells us in the *Timaeus*, that God, the Maker of the uni-

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, pp. 36–39, 236–7. Pl. 36, no. 13. [2] Mythology of the British Druids, sec. IV.

verse, fashioned it of a spherical shape, in which all the radii are equally distant from the centre to the circumference; as this is the most perfect of all figures, and *the most like Himself.* He placed soul in the centre of the world, and extended it through the whole; put soul around it, and caused circle to revolve within circle, and able to converse with itself, wanting nothing; and so He made the universe a blessed god. He caused it to move with circular motion. . . When, therefore, that God who is a perpetually reasoning Divinity, cogitated about that *God who was destined to subsist at some certain period of time,* He produced His body smooth and even, and every way even and whole from the centre, and made it perfect. This perfect circle of the created god, *He decussated in the form of the letter X.*"[1] Upon which Justin Martyr observes: "The physiological discussion in the *Timaeus* of Plato concerning the Son of God placed crosswise in the universe, he borrowed from Moses, having read the account of his placing a serpent of brass on a cross for the people to look upon for healing when they were bitten of poisonous serpents in the wilderness, as having so done by the inspiration of God; and not understanding that it was the figure of a cross, but taking it to be a placing crosswise, he said that the power next to the first God was placed crosswise in the universe."[2] What would Plato have said had he lived to read these words of Christ: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." (St. John, iii. 14–15.) The cross would doubtless have had to him a higher and better significance, not only of all intellectual and physical life and its perpetuity, but also of spiritual and eternal life—the life of God in the soul.

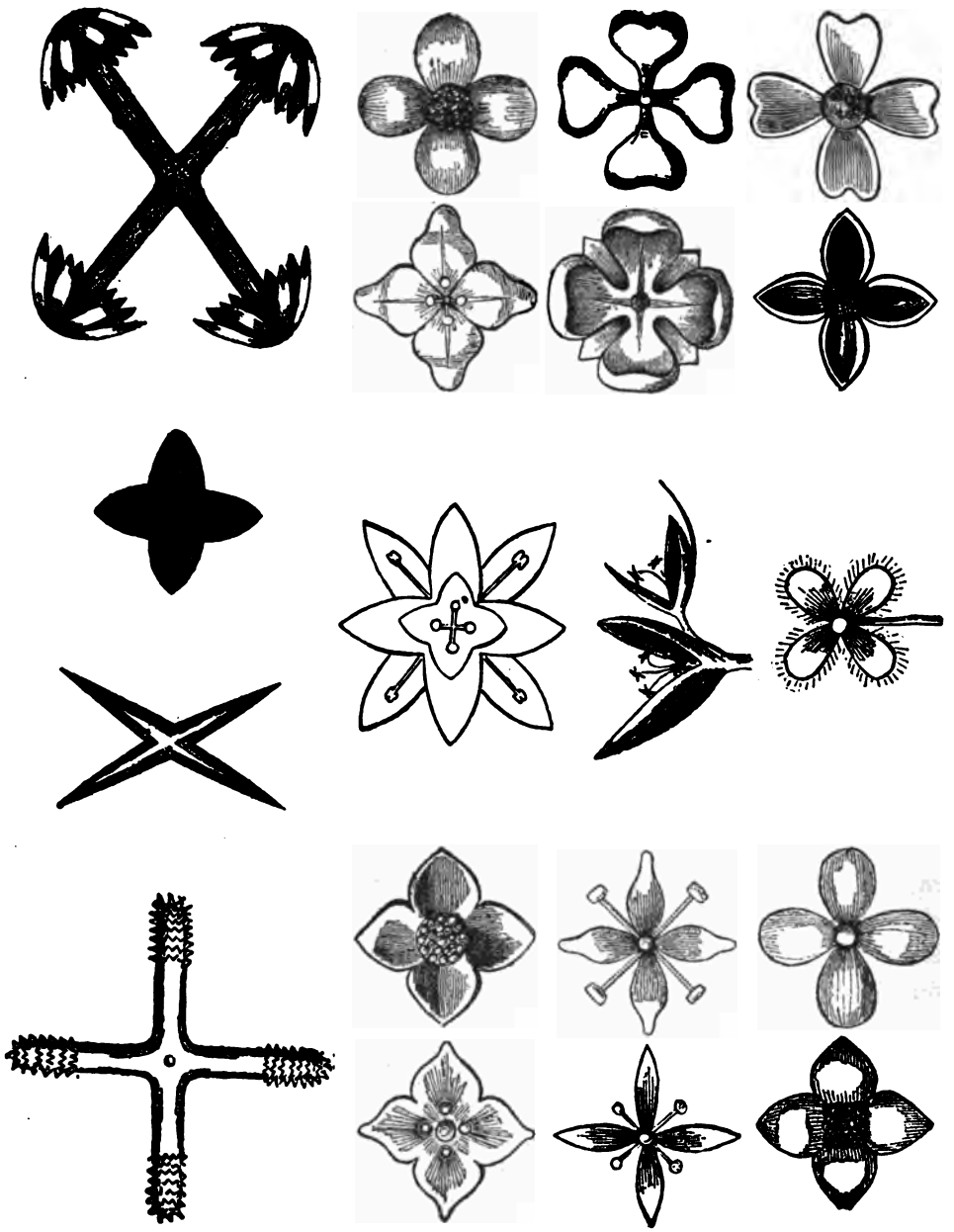
Proclus, one of Plato's ablest philosophical commentators, explains the decussated circle with reference to the soul of the world itself, thus: "Two circles will be formed, of which one is interior, but the other exterior, and they will be oblique to each other. One of these is called the circle of the *same,* the other the circle of *different,* or the fixed and variable, or rather the equinoctial circle and the Zodiac. The circle of the *different* revolves about the Zodiac, but the circle of the *same* about the equinoctial. Hence, we conceive that the right lines ought not to be applied to each other at right angles, but like the letter X, as Plato says, so as to cause the angles to be equal only at the summit, but those on each side, and the successive angles, to be unequal. *For the equinoctial circle does not cut the Zodiac at right angles.* Such, therefore, in short, is the mathematical discussion of the figure of the soul."[3] According to this explanation then, we have the one grand

[1] Taylor's *Trans.*, pp. 461–464.
[2] First Apology, c. lx.
[3] Taylor's Proclus, vol. II. pp. 110–11.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 112.

circle, or expanse of the heavens divided into two parts by the equator and the ecliptic, so as to form the diagonal cross, which together make the Triad. For Proclus agrees with Iamblichus in saying that the circle and its divisions have reference to the *one soul and the two souls that proceed from it;*[1] and, he says, further on, that the soul is a monad with reference to the universe, but a duad with reference to intellect; and intellect is masculine, while souls are feminine.[1] The junction of the two produces life; and hence in all the ancient systems of philosophy and religion, the cross has always been the symbol of life, written in the very structure of the heavens. The earth, in its annual revolution round the equinoctial from Cancer to Capricorn, through the twelve signs of the Zodiac proper, makes that change of seasons upon which all its life depends. So, too, of night and day, in the diurnal revolution, we have the meridians cutting the equator and parallels at right angles, making the square cross thus, +, which is equally the symbol of life, so far as night and day are concerned in its production. And so this kind of cross may be called earthly and the symbol of all life here, while the Platonic cross may be considered heavenly and the symbol of a higher and better life. Christianity first adopted the latter, marking and distinguishing it, however, by the upright diameter, I, or the Greek P, as a sign of Christ, the eternal Generator and Regenerator of men. As an illustration of the natural crosses, take the annexed specimens of sponges and flowers which I here reproduce from the *London Art Journal*, for January, 1874, through the kindness of some unknown friend. Both forms of the cross here appear, the diagonal and the square cross, or as I venture to call them, the heavenly and the earthly. In three examples we have these two crosses joined, and making an eight-pointed star, the very star which is so often found on the monuments of ancient Chaldea and Persia, and which also appears over the head of the newly-born Son of God, in the early Christian monuments. This is something more than mere coincidence; and I venture to name this eight-pointed star made by the junction of the two crosses, the *Prophetic Star of the Incarnation*, which joined heaven and earth, God and man together. I merely mention the matter here, as it will be more fully discussed hereafter.

The flowers are of the order known under the name of *Cruciferæ*, of which there are about 800 species, one eighth of which exist in America; the rest in the cold and temperate regions of Europe and Asia. The spicules of sponge here given, are known as "Venus' Flower-Basket," and the "Glass-Rope." Thus all nature, heaven and earth, becomes a grand symbol of creative and preserving

[1] Taylor's Proclus, p. 114.



Natural Crosses in Flowers and Sponges.

power, but it is not, and can not be, the Power itself. And when men came to mistake the symbol for that which it signified, they fell into idolatry, by confining their worship to the secondary powers, processes, and objects of nature. On this symbolism of nature and its perversion, nothing has ever been better said than what St. Paul says: "That which may be known of God is manifest; for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and God-head; so that they are without excuse: Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened" (Rom. 1, 19–22.) It had been far better for Christendom, if her chief symbols had not been perverted, in like manner, into idolatry to so great an extent. As helps, teachers, and means of grace, they are necessary, but they are not objects of adoration. When the primitive Christian symbol of the cross degenerates into a mediæval crucifix, to be superstitiously reverenced, or the consecrated bread and wine of the holy Eucharist becomes an actual *Corpus Christi* to be adored as a matter of obligation, then it is time for all good men to follow Abraham's example, and leave Ur of the Chaldeans as far behind them as possible.

Surely the whole material universe, with its unchanging order and visible phenomena; its constant harmony and production of life in plants, vegetables, and animals; its secret and mysterious processes, and its mirror-like reflection of law and power, is but a symbol not yet fully read or understood, much less explained; and, therefore, its deep mysteries point to higher infinitudes which lie beyond its confines. It must be finite, and can not contain the Infinite; it is material, and can not confine and restrict the Spiritual altogether. But if God reveals Himself even partially in His works, then it is possible to reveal Himself in some new man, Christ Jesus; and thus Christianity becomes a more intelligible revelation than Deism, or Pantheism, or all that mere naturalism which goes under the name of Religion.

But beyond these grand circles of the heavens which symbolize God as a Triad, and form the cross by their division and intersection as the symbol of life, we have the two great antagonistic forces of nature which make the planets take their elliptical orbits, and thus form the cross in their revolution through the Zodiac—I mean the centripetal and centrifugal forces. They are certainly just as opposite and antagonistic forces as the arms of the cross are. They never meet and harmonize save at the central junction. The centripetal force acting alone would drive the planets into the sun; the centrifugal force acting alone would drive them in an opposite direction, into space; their combined action, however, causes them to take the diagonal line between them on their elliptical orbits, and thus keeps

them steadfast in their motion and harmony. The very existence of the solar system depends on this combined action of these opposing forces. And, therefore, they may be taken as a symbol of the cross. And we actually find among all the ancient nations that had astronomical systems, as India, Persia, Chaldea, or Egypt, the cross as one of their most cherished and precious symbols with reference to these opposite forces of all nature, upon whose junction and combined action the life, and order, and harmony of the whole depend. Moses learned it in Egypt of the priests; he instructed his oppressed people to mark their door-posts with the blood of the sacrificial lamb in the form of the sacred *tau* or cross, on the memorable night of their deliverance, since it was done on the top beams and sides of the door, thus forming the cross or *tau*, ת, also anciently written in all Oriental languages, including the Hebrew, in such forms as these, +, ✝, T, X, with various modifications;[1] and there can be no doubt as to the shape of the pole on which the brazen serpent was fixed, when we look at the original Hebrew, and find the whole thing to be a sign or symbol, expressed by the author of the book of Wisdom, according to the Septuagint, as *σύμβουλον σωτηρίας, the symbol of salvation.* (Num. xxi. 8–9, and Wisdom, xvi. 6.) This sign, signal, or banner, is referred to by the

[1] *Astle's Origin and Progess of Writing*, pl. I., p. 64. Foster's *One Primeval Language*, the Tabular view of the Harmony of Primeval Alphabets. It is the best I have yet seen.

The cross was also stamped on old Samaritan coins, as we learn from Reland's treatise: Litera ת figuram habet crucis Audreance X, quorsum celebrem Ezechielis locum de fidelibus litera Thau signandis Hieronymus non male equidem refert, *Samaritanos usque hodie suis literis thau crucis similitudine exprimere*, quum apud eruditos extra controversiam sit, nonnisi in Numismatibus. (Rhenum, 1704, p. 77, pl. V.)

But here is a Greek coin, the Assarion of Chios, which has two forms of the cross, an Iota and the Sphinx:

FIG. 6.—Greek Assarion, or Farthing.

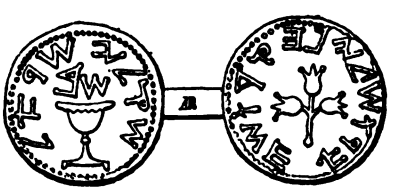


FIG. 7.—Jewish Shekel, or tribute money.

and a Jewish or Samaritan shekel. This Assarion is the farthing mentioned in St. Matt. x. 29, and St. Luke, xii. 6. The shekel is the tribute money for the support of the temple, and compelled by the Romans to be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus. The trefoil lily, or Aaron's budding rod, forms a cross, or symbol of life. The cross on the one side of the Assarion is the St. Andrew's, or Platonic cross; and the other is the Pagan Greek cross. Iota and the lion's body and tail indicate the male principle. The female sphinx signifies the active and passive powers of life, and reproduction and fertility.

For an account of these coins, see Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, pp. 43–49, and Ackerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, &c., pp. 7 and 12.

prophet Isaiah, when he says: In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek; (xi. 10;) and we actually find on some of the ancient monuments near Persepolis, just such ensigns or banners in the form of the cross, a triangular flag being attached to the standard or upright, and horse tails to the cross-piece. One of these is here given.[1] The Jews themselves acknowledged this sign of salvation until they rejected Christ; and Parkhurst remarks, "That it was a sign of present and temporal salvation from the poison of the fiery serpents, and of future and spiritual salvation from that of the old serpent through Him who was to be lifted up on the cross."[2] Justin Martyr says, in his dialogue with Trypho, "Tell me, was it not God who commanded Moses that no image or likeness of anything which is in heaven above, or on the earth beneath should be made, and yet who caused the brazen serpent to be made in the wilderness, and set it up for a sign by which those bitten by serpents were saved? Yet He is free from unrighteousness. For by this He proclaimed the mystery by which He declares that He would break the power of the serpent which occasioned the transgression of Adam, and would give salvation to them that believe on Him who was foreshadowed by this sign, *i. e.*, Him who was crucified—salvation from the fangs of the serpent, which are wicked deeds, idolatries, and other unrighteous acts."[3]

FIG. 8.—Persian Standard.

When Moses took this sign or symbol, and set it before the afflicted Israelites, he was but doing that which had all along been done in Egypt and other ancient nations, viz., only using for their hope and encouragement that same sign which God had set before mankind in the very structure of the heavens, and the arrangement of the universe as a sign of life and salvation formed by the astronomical circles, and typified by the opposing forces of nature, so well symbolizing the moral attributes of God that seem to us so contradictory and opposite, viz., His wisdom

[1] Sir R. K. Porter's *Travels*, I. pls. 20 and 22. [2] Lexicon, p. 381. [3] c. 94.

and love, His justice and mercy, harmonized in the cross of Christ, and so necessary to our salvation and eternal life.

Christianity, therefore, has no more anomalies, contradictions, or impossibilities than nature itself has; it is rather a higher law of God of which nature is but the symbol.

When we also see how the same antagonism exists in society between Law and Liberty, authority and obedience: or in the human mind itself between the reason and the imagination, intellect and soul, logic and poetry, will and conscience, we must conclude that the Author of nature and of man, is also the Author of

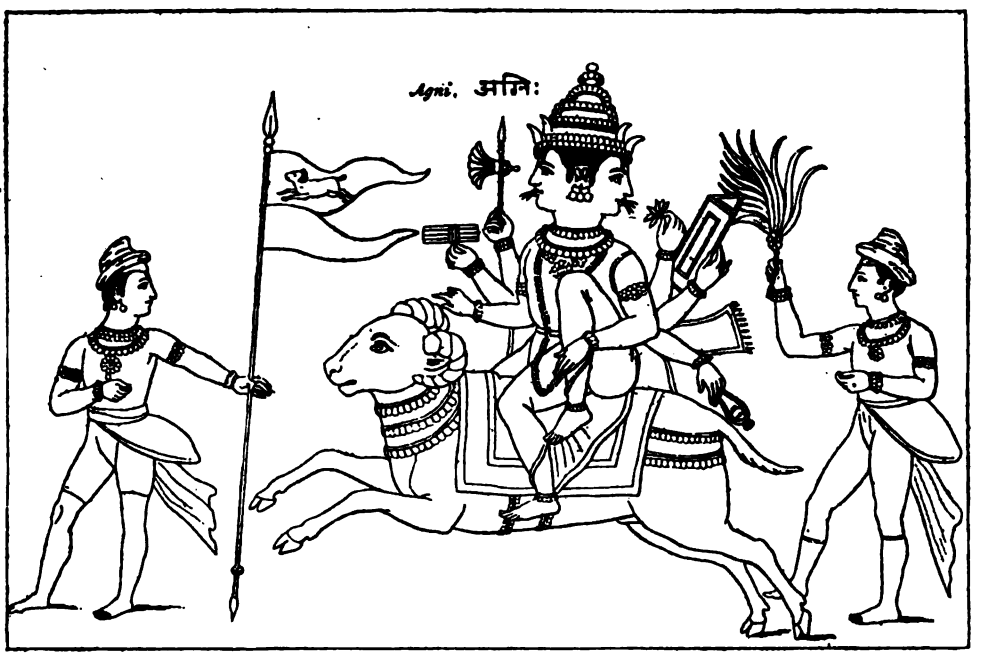



FIG. 9.—Agni, the Hindu type of Christ as Agnus Dei, the Light of the world.

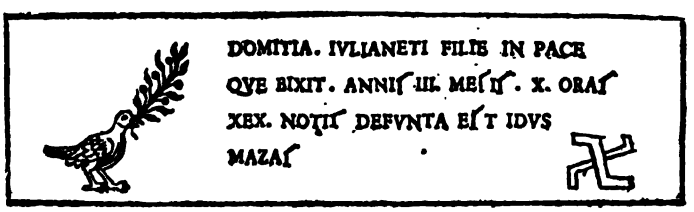
Christianity and the church, with their peculiar antagonisms of like kind centering in the two great and antagonistic apostles, Peter and Paul, of whom more hereafter.

But before leaving this subject of natural symbolism, I must anticipate somewhat, and here introduce what I conceive to be a pagan type of Christ, viz., the Hindu *Agni* or god of fire, whose symbol is the oldest form of the cross known. As this symbol was in general use in all the ancient pagan world from India to Italy, so it is found among the other forms of the cross in the Christian Catacombs

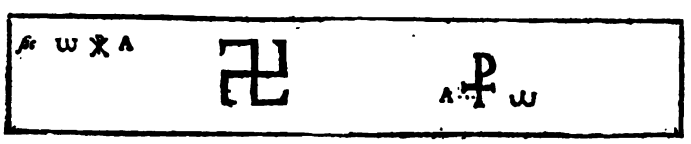
at Rome, and must be traced to its original source in order to learn its true meaning.

According to the testimony of the best Oriental scholars, the Vedas are among the oldest religious books extant, and their present arrangement dates to the fourteenth century, B. C.[1] Major Moor, citing Wilford as authority, says that the Hindus allege that Agni or Fire had an existence, in an elementary state, before the formation of the sun, but could not be said to have dominion till its force was concentrated.[2] It is from the Vedas that we learn the oldest form of the cross to be the symbol of Agni.[3] When the ancient Hindu worshipper would produce Agni or fire at his sacrifice, he took two pieces of wood and arranged them in the form of a cross, and by whirling them rapidly together with a bow, obtained the desired fire by the violent friction. This is the arrangement, one piece being set in the other at the centre. This instrument, which every Brahmin possesses, is called *Arani*, and should be made of the sacred *Sami* tree. As a symbol it is called *Swastica*, and is, like many other symbols, marked on the forehead of young Bud-

FIG. 10.—Swastica.




No. 11.



No. 12.

No. 13.

Nos. 11, 12, and 13, are examples of the symbol of Agni, called *Swastica*, found in the Roman Catacombs, and published by Boldetti. The simplicity and brevity of the inscriptions argues their great age, probably the first or second century.

[1] Colebrooke's Essays, &c., I. p. 201. London, 1837.

[2] Hindu Pantheon, p. 300.

[3] E. Burnouf's *Science des Religions*, c. 10.

dhists as well as Brahmins, and was so used from all antiquity. Its signification is the same as that of the Christian *Chrisma*, marked on the foreheads of the baptized, *i. e., salvation.* Dr. Schliemann found it on terra-cotta disks at Troy, in the fourth or lowest stratum of his excavations, indicating an Aryan civilization long anterior to the Greek, say from two to three thousand years before Christ. Burnouf agrees with other archæologists in saying that this is the oldest form of the cross known;[1] and affirms that it is found personified in the ancient religion of the Greeks under the figure of Prometheus, the bearer of fire; the god is extended on the cross on Caucasus, while the celestial bird, which is the *Cyena* of the Vedic hymns, every day devours his immortal breast. The modification of this Vedic symbol became the instrument of torture and death to other nations, and was that on which Jesus Christ suffered death at the hands of the Jews and Romans. If *Swastica* was thus the symbol of Agni as the light and life of the world, to the ancient Brahmins, what is that same symbol in the Christian Catacombs at Rome? Surely not of any material light or fire, but rather of the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world—of Him who proclaimed Himself such; the Fire of the mysterious Bush at Horeb, burning, yet not consumed; the Shekinah of the guiding and protecting cloud of ancient Israel; the Lord of light and salvation to the Psalmist; the splendor whiter than snow on the face and around the form of the transfigured Christ; and of Him who purifies His people with the Holy Ghost and with fire, the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world, and the Light of the heavenly Jerusalem.

Diogenes, as seen in the engraving, has a lighted lamp in his hand, with which he finds his way in the dark labyrinths, and lays honest Christians down to their rest. He is not old Diogenes of the tub, cynically looking for an honest man; for he is quite young, and of pleasant countenance for a grave-digger. The *Swastica* symbols of *Agni* are placed upon him as appropriate marks of his office in lighting the mourner's way to the place of rest for friends and kindred. The painting is from the cemetery of St. Sebastian, and was no doubt a tribute to a good man who had well and kindly done his work, in the humbler ranks of the primitive clergy. Boldetti gives it in his *Osservazioni*, &c., I. 15, p. 60. Can this sweet young face possibly be intended as a type of Christ's?

Agni, as personified, was painted of a deep red color, with two faces, three legs, and seven arms; when riding, he is on a young ram, and his banner bears the same device; a flame issues from each mouth; his crown is a tiara surmounted by a seeming cross. Moor, who gives a drawing from a picture in his possession,[2] thus

[1] *Science*, &c., p. 256, &c., Paris, 1872.

[2] *Hindu Pantheon*, plate 80, and pp. 295–302.

interprets the figure or image. The two faces allude to the two fires, solar and terrestrial, or to creative heat and destructive fire; the three legs, to the three sacred terrestial fires of the Brahmins,—the nuptial, the ceremonial or funereal, and the sacrificial; or to the influence of fire in and over the three regions of the universe,—heaven, earth, and hell; or, as he remarks elsewhere,(p. 279,) to the *creative* heat, the *preserving* light, and the *destroying* or *regenerative* fire; his seven arms,

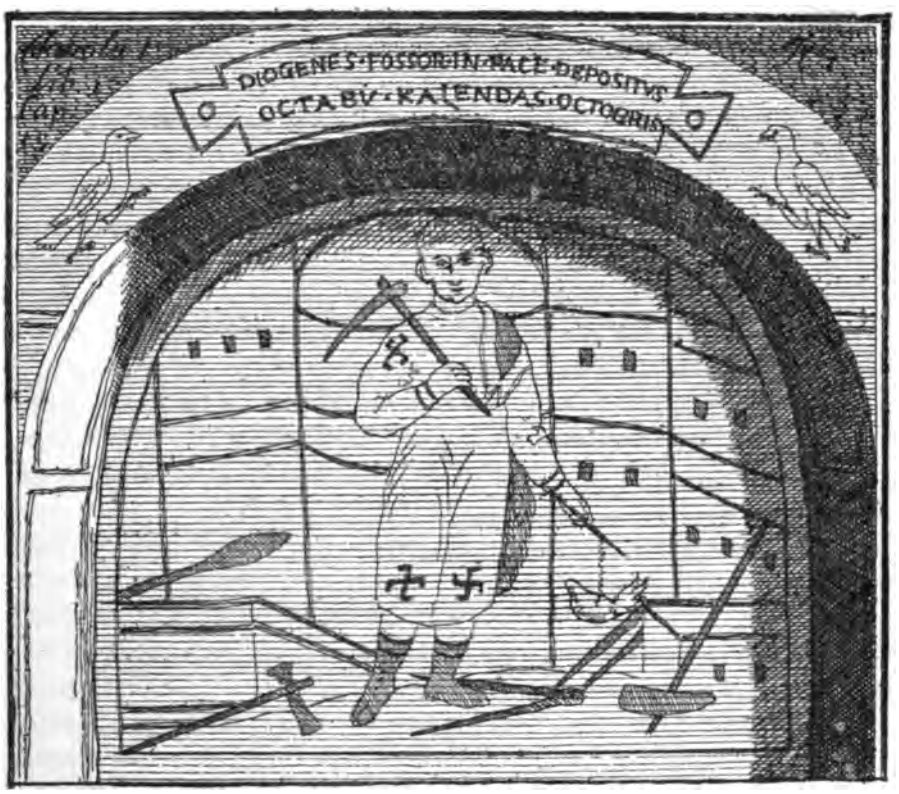



Fig. 14.—Diogenes and his lamp.
"Diogenes, the excavator, deposited in peace, eight days before the first of October."

like the seven heads of *Surya's* horse, or the seven horses of his car, were emblematic of the seven prismatic rays of light. Why Moor does not continue his interpretation of the figure of Agni to the significance of the ram beyond its mere ardent and fiery nature, or to the crown, and Agni's two attendants, I do not know. But if he had consulted the monuments of the Christian Catacombs, he might have found the explanation in the Lamb there, of such frequent occurrence, and as a most

prominent symbol of Christ, but without any image or figure upon it of such a grotesque and almost nondescript kind. I am disposed to think that the ram of Agni is the most significant part of the composition, not merely as a victim, but as a symbol of life and peace, of meekness and gentleness, of all that is cheering and bright in the blessed hope of immortality in green pastures where the Good Shepherd shall lead His flock forever; inasmuch as the Lamb of early Christian art and symbolism has this very meaning in its position on the mystic mount of the four streams of the Gospel, *after* the sacrifice on the cross has been made, and between the Resurrection and Ascension; and inasmuch, too, as the Lamb appears in the Heaven of St. John's Apocalypse as the centre and source of all its joy and worship. This Lamb is the symbol of all truth, mercy, and goodness to mankind; the light, and life, and joy of the world. In Christian art it sometimes stands beside the Lord Himself with the cross upon its head, as a crown of victory and dominion. As Agni is preceded by a figure representing the dawn, so was Christ preceded by John the Baptist, proclaiming Him *Agnus Dei*, or the Lamb of God. And as Agni is followed by another figure bearing what seems to be a palm branch, which may be all the life and joy of Day personified, so was Christ succeeded by a victorious Church intended to be the light of the world.

The two faces of Agni look before into the future, and behind into the past. From his two mouths issue flames or rays of Divine inspiration and knowledge. He not only knows all the past and future, but he irradiates all from his own lips. The seven arms signify, most probably, his seven-fold influences or helps, like the seven spirits of Chaldean mythology ever attendant upon the one great Deity; and so they dimly foreshadow the seven-fold influences of the Holy Ghost mentioned by the prophet Isaiah,(xi. 2,) still invoked in confirmation.

Of course, the ancient Brahmin had no very clear perception of this higher spiritual truth, as it was afterwards developed, yet what he had when he invoked Agni before his lighted fire of sacrifice and oblations consecrated with oil or clarified butter, let the following act of worship suggest: he lights his fire, or rather produces it by the *Arani* of sacred wood, and recites the first verse of the *Rig-Veda*, acknowledging and invoking Agni as the primeval effulgence of Light, and the chief agent of the sacrifice. Then these six prayers, accompanied by six oblations, are recited: 1. "Agni! thou dost expiate sin against the gods (defective worship): may this oblation be efficacious." 2. "Thou dost expiate sin against man (inhospitality)." 3. "Thou dost expiate sin against the manes (burial rites omitted)." 4. "Thou dost expiate sin against my own soul (blameworthy acts)." 5. "Thou dost expiate repeated sins." 6. "Thou dost expiate every sin I have committed, whether willfully or unintentionally: may this oblation be

efficacious." And then comes the seventh and last special act of worship and oblation: "Agni! seven are thy fuels; seven thy tongues; *seven thy holy sages; seven thy beloved abodes;* seven ways do seven sacrificers worship thee. Thy sources are seven. Be content with this clarified butter. May this oblation be efficacious."[1] The prayer of true repentance from an humble and contrite heart would have been more pleasing to God, no doubt; yet the Brahmin hoped to have his sins done away, to obtain wisdom and strength, and to reach the seven holy abodes of the blessed. John the Baptist proclaimed the *Agnus Dei* that taketh away the sin of the world; and the holy Catholic Church has ever since been preaching Jesus Christ as the Light of the world, the Way, the Truth, and the Life for all sinful men. Discarding the image of Agni as an idolatrous personification of material fire or light, the early Church might well retain the harmless and significant symbol of *Swastica*, or salvation through Him who had made fire so conspicuous a symbol of His beneficent power to mankind, and who would baptize His people with the Holy Ghost and with fire to cleanse and purify them. Who shall say that this old Vedic symbol of Agni was not a dim prefiguration of *Agnus Dei* among the ancient Brahmins, just as the like symbol of life was among the Persians, and Egyptians, and Mexicans, or as the sacred *tau* was among the Hebrews, especially when we bear in mind that the little remnant of the old Samaritans at Nablous still sacrifice seven lambs three times a year, especially at the Passover, spitted on a cross?[2] What marvellous unity of idea is all this in the world's ancient religions! Can it be otherwise than based on one grand fact or truth communicated originally to mankind, or at least perceived like other facts and truths in God's universe?

FIG. 15.—The Good Shepherd and His oil vessel. Cemetery of Lucina. Fresco. Second century.[3]

That the Lamb of God was thus symbolized as the Light of the world, look for confirmation in this early artistic Christian treatment of the subject, copied by Bosio from a fresco in the cemetery of St. Callixtus. (Rom. Sott., p. 249.)

[1] Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. I., p. 190.

[2] Just. Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. xl. Stanley's *Tour in the East with the Prince of Wales*, pp. 203–4, or *Hist. Jewish Church*, append. III., Pt. I.

[3] This is one of De Rossi's recent discoveries. It has been reproduced from his *Roma Sotterranea Christiana*, I. pl. 16, p. 350. The original occupies the centre of the vaulted ceiling of a *cubiculum*.

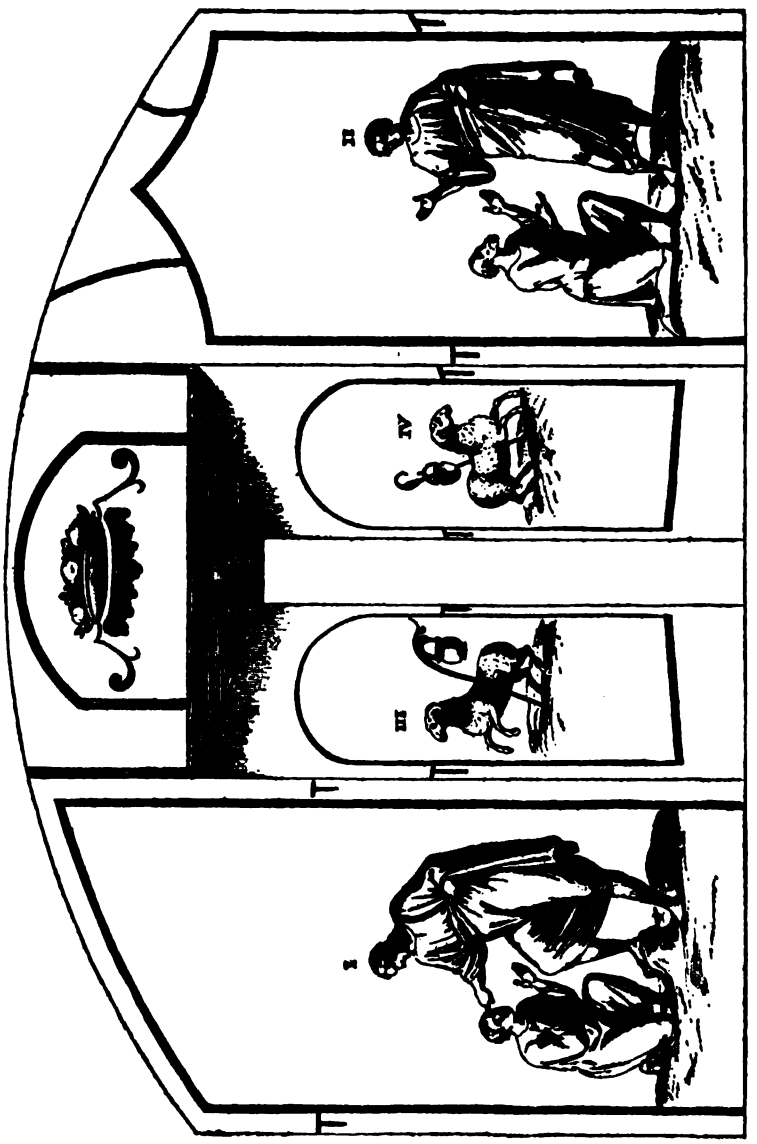



FIG. 16.—Christ as the Lamb of God and Light of the world. St. Callixtus. Fresco. Second century.

Figures 1 and 2 represent Christ as the Light of the world, anointing the eyes of the man born blind, and sending him to the Pool of Siloam to wash, and he came back seeing; (St. John, ix.;) and also the case of the blind man at Bethsaida, (St. Mark, viii. 22–26,) or of blind Bartimæus at Jericho. (St. Mark, x. 46–52.) Figures 3 and 4 represent the same thing symbolically; for the young rams carry

the pastoral staff, and the pot of oil for light, just as the Good Shepherd Himself does in figure 15, or just as the Wise Virgins do, who go forth to meet the Bridegroom in figure 166.

The sacred *tau* occurs eight times, and is the old sign of light, and life, and health to mankind, through Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. Strange, that this same lamb, or young ram, should have been the old Vedic attribute of Agni, the Hindu god of light!

I here reproduce from Lajard's unfinished work on the Mithraic Worship, a representation of the cross and eight-pointed star, probably the Star of Balaam, and of the Incarnation of the Son of God, as evidence of the great antiquity of these symbols in the old Assyrian and Babylonian empires. It is copied from an antique beautiful Hematite stone, and was probably used as a charm, or as a testimonial of initiation into the ancient Mysteries, the degree being that of the Lion. Lajard says of it, that it is of very small size and fine workmanship; and that the winged figures bear traces of Egyptian influence. The somewhat high altar bears a crescent surmounted by a cruciform asterisk encircled. The figures have no arms, and their wings are arranged after the purely Asiatic manner. They are females, one of whose human heads is on the body of a cow, and the other on a lion. The star with the eight points represents the sun or the planet Venus, and the Incarnation of the Logos. An antelope and a lion are under it, lying down in peace together, like Isaiah's lion and lamb. Two antelope heads and two hares are on each side of the altar, as subjects of meditation for the initiated person, who, having only reached the degree of the lion, still belongs to the earthly region, and that he ought to aspire higher to break the last links that bind his soul to the material.[1]

FIG. 17.—Assyrian Cross and Star.

In other words, the cross is set up with its victims about it and its adoring cherubim, as an object of hope and trust in some deliverer from the bondage of the sinful nature. The star with eight points is simply the junction of the heavenly

[1] *Mithra*, pp. 260–1, pl. 52, no. 6.

and the earthly as a subject of prophecy and a symbol of the joining together of the Divine and the human in the Incarnation of the Logos.

Thus we have the structure of the heavens and earth, and the motions of the planets, symbolizing the higher spiritual and Divine Power that made them, and impressed Himself upon them in the form of the cross; we have the forces and vitalizing influences of nature symbolizing the same thing as the Lamb of God, a sacrifice on the cross, and a source of blessing and life to mankind; and there still remains a third symbol of the One King over all, of sleepless vigilance and almighty power, who will bring life out of death, and destroy the whole dominion of evil, restoring all things to Himself and everlasting blessedness; and this natural symbol is the lion, which will be explained in its appropriate place when the Scripture doctrine of the Resurrection and eternal life come to be considered, together with Christ as the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

Now the human mind, occupied with observations of the material and sensible world, forms certain ideas, and draws certain conclusions respecting its powers and operations, which constitute its ideal world, or the realm of thought and opinion. And this is distinct from the soul itself, which is simply the thinking and emotional faculty or power. And thus making a distinction between itself and its thought, it concludes that there must be a distinction between the universe and the Power that made it a mere exponent of Itself, a system of Divine thought and wisdom. Hence the symbol has a like double nature,—it embodies thought in a visible form, and it implies the Power and Source of thought. In other words, there are Divine symbols in nature and in religion of this two-fold kind, embodying Divine thought, and pointing to the living Source of thought; so that when we see or hear the symbol, we not only catch the thought at once, but also rise to a conception of the thinking Power implied by it. The symbol can do no more than *signify* that Power; it can not contain and embody it. If the universe can not contain and confine God, any more than a watch can contain and confine the watchmaker, no more can a religious symbol of any kind be presumed to do this; when it is, the proper limits are trespassed, and error, and confusion, and vagueness are the result. The symbol then becomes an image and an idol, like Agni or the Sphinx, grotesque and misleading. It becomes, too, utterly unworthy of the Being signified, and an insult to His nature. It is a mere caricature of God, the chief sin of all idolatry. When the symbol attempts to localize God on an altar under the form of bread and wine, I can see no difference between it and fixing God to an image like Agni; but when God takes human nature to Himself to teach mankind through it how to rise to God-like purity, nobility, and holiness, I can see no difference between that Incarnation, and the exponent of His wisdom and power in the material

universe, except a difference in degree, on the score of personality, greater clearness, mercy, and love. If the sacramental and symbolic veil of bread and wine also veils another body, which body in turn veils Divinity, what a complication and confusion there are of things that should be plain, clear, and obvious! It is worse than German transcendentalism or Oriental Pantheism. It is so very mystic as to be of no practical value. How can the finite fully and properly represent the Infinite? It can represent His wisdom, power, and love, but not Himself. Hence all images of God were denied to the Hebrews, and were never used by early Christians.

Properly speaking, then, the symbol is used to express pure and sublime ideas of God, as clearly and concisely as possible. It is the root, trunk, and flower of all figurative representation of idea and thought.[1] It is obvious and plain. It differs from *allegory* in this respect, which represents one thing and means another. The symbol means only what it represents. There is nothing spontaneous and intuitive in the allegory: it needs explanation. The symbol requires but a glance to comprehend its meaning. The allegory is allied with the myth; the symbol with fact. The allegory is complicated; the symbol is unique. The allegory is a luxurious plant with many branches; the symbol is a half-opened rosebud containing the beautiful flower.[2] The allegory is artificial, the symbol natural. Perspicuity and precision make the law of the symbol; mystery and indistinctness that of the allegory. Greek art was simple, natural, and symbolical; Asiatic and Egyptian art was complicated, unnatural, and allegorical. The Divine symbols of the Greeks expressed grace, beauty, and majesty; those of the Orientals stiffness, ugliness, and grotesqueness. Early Christianity followed the Greek models, as it adopted the Greek language; mediæval Christianity followed the Oriental and Byzantine. The ideal of Christ by the one was the beautiful and young Apollo: that of the other was the old, and gloomy, the painful Christ of the crucifix. The difference between the symbol and the myth is thus defined by that profound and accurate thinker on the subject, C. O. Müller: "Ancient Greece possessed only two means of representing and communicating ideas of Deity—the *Mythus* and the *Symbol*. The mythus relates an *action*, by which the Divine Being reveals Himself in His power and individuality: the symbol renders it visible to the sense, by means of an *object* placed in connection therewith. Both must have co-existed with a belief in the gods from the very beginning. The symbol is an external visible sign, with which a spiritual emotion, feeling, or idea is connected. The mythic representation can never rest upon arbitrary choice of expression; and so, too, the connection of an idea with a sign in Symbolism, was natural and necessary to the ancient world;

[1] Creuzer's *Religions De L'Antiquité*, par J. D. Guigniaut, vol. 1, p. 28, Int. Paris, 1825.

[2] 1 Id. &c., pp. 30-1.

it occurred involuntarily; and the essence of the symbol consists in this supposed connection of the sign with the thing signified. Symbols in this sense are evidently coeval with the human race; they result from the union of the soul with the body of man; nature has implanted the feeling for them in the human heart. The human face expresses spiritual peculiarities; and so all nature wore to the ancients a physiognomical aspect." Worship, which represented the feelings of the Divine in visible, external actions, was in its nature thoroughly symbolical; and he instances prayer and sacrifice especially.[1] The symbol differs from the mere *figure* or *image* in this respect, that the figure is an arbitrary representation of an idea, not imposed by any Divine authority, or revealed in Scripture, but of human choice, a mere creature of the imagination. The symbols proper of Christ are the cross, the lamb, and the lion; He is figured by the fish, the pelican, and the vine. Didron says that the symbol is a Divine creation, a revelation from God; the figure is of human invention. The water of baptism, and the Eucharistic bread and wine, are signs or symbols. In the Eucharist, water could not take the place of wine, nor in baptism could wine be substituted for water; for the symbol is one and the same, invariable and eternal. On the contrary, one figure may take the place of another very properly; the vine, whose juice is for man's nourishment, may take the place of the pelican, which gives her blood for her young.[2]

We must gather the sense and use the word symbol as employed among the pagan Greeks and Romans. In general, it is any sign, mark, token, or signal by which one knows or infers a thing, as a pledge or beacon fire, or in the plural, *tallies*, as of two pieces of bone or coin which two contracting parties held as evidence of their contract. At Athens, the symbol was a cheque or ticket, used at court to obtain fees; or it was a license or permit given to foreigners to reside there. It was also a ticket at a pleasure party or picnic, previously purchased and given at the close of it in payment. Then, again, it was a die for playing with, the Latin *tessera*, some of which have been found in the Catacombs at Rome by Boldetti,[3] with the boxes to throw them. Hence the term to throw or cast, or bring together. Then it was used for any square piece of stone, or wood, or other substance, on which a watchword or word of command was written, or a tablet by which friends recognized each other, or a watchword alone. In this last sense, Christianity adopted it for the expression of her faith to distinguish friend from foe, or pretender or heretic, and applied it to her creeds and sacraments, as the outward signs of her belief. Treaties of commerce between the Grecian States

[1] *Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology*, pp. 196–8.
[2] *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 350. Paris, 1843.
[3] *Osservazioni sopra I Cemiteri*, &c., pt. II. p. 447.

were called symbols; and a *σύμβολος* was a meeting, assembly, or coming together of any number of people. In this sense, the celebration of the holy Eucharist is symbolical of the coming together of the Church on earth, with the General Assembly and Church of the First Born in heaven, and of God and man, and of Christian men with one another, in the exercise of charity.

Chrysostom, in his commentary on the gospel of St. Matthew, in speaking of the water of life at the well of Samaria, says it was not the water of that well which signifies it, but the life-giving blood, and the symbol of death, but the cause of life. (*Θανάτου ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀλλὰ ζωῆς γέγονεν αἴτιον.*)[1] In speaking of the gift of the Holy Ghost, he says that many great and wonderful symbols remain to us of it, such as the deliverance of a soul dead in sins from destruction, which is effected in baptism. But he says, "Without the earnest of the Spirit, neither baptism avails anything; nor can there be any remission of sin, nor justification, nor sanctification; neither can we receive the adoption of the sons of God, nor appreciate the mysteries: for there can be no mystical body and blood without the grace of the Spirit; the priests have it not, nor is it possible that these things could have been constituted and ordained without such descent of the Spirit. But I have many other things to say of the symbols of this grace of the Spirit."[2] This is clear as to baptism and the bread and wine of the Eucharist being symbols of the grace of regeneration, and of the body and blood of Christ, whose only efficacy depends on the gift of the Holy Ghost. And still again, this father says, "As the body of Christ lay in the manger, so it is on the Holy Table; not, indeed, as then, wrapped in swaddling clothes, but as invested with the Holy Spirit."[3] And again, "It is not man that makes the oblation to become the body and blood of Christ, but Christ Himself who was crucified for us. The priest stands figuring it, and repeats the words of consecration; but the grace and virtue are God's. '*This is my body*,' he says; and it is this word that *transforms* the offering."[4] The Greek word is *μεταῤῥυθμίζει*, which refers primarily to a measured motion or rhythm, and, secondarily, to a transformation. The priest holds forth the image or figure of Christ in the bread and wine of the oblation, which, by the words of consecration, return to their original source, in Christ, and become what He made them, viz., His mystical body and blood, by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, which He gave to His church as an abiding Presence in His place. For we must so interpret these symbols as those of the grace of the Spirit, according to

[1] Montfaucon, Gaume's Ed., tom. VII., p. 132. Paris, 1837–9.
[2] Id. tom. II. p. 516.
[3] Montfaucon, Gaume's Ed., tom. I. p. 600.
[4] Id. II. pp. 453, 465.

Chrysostom himself, as just cited above. They are spiritually Christ's body and blood, and not carnally.

Chrysostom also calls the kiss of Judas Iscariot a symbol of betrayal; and the camel's hair dress of John the Baptist the symbol of royalty and penitence, using the term symbol in its true and proper signification as a sign.[1]

Cyril of Jerusalem uses the word τύπος, or type, when he says of the Lord's Supper, "In the figure or type of bread is given to thee His body; and in the figure of wine His blood."[2] And Augustine is very emphatic about all external sacrifice being nothing more than a sign of the inward and true sacrifice of the heart's love to God and to our neighbour.[3] And in his sermons on the Creed, which he defines as a symbol, he says that the symbol is so named after a certain likeness which it bears to something else; for merchants have a symbol among themselves by which their society is held together by a bond of trust. And so the Christian society, which he was addressing, he calls a spiritual trade, whose business is that of the merchant seeking goodly pearls; (Matt. xiii. 45–46); and the pearl of great price is charity shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost; (Rom. v. 5;) and this comes of faith as contained in the symbol or creed.[4]

Suicer maintains that the only proper signification of the symbol is *indicium* or *signum*, indication or sign; and that the early Greek ecclesiastical writers used it only in this sense. These profound theologians recognized in the sacraments nothing more than symbols or visible signs, in the water of baptism, and in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, *signifying*, and not being, regeneration, and the body and blood of Christ. Suicer cites many passages to this effect, and says that the fathers everywhere teach that the sacraments are symbols—venerable symbols, mystic symbols; baptism being the symbol of sanctification, and the Eucharist being the symbol of the body and blood of Christ.[5]

Guigniaut, after speaking of the various symbols used by the pagan religionists and philosophers in their mysteries, says that their names and significations passed into the newly-born Christianity. The Primitive Church called her principal dogmas symbols, *i. e.*, her articles of belief reduced to formulas, as well as the signs or words which served to distinguish Christians from pagans. Then, again, certain sensible signs, certain visible acts, as tokens and pledges of an invisible salvation, such as the sacraments, &c., received the same name, accompanied most often by distinctive epithets. *Christ Himself, the founder of sacraments, is called the Creator of Symbols,* (ὁ τῶν σύμβολων δημιουργός,) a term derived from the Greek philos-

[1] Montfaucon, Gaume's Ed. tom. VII. pp. 167, 895.
[2] *Catechetical Lect.* XXII. 3.
[3] *De. Civ. Dei*, Lib. X. c. 5.
[4] *Ser.* ccxii. tom. V. p. 1058. Migne's Ed.
[5] *Thesaurus*, art. συμβολον.

ophers; the exchange of these terms being reciprocal.[1] This learned editor of Creuzer goes on to say that there is a great diversity of opinion as to origin of the name of symbols as applied to the creeds and the sacraments of Christianity. But their origin, without doubt, must be traced to paganism. For just as the most enlightened of the pagans, failing to find in the public worship of their religion enough to satisfy the wants of their souls, formed themselves into secret associations where a purer doctrine was taught, whose dogmas were confided to signs and formulas unknown to the common people, so it was with the religion of the Christians, who repudiated paganism altogether, and so recognized the importance of separating themselves entirely from all that was foreign to their religion, by making the sacraments and their confessions of faith reduced to formulas, &c., the distinctive characteristics of their proficients. Again, other learned men claim that the term symbol passed from the ancient mysteries into the new liturgy of Christianity, under a higher acceptation, to express certain acts and words of a profound meaning and pithy conciseness, by which the initiated could recognize one another. For my part, I am inclined to think that all the symbols of Christianity were ordained primarily to teach pure doctrine, and that they were necessarily used to distinguish Christianity from paganism, and as signs and watchwords to discriminate between friend and foe, true and false, hypocrites and genuine Christians.

Vossius, in his treatise on the Three Creeds, cites Rufinus and Isidore as to the creeds being signs or tokens of distinction between true and false Christians; because in the Apostles' day there were many of the circumcised Jews who feigned themselves to be Christ's Apostles for the sake of gain and their own belly, as St. Paul says, and as is referred to in the Acts of the Apostles, naming Christ, indeed, but not teaching the tradition truly. On this account, therefore, the Apostles established such a sign or token as would enable Christians to distinguish those who taught Christ according to the Apostolic rule from others. And this sign was the creed—the faith of the Church, which Paul and Barnabas went round to establish.[2] (Acts xv.; Rom. xvi. 18; 2 Cor. xi. 13; Gal. ii. &c.) That the creed was the standard of Christian truth, and an Apostolic tradition, not committed to writing, but learned by heart by the *Catechumens*, and a watchword to distinguish friend from foe, true from false Christians, is abundantly evident from the testimony of all antiquity, partially cited by Vossius, Durantus, and others.[3]

[1] Creuzer's *Religions*, &c., tom. I. 2d part, note 2, p. 533, with the references to Suicer, Chrysostom, &c.

[2] G. J. Vossii, *Dissertationes Tres.*, p. 14. Amst. 1642.

[3] Duranti *De Ritibus*, &c., lib. II. c. 24. Rome, 1591. Durandi *Rationale Div. Off.*, lib. IV. c. 25. Naples, 1859.

The creeds and the sacraments of Christianity are so variously and fully illustrated in the Catacombs at Rome, both by painting and sculpture, as well as in the mosaics of the earliest churches; indeed, the whole Bible is so well interpreted by early Christian art and symbolism, that it has long been a wonder to me that so few English writers have undertaken the work of placing them before the Christian public in England and America. If this attempt to set forth the faith as held by primitive saints and martyrs shall, in the least degree, tend to establish and verify its precious truth as of Divine orgin, the labor and weariness of long years and journeyings will be abundantly repaid.

FIG. 18.—The Good Shepherd; and the Four Seasons represented by the various kinds of plants and vines. Fresco in the Cemetery of Pretextatus. Second century. De Rossi's *Bullettino*, 1863.

# CHAPTER II.

## STRUCTURE OF THE CATACOMBS.

*The Structure of the Roman Catacombs, and their Monuments as evidences of the Truth of Christianity.—Authorities: Bosio, Boldetti, Agincourt, and De Rossi. —What the Catacombs reveal of the Primitive Faith and Practice of Christians.— An independent Record of Truth.*

AS Rome was the centre of the world's civilization at the rise of Christianity, so through Apostolic labor and self-sacrifice it became in due time the centre of Christianity itself, at least for all the West. The monuments of the Catacombs there, and of those at Naples, and in the south of France, consisting of paintings and sculptured sarcophagi, and funeral tablets, contain a record of early Christian belief and practice, quite independent of the Scripture records, yet in strict agreement with them. I am inclined to think that the earliest and best of these paintings and sarcophagi were made before the Canon of the New Testament writings was formed, as we now have it. For the Rev. F. B. Westcott says, "It is impossible to point to any period as marking the date at which our present Canon was determined. When it first appears, it is presented not as a novelty, but as an ancient tradition. Its limits were fixed in the earliest times by use rather than by criticism; and this use itself was based on immediate knowledge."[1] The *consensus* of the churches, not the private opinion or judgment of individuals, was the court of appeal as to the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament writings, then as now. The tradition was the keeping and guardianship of the oral teaching of Christ and His Apostles until that teaching was committed to writing, just as the Apostles' Creed was; and I am greatly mistaken, if this Creed was not the test and the touchstone of all Canonical Scripture as distinguished from apocryphal gospels, and other spurious writings. Be this as it may, the ancient and original

[1] *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, p. 537. London, 1855.

tradition of Christian verity must have been that which the first Christian artists followed, under the authority of the Church, in their symbolism of the Catacombs. For Christ Himself wrote no book of the Gospel: He simply taught it orally, and His Apostles and Evangelists recorded that teaching, together with the events of His life. And so it was a doctrine and a life which were confided to the symbols of early Christian art, just as they were confided to books. And one is just as good evidence of Christian truth as the other. There were no printing presses in those days to multiply books as now; and an original manuscript of any portion of the New Testament was the precious legacy of some particular church, copies of which would be in the hands of the clergy alone. And so the people at large must depend for instruction on oral teaching and the symbols of Christian art. Why the appeal to these symbols has not been more extensively made for the truth of Scripture, in modern systems of evidence, I do not know. Can it be that the Roman archæologists are not trustworthy in their representations? No; for they give us facts and things directly at variance with more modern Roman notions, doctrines, and practices. Have these monuments all been tampered with, retouched and altered? When? and by whom? Again, no; for the reason that none of the earlier of them teaches any other than the old doctrines and sacraments of Scripture, and of the primitive fathers of the church. Even Mr. J. H. Parker, with his calcium lights and photographs, and the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt, with his doubts as to the genuineness of a certain famous Callixtine fresco, can not shake my faith in De Rossi and his magnificent books, especially as I am in company with Dean Milman, and Dr. Burgon, and C. Hemans, who believe in him and his labors most implicitly, and who, like myself, studied the monuments on the spot, but who do not accept all De Rossi's inferences and conclusions. Facts are one thing, and opinions about them another; and we may certainly accept the facts which the Roman archæologists give us, without committing ourselves to their opinions about them. Maitland, Milman, Hemans, Burgon, Bishop Kip, and Withrow have given us, in part, the Protestant view of the Catacombs and their monuments; while Rock, Wiseman, Northcote, and Melia, have given the Romish view. And all these writers in English —there are others in French and Italian—are more or less controversial, or touch upon those points of doctrine and practice only as are in dispute between Protestantism and Romanism. My effort will be to appeal to these monuments solely in the interest of all Christian truth as embodied in the creeds against infidelity, atheism, scepticism, and error, avoiding controversy as much as possible. I wish to ascertain what the early Christians at Rome, nearest the times of Christ and His apostles, believed; how they lived and worshipped; what were their faith, hope, and charity. And I think that we shall be able to discover a simple and very positive

faith and worship; and above all, a pure social and private life in strange contrast with the prevalent social and private life of paganism. And to preserve this pure faith and life, we shall also find a compact and well-ordered church system, just as fresh from Apostolic hands as the faith itself, and the life of Christian hope and charity practiced among its members.

These Catacombs, to the number of forty and two, running in all directions under the Roman Campagna along the Appian Way, chiefly, whose aggregate of miles is from 350 to 800 or 900, are just as much the witnesses of the faith and practice of early Christianity, as the monuments of Egypt, Etruria, and Babylonia, are of pagan beliefs and modes of life and worship. When Volney says, "I will inquire of the monuments of antiquity what was the wisdom of former ages; in the very bosom of the sepulchres, I will invoke the Spirit that formerly in Asia gave splendor to states and glory to their people," he is giving to the Christian archæologist a two-edged sword with which to smite his opposition to Christ and His church and all other like hostility; for he says again, "There are absolutely no other monuments of the existence of Jesus Christ as a human being, than a passage in Josephus, (*Ant. Jud.* Book 18, c. 3,) a single phrase, in Tacitus, (*Annals*, Book 15, c. 44,) and the Gospels."[1] We shall make our appeal to numerors monuments of Christianity and see. We shall invoke from the sepulchres "the Spirit that has given splendor to modern states, and glory to their people." We shall see that modern art, and civilization, and jurisprudence were all shaped and adorned by the patient and pure spirit that excavated and painted the Christian Catacombs at Rome. In fact, we shall see an entirely new kind of civilization springing up in the very centre of debauched and worn-out paganism, and challenging our admiration because of its purity and heroism. And we shall obtain abundant evidence of the truth of Christianity and the life of Christ, in all the most minute details.

Prof. George Rawlinson states the argument fairly when he says of the early documents of Christianity, "Till recently these have been generally regarded as presenting the whole existing proof of the faith and practice of the early Church; and sceptics have therefore been eager to throw every possible doubt upon them, and to maintain that forgery and interpolation have so vitiated this source of knowledge as to render it altogether untrustworthy. The efforts made, weak and contemptible as they are felt to be by scholars and critics, have nevertheless had a certain influence over the general tone of thought on the subject, and have caused many to regard the infancy of Christianity as a dim and shadowy cloud-land, in which nothing is to be seen, except a few figures of bishops and martyrs moving

[1] *Ruins*, pp. 14 and 122–3, note. London, 1827.

uncertainly amid the general darkness. Under these circumstances, it is well that attention be called—as it has been called recently by several publications of greater or less research—to the *monumental remains* of early Christian times, still extant, and which take us back in the most lively way to the first ages of the Church, exhibiting before our eyes those primitive communities which Apostles founded, over which Apostolic men presided, and in which confessors and martyrs were almost as numerous as ordinary Christians. As when we tread the streets of Pompeii we have the life of the old pagan world brought before us with a vividness which makes all other representations appear dull and tame, so when we descend into the Catacombs at Rome we seem to *see* the struggling, persecuted community, which there 'in dens and caves of the earth,' (Heb. xi. 38,) wrought itself a hidden home, whence it went forth at last conquering and to conquer, triumphantly establishing itself on the ruins of the old religion, and bending its heathen persecutors to the yoke of Christ. Time was when the guiding spirits of our Church not only neglected the study of these precious remnants of an antiquity which ought to be dearer to us than that of Greece or pagan Rome, of Egypt, Assyria, or Babylon, but even ventured to speak of them with contempt, as the recent creations of Papal forgers, who had placed among the *arenariæ* or sandpits of heathen times, the pretended memorials of saints who were never born, and of martyrs who never suffered. But, with increased learning and improved candor, modern Anglicanism has renounced this shallow and untenable theory; and it is at length admitted universally, alike by the Protestant and Romanist, that the Catacombs themselves, their present contents, and the series of inscriptions which have been taken from them, and placed in the Papal galleries, are genuine remains of Christian antiquity, and exhibit to us—imperfectly, no doubt, but so far as their evidence extends, truly—the condition and belief of the Church of Christ in the first ages." [1]

It was no less a personage than Bishop Burnet, perhaps not the wisest man in the world, who is referred to by Prof. Rawlinson as speaking so disparagingly of the Roman and Neapolitan Catacombs, when as yet they had been only explored by the indefatigable Bosio, whose magnificent work on the Roman Catacombs, still the first and best authority, was published in 1632. Bishop Burnet travelled in Italy in 1685, and wrote some letters to a friend (T. H. R. B.) which were published at Rotterdam in 1686. His opinions of the Roman Catacombs are all that now concern us, as specimens of a Protestant zeal greater than his discretion, and as mere curiosities in the light of modern research and knowledge of the subject; and they are to this effect, viz.: (1.) That the Catacombs can not be supposed to have

[1] Bampton Lectures, 2d Ed. VIII. pp. 221–3. London, 1860.

been the work of the primitive Christians, and nothing seems more evident than that they were the common burying-places of the ancient heathens. (2.) His reasons for so thinking are that the Catacombs, at least the only two that he visited, viz., St. Sebastian and St. Agnes, were outside of the city, according to the laws of the Twelve Tables, which forbade all interments within the walls, just as if Christians could not obey these laws as well as pagans; "that in those days when they had not the use of the needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works when they were so far engaged underground as to lose themselves,"—just as if pagans would not need the compass as much as Christians; "that the mountains of rubbish thrown out would betray the Christians to their enemies,"—when indeed very little was thrown out, but placed in the empty sand-pits close by, or in galleries already occupied with dead bodies; "that the stench arising from the putrefaction of the bodies would make assemblies there for worship impossible,"—when all graves were hermetically sealed, and the bodies embalmed, and the luminaries gave sufficient light and ventilation, at least in the *cubicula*, or chapels; "and that the number of Christians at Rome was insufficient for such a gigantic work,"—when the fact is that the Catacombs were the work of three or four centuries on the part of those swarms of Christians of whom Tertullian speaks, and who took possession of the Roman empire under Constantine. The Bishop says, "I am as little subject to vapors as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, *which was not near an hour*, a confusion and as it were a boiling in my head, that disordered me extremely;" and this "inexhaustible magazine of bones, which by all appearance are no other than the bones of the pagan Romans, supplies the Papacy with relics which are now sent over the world to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive."[1] Half an hour for a knowledge of the Catacombs! Perhaps it was the Papacy itself that made his head boil.

But Bishop Burnet was not alone in his low estimate of the Catacombs. Maximilian Mission, a gentleman of great reading and general knowledge, who, with the Duke of Ormond's grandson, and other noblemen, travelled in Europe in the years 1687–8, thus gives his opinion of the Roman Catacombs: "I am apt to believe there is no place in the world that can compare with Rome for subterraneous passages; and though the earth has stopped up the entrances of some, yet there is still left a prodigious number of caves, generally known by the name of Catacombs among modern authors, though they can not well support the etymologies they produce. These Catacombs are not single vaults, but rather whole subterraneous cities, with turnings and windings like streets, as, for instance, those of St

[1] *Letters*, pp. 201–213.

Agnes or St. Sebastian. They are dug out from among the rocks, each passage being commonly betwixt fifteen and eighteen feet wide, and twelve or fifteen feet high. The graves are hollow niches one above another in rows, where the dead are deposited without coffins. We saw one of these niches opened, where we found a skeleton mouldered away to whitish ashes. The Roman Catholics have taken great pains to persuade the world that these subterraneous vaults were dug by the Christians in primitive times to bury their dead in, with the exclusion of all Pagans; that they used to perform their religious worship in them during the times of persecution; and that consequently they contain an inexhaustible store of relics of saints and martyrs interred in them."[1] Mission does not believe this, and goes on to argue its impossibility from such considerations as these, viz., Horace's couplet as to the *Puteculi*, or public burying-places of the poor, which exactly applies to the Catacombs; heathen inscriptions found in them which the Christians would not use; the glass vessels and vases are pagan; and the difficulty of digging such vast passages without discovery, and the impossibility of disposing of the materials dug. When Christian symbols and inscriptions are found, they are only used to distinguish Christian graves from heathen ones, as both used them in common; and the paintings and altars were the invention of the popes to encourage pilgrimages, and increase their power and influence!

With such opinions as these put forth by men of such knowledge and influence, who had spent half an hour each in two of the most frequented Catacombs, it is no wonder that Protestant England paid no attention to the matter of evidence which these Catacombs furnish in favour of Christianity itself; and no Protestant of any eminence has done so until very recent times, except the Danish bishop, Frederick Münter, in his "*Sinnbilder*," published at Altona, A. D. 1825. Even F. Spanheim, in his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, when writing of the affairs of the second century, and admitting how glorious martyrdom was then considered; how the sepulchres of the martyrs were held in the highest respect and reverence; how their bodies were sedulously obtained from their murderers and religiously buried, commonly in places where the Christians might safely assemble; or any part of these bodies which survived the fury of the beasts or of the flames, was carefully gathered up and deposited in the earth; can yet say this: "But the account of the Roman writers, that there were caves, Catacombs, and crypts full of their remains, and that they were dug up in the following century, and preserved by the pious zeal of the faithful, is too extravagant for belief."[2] And Bingham, too, is inclined to believe with Bishop Burnet, that the Catacombs at Rome and Naples were the joint work

[1] *Harris' Voyages*, II. pp. 573–4. [2] *Wright's Trans.* p. 192. London, 1840.

of Christians and pagans.[1] Mosheim makes no appeal to them either in his *History* or *Commentaries;* and the latest church historian, Robertson, has no reference to them. Charles Maitland, a layman and physician, seems to have been among the first of Englishmen to call special attention to the subject in his *Church of the Catacombs;* and Cardinal Wiseman, in his romance entitled *Fabiola*, also Northcote's two works on the Catacombs, and Lord Lindsay also, in his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, published in 1847, has some interesting matter as to the symbols and subjects of the Catacombs; and since then, we have Charles Hemans' work on *Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy;* Burgon's *Letters from Rome;* Bishop Kip's little work on the Catacombs; and more recently, St. John Tyrwhitt's two works, entitled *Christian Art and Symbolism*, and *The Art Teaching of the Primitive Church.* Later still is *The Catacombs of Rome*, by the Rev. W. H. Withrow. Dean Milman has also referred to the Catacombs in his publications, and has studied their remaining monuments with De Rossi, and Mr. Lecky in both his works appeals to them in favour of a pure Christianity.

Since the publication of Father Marchi's unfinished work, and the magnificent volumes of the two De Rossi brothers, together with Peret's; and since the long labours and immense researches of Boldetti, Agincourt, and others, the Christian archæology of the Catacombs has assumed its proper importance as a science, no longer to be ignored or treated with indifference in the contest of Christianity with atheism and infidelity, heresy and schism. Dean Milman remarks that "one result is triumphantly obtained from these inquiries: that the Catacombs, properly so called, are originally and exclusively—except the Jewish—Christian. Unhappily, on the first discovery of the Catacombs, certain Protestant writers—one of considerable name—took it into their heads to raise the most idle controversy which ever wasted Christian ink, or tried, we will hardly say Christian, temper. This narrow Protestant jealousy betrayed not only a strange perversity, but a most lamentable misconception of the true grounds of the reformed religion, and a surprising ignorance of Christian history."[2] And Charles Maitland affirms that the Catacombs form "A vast necropolis, rich in the bones of saints and martyrs; a stupendous testimony to the truth of Christian history, and, consequently, to that of Christianity itself; a faithful record of the trials of a persecuted Church."[3] And this more full testimony is appended to his other work, entitled, *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation*, in a book notice of the Church of the Catacombs: "Around Rome the soil of the Campagna is pierced in every direction by winding galleries

[1] *Antiquities*, pp. 1232–3. Bohn's ed. London, 1856.

[2] *Essays* reprinted from the "Quarterly Review," pp. 470-500. London, 1870.

[3] Id. p. 2, 2nd Ed. London, 1847.

of almost endless extent. Here, in those various persecutions of heathen Rome which preceded the establishment of Christianity, the primitive Church found shelter, held its services, buried its dead, and was miraculously preserved in its purity and strength. When, with the revival of learning in the sixteenth century, these galleries were opened and explored, one of the most affecting spectacles ever witnessed was presented to the world. The Christian faith, which then overspread the earth in the fullness of its power, was beheld in these subterranean works in its infancy. Here were the inscriptions which told of the faith and practice of the early Church; here the tombs of the martyrs who had attested their belief with their blood; here pictured representations of the rites they celebrated; here the caves in which the humble and the great, the poorest labourers and the proudest nobles, lived together to escape the ruthless massacre that raged without, surrounded by the rude sepulchres of their brethren who 'slept in peace.' Here was a gigantic monument to the truth of Christianity, no less affecting to the heart than convincing to the mind; proving with what rapidity the doctrines of Christianity had spread; the persecutions and sufferings to which its professors had cheerfully submitted by reason of the hope that was in them; and the identity of the primitive Church, in all its belief and practice, with the Scripture Record."—(*Britannia.*)

When we call to mind the fact that Bosio, who first explored the Catacombs, spent thirty-three years in the research, from the 10th of December, A. D. 1593, until his death, without living to see his great work published; that Boldetti spent thirty years more in collecting materials for his *Osservazioni*, &c., and that Agincourt spent the greater part of fifty years in the Catacombs, and left his unfinished work to be published by his friends, and put all this immense labour and research over against the occasional brief visit or winter's sojourn of modern tourists at Rome, we can readily see that the whole weight of authority is with those who have made the subject a life-long study. De Rossi is to be classed with these other great archæologists; and all other writers on the Catacombs defer to them, whether they be English, French, or German. These three or four works by Bosio, Boldetti, Agincourt, and De Rossi, together with Aringhi's Latin translation and enlargement of Bosio, are about all that are really needed for a full account of the monuments of the Catacombs.

And what do they tell us? Simply these two things, viz.: first, that all the Catacombs at Rome have the one design and purpose of *burial*, not cremation, which the Christians abhorred as Pagan; and, second, that with one single exception, all are Christian, as the paintings, symbols, carvings, and inscriptions testify. Sandpits and old quarries they are not, as any good map or plan of them will show. Constructed along the elevated and dry grounds of the Appian, Latin, Salarian,

Nomentanian, Ardeatinian, Tiburtine, and Ostian ways; not in the hard rock from which building-stone was obtained, *i. e.*, the *tufa litoide*, which would have been at an immense cost; not in the soft beds of friable rock used for cement, *i. e.*, the *tufa friable*, or *pozzolana*, which was altogether too loose for arching or any lasting work; but exactly in that third and only kind of rock, intermediate between the other two in hardness, neither fit for cement, or for building-stone, but easily dug and durable, the tough volcanic mud, hardened into consistency by long ages, known as the *tufa granulare*, do we find the most of the cemeteries. With the exception of three of the Christian cemeteries which are excavated in soil composed of gravel and marine shells, we find all the rest dug in this very *tufa granulare*, fit for nothing else than burial. The sandpits are nothing else than sandpits, with broad, low, irregular passage-ways for carts; whereas the passage-ways of the cemeteries are high, narrow, and regular, and always end at the hard rock in which none of them exist. It is there that quarry-pits are found from which old Rome was built, the Coliseum, &c. When a gallery was full of graves, it was often filled with material dug from a new one, or the sandpits were filled with it, when near enough. A special order of minor clergy and servants of the Church called *Fossores*, dug these galleries and graves, and attended to the burial of the dead.

And besides all this, when we find all the subject-matter of painting, sculpture, symbol, and inscription in these cemeteries, Christian and only Christian, set indeed in a framework of Pagan art, or adaptation of Pagan ideas that were pure, and good, and suggestive, then we must conclude that none but Christians constructed them. It is nothing else than the Christian faith that is here written as with an iron pen in the rock forever, just as the great Moral Law of Sinai was written on two tables of stone for everlasting perpetuity. The books of Scripture might perish, or be destroyed or interpolated; but here nothing of the kind was possible. Here was the hole of the pit from which the Church of after ages was digged; and here is the origin of all modern Christian civilization.

More than this. There was a deep design in the very structure and adornment of these Catacombs, not merely as places of burial, but as suggestive of the peace and joy of Paradise itself. Lord Lindsay says: "Admitting all that has been said, and truly said, and rightly insisted upon, respecting the adoption of Pagan rites and ceremonies into Christianity, it is equally true that our ancestors touched nothing that they did not Christianize; they consecrated this visible world into a temple to God, of which the heavens were the dome, the mountains the altars, the forests the pillared aisles, the breath of spring the incense, and the running streams the music—while in every tree they sheltered under, in every flower they looked down upon and loved, they recognized a virtue or a spell, a token of Christ's love for

man, or a memorial of His martyrs' sufferings. God was emphatically in all their thoughts, and from such, whatever might be their errors, God could not be far distant."[1] Pagans must not be repelled from the newly-born Faith by anything repulsive, gloomy and forbidding. It must rather be suggested and commended to them by what was already familiar to them in symbol and myth, which did not conflict with unity of idea or purity and innocence. The Greek language would commend that Faith, for it was in part their vernacular, or the language of polite life and philosophy; why not Greek art and the innocent usages and symbols of the Pagan religion? And so we find, at any rate, as Lord Lindsay expresses it, that "tombs were the first altars, and mausoleums the first churches of Christendom. The mortal remains of ordinary people were deposited in niches scooped out of the walls of the long winding passages, the streets or thoroughfares of the subterranean city, and secured by flat slabs of marble, between the chinks of which the white skeletons may frequently to this day be seen glittering in undisturbed repose. But to the confessors and martyrs, the heroes and heroines of the faith—to bishops, and in general, to those of higher mark and renown—more distinguished resting-places were allotted. A space broader and more regular than the usual passages, and ending in a blank wall, was in such cases selected or excavated; recesses, surmounted by semi-circular *conchæ*, or shells, were hollowed out at the extremity and in the two sides of the square; within these recesses were placed sarcophagi, their sides covered with the symbols and devices of Christianity; the roof was scooped into the resemblance of a dome or cupola—this was usually painted, as well as the shells of the recesses, and the whole, thus completed, formed a chamber bearing some faint resemblance to the Greek cross, and well-suited, by its comparative space, for the congregation of the faithful and the services of religion, the sarcophagus at the upper end of the cell serving as a communion-table or altar."[1]

Here the Christian *Agapæ*, or love-feasts, so popular for several centuries, and so alluring to the poor, were celebrated; and though but a transformation of the Pagan funeral feasts in honor of the *manes* of departed kindred, yet they were the more glorious feasts and memorials of the communion of Saints—of Saints on earth with Saints in Paradise. Pictures of vines, and birds, and sheep, and genii; pictures of the seasons, and of Orpheus, and of the Good Shepherd as the young and blooming Apollo; pictures of Noah, and Abraham, and Jonah, and Elijah; pictures of Christ and of the *Orantes;* symbols of various kinds; the absence of all painful and distressing subjects; whatever was cheerful, and inspiring, and hopeful in Christianity; the very dome-like structure of the *cubicula*, or chambers, and the

[1] *Christian Art*, vol. I., *Symbols*, p. xxvii. [1] Id. pp 6 and 7.

circular shape of the *arcosolia*, or recesses, and all adorned with cheerful and pleasing paintings—surely there was deep design and wisdom in all this, to make these retreats and resting-places symbolical of the heavenly world as God's dwelling-place, and that of His blessed saints and martyrs. Indeed, it was the remarkable and characteristic feature of all early Christian Art and Symbolism, both in the paintings of the Catacombs, and the mosaics of the first Churches, that there should be nothing gloomy or distressing. The very cross is adorned with flowers, or surrounded by wreaths and palm-branches. The late Dean Milman, who gives due prominence to this subject in his *History of Christianity*, cites the following passage from a modern writer, who has studied the monuments of the Catacombs with profound attention, viz.: "The Catacombs destined for the sepulture of the primitive Christians, for a long time peopled with martyrs, ornamented during times of persecution, and under the dominion of melancholy thoughts and painful duties, nevertheless everywhere represent in all the historic parts of these paintings only what is noble and exalted, and in that which constitutes the purely decorative part, only pleasing and graceful subjects, the images of the Good Shepherd, representations of the vintage, of the *Agapæ*, with pastoral scenes; the symbols are fruits, flowers, palms, crowns, lambs, doves, peacocks, chickens, animals, ships; in a word, nothing but what excites emotions of joy, innocence, and charity. Entirely occupied with the celestial recompense which awaited them after the trials of their troubled life, and often of so dreadful a death, the Christians saw in death, and even in execution, only a way by which they arrived at this everlasting happiness; and, far from associating with this image that of the tortures or privations which opened heaven before them, they took pleasure in enlivening it with smiling colors, or presented it under agreeable symbols, adorning it with flowers and vine-leaves; for it is thus that the asylum of death appears to us in the Christian Catacombs. There is no sign of mourning, no token of resentment, no expression of vengeance; all breathes softness, benevolence, charity."[1] The early epitaphs are brief and simple, and all breathe a serene spirit of hope and resignation that permits no violent or passionate expression; the word *dolens* is the strongest utterance of sorrow, and even this is of rare occurrence.[2] Dr. Burgon cites an epitaph in which the word *infelix* occurs, and speaks of it as altogether unusual, or rather all but unknown on ancient Christian gravestones.[3]

There are no ghastly crucifixes; no dances of death; no fiery mouths of hell; no black devils spitting the damned for an eternal roast; no frightful judgment-

[1] *History of Christianity*, III. p. 402. N. Y. 1866. [2] C. Hemans' *Ancient Christianity*, &c., p. 46.
[3] *Letters from Rome*, pp. 199 and 211. London, 1862.

scenes like Orcagna's or Michael Angelo's to mock and burlesque the blessed faith in an all-merciful and good God, such as the gloomy asceticism of the Middle Ages produced according to Egyptian patterns, and Buddhist horrors, and Etruscan black devils; such Pagan scare-crows as these were not necessary to excite religious fear and fervor in the hearts of the primitive Christians; to them Christ and His works of mercy and love were all-sufficient. In the earliest monuments there is no scene of the Crucifixion. The nearest approach to it is Christ's trial before Pilate. After the peace of the Church was secured, and persecution had ceased, then occasional acts of heroic suffering in martyrdom were painted on the walls of chapels and churches, to remind the faithful at what cost of blood the faith was established; but nothing of the kind was done during the actual pressure of persecution, because its horrors were as much as could be borne, and something cheerful and invigorating was needed to sustain the Christian man or woman, who might be called at any moment to lay down life for the faith. Gregory, of Nyssa, describes the heroic acts of St. Theodorus as painted on the walls of a church dedicated to that saint; and Prudentius speaks of the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus as painted on the sacred tombs, or as dragged to death by wild horses over the rocky coast of Ostia. He says of the painting:

"Exemplar sceleris paries habet inlitus, in quo
Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.
Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris,
Effigians tracti membra cruenta viri."[1]

"The painted wall, with many a tint that glows,
Reveals the horror of the impious deed:
And o'er his tomb proclaims the martyr's throes,
An image of the mangled limbs that bleed."

But this picture has never been discovered, although the statue of St. Hippolytus has. Mr. Lecky makes this remark about early Christian art: "At first all Christian art was sepulchral art. The places that were decorated were the Catacombs; the Chapels were all surrounded by the dead; the altar upon which the sacred mysteries were celebrated, was the tomb of a martyr. According to mediæval, or even to modern ideas, we should have imagined that an art growing up under such circumstances would have assumed a singularly sombre and severe tone, and this expectation would be greatly heightened if we remembered the violence of the persecution. The very altar-tomb around which the Christian painter scattered his ornaments with most profusion was often associated with the memory

[1] PERISTEPHANON, H. XI. See also 2nd ed. of Ruinart's *Acta Prim. Mart.* pp. 168–70.

of sufferings of the most horrible and varied character, and at the same time with displays of heroic constancy that might well have invited the talents of the artist. Passions, too, were roused to the highest point, and it would seem but natural that the great and terrible scenes of Christian vengeance should be depicted. Yet nothing of this kind appears in the Catacombs. With two doubtful exceptions, one at least being of the very latest period of art, there are no representations of martyrdoms. M. Raoul-Rochette thinks there is but one, viz., that of the Virgin Salome, which is of a very late period of decadence.[1] Daniel unharmed amid the lions, the unaccomplished sacrifice of Isaac, the three children unscathed amid the flames, or St. Peter led to prison, are the only images that reveal the horrible persecution that was raging. There was no disposition to perpetuate forms of suffering, no ebullition of bitterness or complaint, no thirsting for vengeance. Neither the Crucifixion, nor any of the scenes of the Passion, was ever represented; nor was the day of judgment, nor were the sufferings of the lost. The wreaths of flowers in which paganism delighted, and even some of the most joyous images of the pagan mythology, were still retained, and were mingled with all the most beautiful emblems of Christian hopes, and with representations of many of the miracles of mercy. The next point which especially strikes us in the art of the Catacombs, is the great love of symbolism it evinced. There are, it is true, a few isolated pictures of Christ and of the Virgin, most of them of a late period; but by far the greater number of representations were obviously symbolical, and were designed exclusively as a means of instruction. Of these symbols many were taken without hesitation from paganism, as the Peacock, emblem of immortality, and the best representative of the fabled Phœnix; and Orpheus, symbolizing the attractive power of Christianity."[2]

It is hardly worth while to pause here in this investigation of the structure and adornment of the Catacombs, to ask the question, whence came the spirit and the motive of all this art? As far removed from the spirit of paganism as possible, no mere earthly teacher, whether Zoroaster, Confucius, Plato, or Pythagoras, could have taught such persecuted men a religion so powerful and self-restraining as that whose symbols and inscriptions beam with radiant joy amid the gloom of death, breathe of peace and resignation amid the most cruel wrongs and injustice, and are full of hope and charity amid a race of sensualists and suicides, a population of drunkards, sceptics, and gluttons. The men of pagan Rome, whose god was their belly, did not construct the Catacombs, but the Coliseum and Pantheon, or teach those who did make them, the religion which we find there recorded. Its author

[1] See *Bosio, Rom. Sott.*, p. 579. Rome, 1632. [2] *Rationalism in Europe*, I. pp. 211–14. N. Y. 1866.

and first teachers must have lived near the times of their construction; for we find Christ, Peter, and Paul among the most prominent objects of representation, and the acts of mercy and love which they performed, the only subjects displayed.

There is another point to be considered more fully as to the motive of so elaborately adorning these subterranean chapels. It is the assured belief in a blessed immortality in reserve for the faithful departed. It was not a mere hope and longing for it like that of Socrates and Plato; it was not the philosophical dream of its possibility, nor yet the Egyptian metempsychosis of 3,000 years, until the soul's return to the mortal body; it was not mere Buddhist nihilism, or utter absorption and loss of personal identity in a Pantheistic god; but it was personal immortality in both soul and body in the eternal and ever-blessed God-likeness of Christ Jesus, who brought life and immortality to light out of a previous doubt, uncertainty, and obscurity. Immortality in both soul and body had been demonstrated and exemplified by Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, or these Catacomb builders could never have had such clear conceptions of it, or such firm faith in it. As a deduction of pure reason from the observation of natural phenonema, it surely came very late into the world; and such deduction was possible long before. If all religion, as distinguished from mere theology and mythology, is but the growth and development of man's unaided efforts, as Max Müller and his school would have us think, then it is as uncertain a guide as philosophy; and we may yet be in the dark about the most momentous interests of life and death, God and eternity. But if religion is a revelation of God to the soul of man, made from time to time with greater or less fulness and clearness, then it can not mislead us, or deceive us. The religious faculty I take to be an appreciative and receptive one only, and not a creative and inventive one. It is faith, not imagination. It is charity, not logic. It is hope, not mysticism. But the greatest of these is charity.

Everywhere that men have built and adorned rocky tombs, whether in Egypt, Persia, Palestine, Syria, Etruria, Rome, or Naples, we find the same essential idea prevalent, viz., that of beauty and solidity. A little hole dug in the ground for an immortal being made in God's image, did not comport with ancient ideas of the reverence and honor due the departed. In pagan Egypt, it was always burial in the most costly manner, and in the most elaborate tomb possible to the means of surviving relatives. In Etruria and Rome, great men and some old Patrician families were buried: others burned. In Judea and among the Hebrews, it was always burial, as derived from Egypt, as the tombs of the Kings, Patriarchs, and Prophets, still testify at Hebron and Jerusalem. Dr. E. D. Clarke, the distinguished traveller, speaks of some Christian tombs at Jerusalem, thus: "In some

of these sepulchres were ancient paintings executed after the manner of those found on the walls of Herculaneum and Pompeii, except that the figures represented were those of Apostles, the Virgin, &c., with circular lines as symbols of glory round their heads. These paintings appeared upon the sides, and upon the roof of each sepulchral chamber, preserving a wonderful freshness of colour, although much injured by Arabs and Turks, whose endeavors to efface them were visibly displayed in many instances. The sepulchres themselves are, from these documents, evidently of Christian origin, and of more recent construction than the tombs we first noticed in our descent from the Southern gate of the city, where there exists no such ornament, and where the inscriptions, from their brevity and the immense size of the letters, seem to denote a higher antiquity. Yet, to what period can we ascribe them? . . . The only age to which with any probability they may be referred, is that long interval of prosperity and peace enjoyed by the Christians of Jerusalem after the dispersion of the Jews by Adrian; that is to say, from the establishment of the Gentile Church, and the ordination of Mark (not the evangelist), until the reign of Dioclesian. If this be true, the paintings may be considered as exhibiting specimens of the art belonging to the second century, the Syrian or Greek artists using such pigments and colours as are seen in the Egyptian tombs."[1]

The Roman Catacombs, some of them at least, were as early as these at Jerusalem, perhaps even earlier; and the style and colours are like those of the golden house of Nero, the tomb of the Nasoes, and the frescoes of Pompeii. Their antiquity, therefore, belongs to the same age. The beauty and solidity of rock-cut tombs, then, must have high motive, especially as prompted by Christian faith and charity. The Lord Himself was laid in a rock-cut tomb, and His followers would imitate that example for all those who departed this life in His faith and fear. And that place of sepulture must be as much like the paradise in which the suffering and dying Lord said He would meet the penitent thief, as possible, by means of painted dome, and birds, and vines, and flowers, and every other symbolical device that could suggest it. The bereaved soul of the Church would represent to itself by solid and enduring structures adorned and beautified by art, in sepulchral chambers excavated from the everlasting hills and far underground, the home eternal in the heavens, or the safe and blessed receptacle of departed spirits between death and the resurrection, called *Hades*. There no rage of persecution and no ill of life could touch or harm them more. There the expectant living as prisoners of hope could come in peace and safety to meet and hold communion with their

[1] *Travels*, &c., vol. IV. pp. 345–8, 4th Ed. London, 1817.

departed brethren, now in the Lord's safe-keeping, in the celebration of the *Agapæ* and the holy Eucharist; and therefore it was that these chapels, and their adornments and altar-tombs, were so made as to carry the mind and soul of the worshippers up and beyond all sublunary things, to the blessed estate and recompense of the good and just in a better world. The old pagan Egyptians and Etruscans expressed their imperfect faith in immortality and eternal life on the walls of their tombs; and the primitive Christians at Rome, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, did no more, and certainly no less, when they expressed the higher and clearer faith that was in them. If we may receive the testimony of pagan monuments, surely we may also receive that of these Christian ones. It is the deep and earnest longing of the soul of man everywhere and at all times, to know more of the Infinite and Eternal; it is his desire to be in some kind of communion with his departed friends and kindred; it is his faith more or less clear and distinct in his own immortality; it is his sense of sin and imperfection, his feeling of sorrow and remorse; it is his conviction of some final restoration of lost innocence and happiness; it is his hope of an eternal union with the great and good of all climes and ages in a better world; and above all, his trust in some God of infinite justice, mercy, and goodness, to give him all that his soul needs and longs for, that ever prompts him to build grand temples of religion and offer costly oblations, to construct elaborate tombs, and fill them with graceful, beautiful, and symbolical devices, on purpose to express and keep alive within him all this faith and conviction. Call it sham and delusion, call it myth and vain superstition,—still it is something very powerful and practical, expending its tremendous energies and varied talents for the Ideal and the Supernatural, and making for itself an artistic world of grace and beauty, as the symbol and counterpart of the world of spirits. Just as the Tower of Babel and the Egyptian Pyramids were symbols of Olympus, or the earthly and visible heavens, and as the Labyrinths under them were mystic representations of Hades, with their seven-fold enclosures corresponding with the seven planetary spheres,[1] so I conceive the mazy and intricate windings of the Catacombs to be symbolical of the blessed estate of departed spirits, and of the heaven of bliss in its perfect consummation which is to succeed it. The great essential difference between them, however, is not one of idea, but of worship as debased, sensual, and devilish, in the one case, and as pure, spiritual, and God-like, in the other. Places of refuge, indeed, were they, in a double sense, for the persecuted living and for the faithful departed,—labyrinths where none could find them or disturb them.

But besides all this symbolical representation, there is also abundant evidence

[1] *Nimrod*, pp. 64, 105–114. London, 1826. *Anacalypsis*, I. pp. 378–9. London, 1836.

in the Catacombs of a deep sympathy and affection which bound the early Christian community together in a far better social life than that which existed in the pagan world. Roman society, as it is depicted in the pages of Juvenal, Petronius, Martial, and others, was a festering mass of unnatural lust and rapacity, fast rotting to pieces. And Judaism was no longer a power in the world for good, by reason of its excessive pride, formalism, and pretentiousness. It had, indeed, abjured its old and familiar pagan idolatries ever since the Babylonian exile, only to become an eager aspirant after political power and worldly aggrandizement, and a grand earthly Messianic Kingdom that should rule over all, by means of religion. The one devil of idolatry cast out, only made room for a whole legion of fiercer and fouler spirits, such as faction, frivolity, scepticism, hypocrisy, formality, faithlessness, and unbridled license and corruption. That grand old patriarchal faith and Mosaic Theocracy, which had hitherto so bravely fought the good fight of pure theism and pure morals against polytheism and sensuality, even when the nation had time and again fallen almost as low in religion and morals as their pagan neighbours, had now grown so feeble and degenerate as to be incapable of much longer resistance to the complete domination of Rome. A Roman province Judea now had already become, but a semblance of nationality was left, which would soon be blotted out of the world's history forever.

If, then, the highest type of civilization at that time presented in the Roman world and in the Jewish people, was religion perverted on the one hand to political scheming, and intelligence on the other to swinish indulgences, while the masses of the people were wholly given up to ignorance and debasement, and not considered of any account, or as having any souls, none caring for them or showing them any consideration, how is it that in the Christian Catacombs we have evidence of a vastly different state of things? For here all ages, sexes, and conditions of life mingle their sacred dust in one common receptacle, just as they had met together during life to engage in common worship, and receive a common instruction, and partake of the common *Agapæ* and Eucharist. All were alike brethren, and it was the best and truest democracy the world has ever known. Here the great principle of election, and personal dignity, and fraternal equality, were cherished as of Divine and Apostolic origin and sanction. No distinctions of rich and poor, bond or free, appear, except as the graves of the martyrs are signalized. Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Readers, Exorcists, and Fossors, are mentioned as distinct orders and offices, because of their fidelity and constancy. In that early Christian society, there seems to have been a clear and distinct recognition of men as men, for their own sake, because they were all alike immortal beings, of priceless worth in God's sight, and all alike redeemed by the precious blood of His dear Son. Mere wealth,

station, birth, or any other social distinction, were as nothing in comparison with brethren who had been made kings and priests of God, and whose elder brother was the Lord of life and glory, and who thus became the heirs of a heavenly kingdom. St. Peter's vision on the house top at Joppa was here realized for the first time in the world's history. None of human kind was here considered common or unclean. And here began the re-organization of society on a new basis, viz., on that of a common origin, a common redemption, and a common destiny. Castes and distinctions of human invention were done away, and henceforth all were one in Christ. It is impossible to examine the inscriptions of the Lapidarian gallery, or to visit the Catacombs themselves, and witness the remaining evidences there of this common religious life, without being profoundly impressed with the difference between the Christian and the pagan estimate of man and his destiny. On one side of that long gallery may be seen the expressions of Christian peace and hope; and on the other, the pagan records of fear and despair. It was not the Christian society that built the Coliseum or painted the "*Loves of the gods*" at Pompeii. It was not the Christian society that oppressed the poor, and suffered them to die in neglect, and threw their dead bodies out to rot in the *puteculi*, or quarries; nor did they expose little children to the elements, and birds of prey. The special care and patrimony of the Primitive Church were orphans, widows, the poor and forsaken. The common fund and the *Agapæ* were the inviting heritage and comfort of all such, to aid them in life, and give them a decent burial after death.

Whatever may be thought or said of the prevalent pagan scandals and calumnies heaped on the early Christians—a subject for further consideration—it is certain that no such impure representations occur on the walls of the Catacombs as we find at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Gnostic absurdities and impurities have occasionally been found in one of the cemeteries which is supposed to have been used by some of that sect; but the rest are pure and clean. We here contemplate the fresh, joyous, and exuberant childhood of Christianity, where all is innocent, contented, and happy. From these tombs arose the new life of the world; and the angel of God sits there to tell the doubting and desponding that the Christ of God and of humanity has risen and gone forth on the blessed errand of redemption, and life eternal in the heavens. The Christian society at Rome must have been founded on the teachings of Christ and His Apostles to have existed there at all, in the midst of such universal corruption of manners as prevailed, and its principles must have had some other than a merely human origin. Even Gibbon, while striving to explain away the supernatural rise and progress of Christianity, must still admit that the ties of faith and charity which bound the Primitive Church together on a basis of independence and equality,

were no usual and ordinary ties;[1] and certainly they were not the ties which ever held Roman or any other pagan society together. For it was Christianity that invented the word Charity, and first put the thing which it signifies into practice. The love of perverted paganism was always *erotic*. The essence of paganism as it then existed, was sensuality; spirituality is the essence of Christianity.

The Church of the Catacombs has passed away into other developments, not always and everywhere the best; but her religion remains attested by varied and abundant monumental evidence.

[1] *Decline and Fall*, &c., II. pp. 191–201. London, 1854.

# CHAPTER III.

## NECESSITY AND ART-TEACHING OF THE CATACOMBS.

*The Catacombs and their Art-teaching necessary to the early Christians.—Origin of Persecution, and its main cause.—Roman Law and Imperial Edicts.—Hetæriæ, or Clubs.—Bacchanalia.—Calumny and Ridicule.—Alleged blasphemous Crucifix and Anubis.*

IT was not a matter of choice that early Christianity at Rome and elsewhere spent so much labour in the construction and adornment of the Catacombs. It was a necessity of the most imperative kind. This chapter will be devoted to its consideration.

It was the earnest, constant, and persevering contest for the Faith against Paganism and Judaism on the one hand, and heresy and Gnosticism on the other, that made all this vast work necessary. From time to time Christianity was persecuted, because it was not understood; and the effort was early made to corrupt it by admixtures of false philosophy and sensuality. Two evils, then, had to be guarded against; and in nothing is the wise and patient spirit of our fathers of the Faith more evinced than in the plan they adopted to avoid those evils. They would separate themselves from Paganism; and they would record the Faith in painting, sculpture, and funeral tablet, in such a way that all competent Christians could read it, and no pagan spies or false brethren could betray it. Martyrdom itself is not more explicit in its testimony of the zeal and earnestness of many of these Christians for the Faith, than is that pains-taking artistic labour, which in times of persecution strove to express and record it on these monuments. For the Christian artist must work at a great disadvantage, far underground, by the dim light of tapers and torches, not for mere fame or wealth, but simply and only to express the Faith of the community to which he belonged; and if his work is not always so fine and artistic as that of some of his cotemporaries, say, for instance,

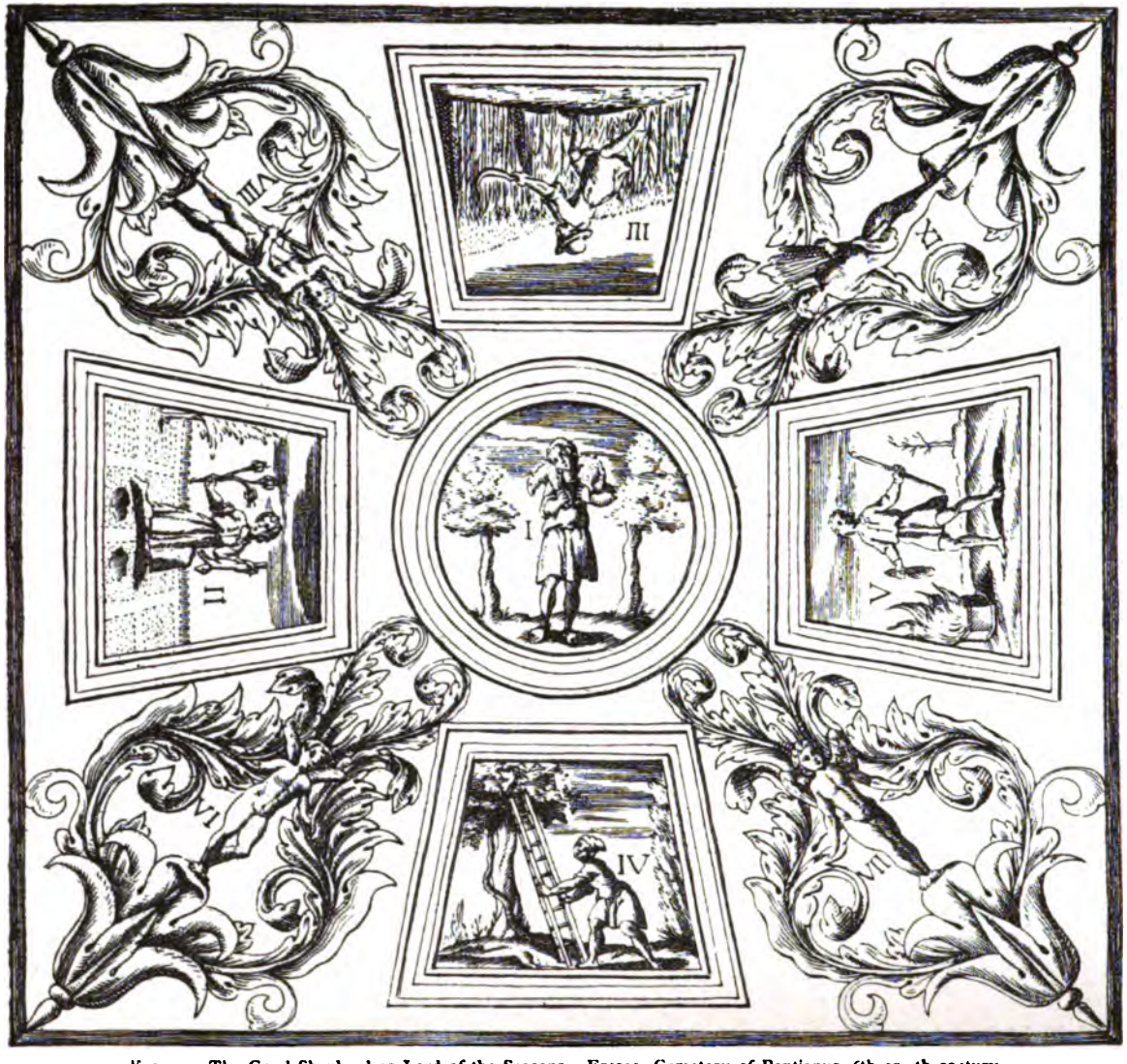



FIG. 20.—The Good Shepherd as Lord of the Seasons. Fresco, Cemetery of Pontianus, 6th or 7th century.

that of the small tomb of the Nasoes, not so far underground, it is surprising that he could do it so well. His art was a labour of love and of deep conviction. It grew out of a full heart, putting its hopes and its longings, its prayers and its praises, its faith and charity, into beautiful forms of painting and sculpture. Fundamental truth was the aim of it all, as Christ and His Apostles taught it; for it was a life and death grapple for the very existence of Christianity. In the light of these monuments, we read confirmations of the teaching of the Christian writers of the first four centuries; and the Pagan writers, from Pliny to Julian the Apostate, show us the necessity of their existence, and the nature of the contest.

Christianity was scoffed at and derided as a baleful superstition, and as the enemy of mankind—as dangerous to the peace of the Empire, and subversive of its state religion.[1] Paganism did not or would not understand Christianity; Judaism did not or would not believe it. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho reveals the Jewish unbelief, and his Two Apologies made to Roman authorities in favour of Christianity, show the nature of the Pagan misunderstanding and opposition. Christians could not mingle with their heathen neighbours in the temples of idols, or the orgies and revels; they could not go to witness the cruelties and barbarities of the amphitheatre, or the indecent spectacles of rope-dancers and mimics; they dare not offer incense to the image of the Emperor as to a god, without compromising their faith, and endangering their virtue, and abandoning their Lord. And therefore, they were a community by themselves, accounted strange and unfriendly, suspected and traduced. Separation from the world as it then was, had a meaning and a necessity. The laws of Pagan Rome were opposed to all secret and separate assemblies of any and every kind; and hence there seemed to be no choice left for the Christians, but either to abandon their religious assemblies altogether, or else to hold them in such places as might to them not seem to be an infraction of the letter of the law. In the very fore-front of the objections made against Christianity by Celsus, and answered by Origen, is this one of illegal assemblies. Celsus says, "Of assemblies or associations some are public, and these are in accordance with the laws; but others are secret, and maintained in violation of the laws; and such are the *Agapæ*, or love-feasts of the Christians."[2] And in the *Octavius* of Minutius Felix, Cæcilius says: "Must I not show my resentment against a lamentable crew of people prohibited by law, and desperately careless of what becomes of them in this world? Must I suffer such fellows to wage open war, and to march on without control against the gods I worship? A society of men, or

[1] Suetonius calls it *superstitio nova et malefica*. Nero, c. XVI. *Tacitus, superstitio externa;* and again, *ex tabilis superstitio, Ann.* l. 13, c. 32, and l. 15, c. 44. Pliny, *superstitio prava et immodica.* l. X. Ep. 97

[2] *Origen against Celsus*, b. I. c. 1.

rather a conspiracy of profane wretches drawn from the dregs of the populace: a collection of fools only, and credulous women, who by the weakness of their sex are liable to delusion; a rabble that by nocturnal assemblies, and solemn fasts, and inhuman feasts, and not by any religious rites are confederated, unless it be by a sacrifice that stands itself in need of an atonement. A set of owls skulking about in holes, and afraid of the light—spitting at our gods—deriding our worship,—depising the purple of the magistrates, when they have hardly a tatter to their tails."[1] It was, therefore, some supposed violation of the law, as well as the humble character of the first Christians and the simplicity of their worship, without idols, pomp, and parade, and their unsocial disposition, that became a pretext for proceedings against them, and that made them so despicable in the eyes of the Pagans.

It is the received opinion that the early Christians were persecuted by the Roman authorities out of mere hatred to their Religion, and that the secret assemblies were held to avoid persecution as much as possible. This opinion demands a rigid scrutiny. Political justice was one of the few Roman virtues still lingering at the rise of Christianity. It was the well-known policy of the Imperial Government to interfere as little as possible with the religious and social customs of conquered nations and peoples. Toleration was extended to other forms of religion that had no scruple to burn a little incense to the image of the Emperor as a simple test of loyalty or submission. The worship of Isis and Serapis was certainly tolerated, for their temples are yet seen at Pompeii and Pozzuoli. Had not the Jews of Palestine been in a chronic state of faction and rebellion, their Holy City and Temple would never have been destroyed. It was not the Jewish religion that excited the enmity of the Romans, but the plots and conspiracies of the Jews to throw off the Roman authorities, and gain their independence.

Now it is just possible that the Roman authorities and people did not much discriminate between Jews and Christians at first, especially as neither of them worshipped idols, or sacrificed to the image of the Emperor, and also were each a separate people, maintaining secret assemblies from sheer necessity. Whatever modern critics and historians may say of Tertullian's statement that the Emperor Tiberius desired to have Jesus Christ admitted among the gods of the Roman empire, but was refused by the Senate,[2] certain it is that Tertullian charges the Romans to

[1] C. VIII. and Reeve's *Apologies*, II. pp. 61–3. The notes of Gronovius' Ed. of the *Octavius* very valuable. Lug. Bat. 1709.

[2] *Apology* V. "Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annuntiatum sibi ex Syria, Palestina, quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat detulit ad senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit; Cæsar in sententia mansit," &c.

consult their archives, where no doubt the record might be found of Pilate's official dispatch concerning Christ and His crucifixion, to which even Tacitus seems so pointedly to refer in that passage so often cited, but which will here bear repetition: "Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum, supplicio affectus erat." "Christ, the author of the Christian name, was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea, in the reign of Tiberius." (*Ann.* Book XV. c. 44.) Then, too, there is the story of Alexander Severus, that he had a statue or portrait of Christ among his household gods, told by Ælius Lampridius, with the additional statement that he wished to erect a temple in honour of Christ, and that the Emperor Hadrian had the same intention, directing buildings to be raised in every city, without images in them; but was prevented from executing his design by the oracles and the priests, who said that if this should be done, all would become Christians, and the heathen temples would be deserted.[1] When St. Paul was at Rome, the toleration shown him was ample and generous; perhaps, as Merivale suggests, from the intimacy existing between him and the prefect Burrhus, or the minister Seneca, the writings of the apostle and of the philosopher at least presenting some striking points of apparent sympathy.[2] This toleration of Christians at Rome continued until the time of Nero, who first persecuted them, and that, too, a year after St. Paul had been set at liberty.

This first persecution of Christianity by Nero is not easily accounted for. Various conjectures have been advanced, such as the proselyting disposition of the new sect—their exclusiveness in not attending the Pagan festivals and games—confounding Christians with seditious Jews—the conduct of the Christians during the great fire which reduced Rome to ashes, so offensive to the Romans because of its joyous demonstrations in prospect of Christ's second coming, at what they supposed to be the end of the world—the suspicions of the Roman mob that the Jews had set fire to the city, and who when officially examined implicated the Christians, whom they detested as renegades from the faith of their fathers—and finally, that Poppea, Nero's beautiful and accomplished Jewish mistress, and a Jewish actor named Aliturus, a favorite with Nero, used their influence to save their own people from suspicion, and fasten the guilt upon the hated Galileans.[3] Dean Milman inclines to the theory of the Christian rejoicing as an aggravation of the calamity to the Roman populace of such a kind as would naturally lead to suspicion;[4] but the question still remains to be answered as to the

[1] See Didron's *Icon. Chret.* pp. 249–50, and Reeve's *Apologies*, I. p. 129, note.

[2] *Hist. of the Romans*, VI. p. 213. N. Y. 1865.

[3] See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c., II. p. 236. London, 1854.

[4] *Hist. of Christianity*, I. p. 468. N. Y. 1866.

cause, occasion, or reason of subsequent persecutions. Even though Nero might seek to exculpate himself by fastening the guilt of burning Rome on the innocent Christians, yet how shall we account for persecutions by better men than Nero?

The magistrates could not act upon mere popular dislikes and suspicions; there must be some proved infraction of existing laws, or some disturbance of the public peace, or some strong ground for suspecting conspiracies against the government, or some refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Emperor, before any legal process could be executed, and the Christians punished. Two distinguished writers on Civil Law, in modern times, have advanced the more plausible theory that the general cause of the Roman persecutions of Christianity was the infraction of the law against secret assemblies. One of these is Dr. John Taylor, who says: "It may be asked, in that almost universal license or toleration which the ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all religions whatsoever (provided the public peace was not interrupted or endangered by the indulgence) why the Christian profession alone, which might have expected a fairer treatment, seems to stand excluded, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution?"

"My reader will grant the fact; and I come now to account for it. It is not true that the primitive Christians held their assemblies in the night time, to avoid the interruptions of the civil power; but the converse of that proposition is true in the utmost latitude, viz., that they met with molestation from that quarter, *because their assemblies were nocturnal.* From some passages of Scripture not well understood, (I. Thes. v. 2; II. Peter, iii. 10,) they were ready to believe that the second advent, which they so ardently expected, would happen in the night season; and their perpetual *vigils* at the tombs of Saints and Martyrs are to be met with in all writers of ecclesiastical antiquity. It is upon this principle that they have been called *Latebrosa et lucifuga natio*, in the *Octavius* of Minut. Felix. (c. viii.) A jealous government, therefore, and a stranger to the true principles of that profession, was naturally open to such impressions; and could not but exert that caution and attention, which the practice of their country so warmly recommended."

"These suspicions were considerably inflamed by what passed with the Pagan governors for a certain sign of conspiracy, the Christian term *Sacramentum*, to meet by night, and bind themselves by a vow," citing the well-known passage from Pliny as to the Christian assembly *ante lucem* for worship and the celebration of the *Agapæ* and Eucharist. (Ep. 97.) "The professors of Christianity had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities on the score of religion, any more than the professors of any other sect or religion besides."[1]

[1] *Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 579. London, 1828.

The other writer is Dr. David Irving, who does not state the matter quite so broadly, when he says: "It is commonly regarded as a very curious and remarkable fact, that, although the Romans were disposed to tolerate every other religious sect, yet they frequently persecuted Christians with unrelenting cruelty. This exception, so fatal to a peaceable and harmless sect, must have originated in circumstances which materially distinguished them from the votaries of every other religion. The causes and the pretexts of persecution may have varied at various periods; but there seems to have been one general cause which will readily be apprehended by those who are intimately acquainted with the Roman jurisprudence. From the most remote period of their history, the Romans had conceived extreme horror against all nocturnal meetings of a secret and mysterious nature. A law prohibiting nightly vigils in a temple has ever been ascribed, though with little probability, to the founder of their state. The laws of the twelve tables declared it a capital offense to attend nocturnal assemblies in the city. And, to omit other authorities, the '*Senatus consultum Marcianum de Bacchanalibus*,' is of a similar tendency; though it is indeed directed against a particular institution, which was believed to have been productive of the greatest enormities. This then being the spirit of the law, it is obvious that the nocturnal meetings of the primitive Christians must have rendered them objects of peculiar suspicion, and exposed them to the animadversion of the magistrate. It was during the night that they usually held their most solemn and religious assemblies; for a practice which may be supposed to have arisen from their fears, seems to have been continued from the operation of other causes. Misunderstanding the purport of certain passages of Scripture, they were led to imagine that the second advent, of which they lived in constant expectation, would take place during the night; and they were accustomed to celebrate nightly vigils at the tombs of the Saints and Martyrs. In this case, therefore, they incurred no penalties peculiar to the votaries of a new religion, but only such as equally attached to those who, professing the public religion of the state, were yet guilty of this undoubted violation of the laws."[1]

After the first persecution by Nero, and during the reigns of succeeding emperors, when the number of Christians had rapidly increased, in view of this law which forbade secret assemblies in the city, then they sought some retired place *outside* the city walls and limits, where they could meet for worship and instruction without observation and disturbance, and without really breaking the letter of the law. It was as Flaxman says: "During the reigns of those emperors by whom the Christians were cruelly persecuted, when they were obliged to perform their sacred

[1] *Observations on the Civil Law*, pp. 17-19. Edin. 1823.

worship in subterrains and sepulchral chambers, that they ornamented those retreats with sacred portraits and subjects from Scripture. But when the churches of St. Sophia and the Apostles were built in Constantinople by Constantine and his successors, they were embellished with mosaics and statues."[1] Instruction and helps to devotion and constancy in the faith being the main objects of these paintings and mosaics, the assemblies in the subterraneans were not so much to avoid persecution merely, but rather to engage in worship and Christian fellowship in such retreats as would not be liable to pagan insult, mockery, and intrusion. They did not wish to encounter a Roman mob whenever they went to celebrate the Eucharist, which was every Sunday morning before daylight.

While the Christian society at Rome could meet in St. Paul's hired house, or in the house of some Roman convert, the secret assemblies would be held within the city walls, and the law would be violated which forbade them; but outside those limits, its letter would be observed. And in either case the Christians were not violating its spirit, because they were not engaged in any plots and conspiracies against the government. This was not the object of their meeting together; and conscious of entire innocence in this respect, they chose rather to suffer the penalties of the law than to forego the privilege and the duty of worship.

Besides this, there was another Roman law of the twelve tables which forbade the burial or the burning of a corpse in the city, perhaps on the score of health or uncleanness.[2] The ancient Roman practice was to bury the dead; the custom of burning was established in the time of Scylla. Yet even after this custom was introduced, some of the old Roman families retained the other practice.[3] As the Christian community increased, private houses would be too small for the religious assemblies, and so it came to pass that chapels in their cemeteries were constructed for that purpose; and thus it would hardly be suspected that when the Christians went out to the Catacombs to bury one of their number, or when they went there at all, it was for any other purpose than that of burial, or a funeral feast on some anniversary, a custom very common with the pagans. This would surely obviate disturbance.[4]

These two Roman laws, then, as to secret assemblies and burial outside the city, made the Catacombs necessary for both to the Christians of the first three

[1] *Lectures on Sculpture*, p. 302. London, 1829.

[2] Cicero, *De Legibus*, II. 23. Smith's *Clas. Dict.* art. *Funus*. Becker's *Gallus*, p. 410. *Excur.* XII.

[3] T. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 304.

[4] Gronovius comments on these nocturnal assemblies, and cites both Christian and Pagan authorities as to their observance and unlawfulness, in his admirable notes on the *Octavius* of Minutius Felix, pp. 78–80. *Lug. Bat.* 1709.

centuries, or until the time of Constantine. But aside from this double necessity, there was also something in the condition of the early Christian community equally requiring it, composed as it was mainly of poor labourers, artisans, and slaves, whose occupations allowed them no other time to meet for worship and instruction than that which Pliny designates as *ante lucem*. As yet there was no public enactment of the first day of the week as a holiday, except as the Church herself set it apart as such. Passages of Scripture there might be to recommend the observance of the night season on account of the Lord's coming as a thief in the night, and His servants would be found watching; but beyond this there was the additional consideration of the Apostolic meeting on the first day of the week in honour and in commemoration of the Lord's resurrection—that resurrection itself—the institution of the Holy Supper at night—the midnight agony in the Garden—the nightly-closed doors on the timid disciples of Christ afraid of the persecuting Jews, when the Master came among them with the blessing of peace and in the breaking of bread—all this transmitted heritage of blessed memories was dear to the Christians at Rome, and their nightly vigils kept watch over it.

About the beginning of the reign of Trajan, A.D. 98, a special law was published against *Hetæriæ*, or fraternities, what we now call secret clubs or brotherhoods, which were established up and down the Roman empire. Their pretext was social feasting, and the better dispatch of business, friendship, and good fellowship. But they were suspected by the government to be hotbeds of sedition, plots, and conspiracies. The Christians being already a society of note, and confederated under one common president or Bishop, and bound together by their *sacramentum*, and constantly meeting to celebrate their *Agapæ*, were also suspected and proceeded against as these *Hetæriæ*, or clubs, and as contemners of the Imperial constitution.[1] Tertullian, A.D. 200, vindicates the Christians of his day from the Pagan calumny that the Christian religion was destructive to all civil government, and its professors were a crew of pestilent fellows, full of sedition, who went to assemblies (*hetæriæ*) under pretence, indeed, of worship and conscience, but in truth to turn the world upside down. And after describing the *Agapæ* as temperate social repasts, he says: "Such assemblies of Christians would deservedly be classed among the unlawful ones if they bore any resemblance to them; and I will not say a word against condemning them, if any man will make good one single article charged against them with other factions."[2]

Trajan forbade these *Hetæriæ*, or secret assemblies, in all parts of the empire;

[1] Tertullian's *Apol.* 30–38. Reeves' *Apologies*, I. pp. 141–3.

[2] *Apology*, c. 39. Aldus Ed. p. 38.

for in two instances they are specially referred to in Pliny's letters to that emperor. One is in the request of Pliny to allow the formation of a fire company at Nicomedia after a most destructive fire there, and the emperor refuses on the ground of the public peace and safety; the other is in that celebrated letter of Pliny, in which he describes the secret assemblies of the Christians, and the nature of their worship; and in both instances the word *hetæriæ* is used.[1] Melmoth, in his notes on Pliny's letters, gives two reasons for the persecution of Christians under Trajan, viz.: first, on grounds of ancient constitutional law and custom, and not from any cruel or arbitrary temper; and second, on the fixed maxim of the Roman government not to suffer any unlicensed assemblies of the people. In the early days of the Republic, Roman legislation was jealous of religious innovations; but the Empire was more tolerant. But both Republic and Empire never relaxed their law and maxim as to secret assemblies.[2] However tolerant Trajan might be disposed to be towards Christianity, *per se*, he could not tolerate the secret meetings of its votaries. And his proceedings against them shows how early they may have been held even at some of the smaller Catacombs.

It is just possible, as Melmoth conjectures, that the Roman authorities may have suspected the *Agapæ* and the secret assemblies of the Christians to be the revived and detested Bacchanalian orgies which had already been rigidly suppressed, B.C. 186, and the *Liberalia* substituted. Seven thousand persons of all classes and of both sexes were initiated, who were either put in prison, or put to death, the females being given up to the wrath of their fathers or husbands for punishment; and the Consuls were ordered to destroy all the *Bacchanalia* throughout Italy, except a few ancient altars; and then it was that the famous decree of the Senate was promulgated as already mentioned. During the thirty days' trial, such consternation prevailed at Rome that the city was almost deserted.[3] That such a suspicion may have existed respecting the Christian Mysteries, seems more probable from the fact that in the trial before Pliny, the Christians were careful to assure him that the *Agapæ* were strictly moral and correct, and free from all impurity and sedition. Pliny states their only fault to have consisted in meeting on a stated day before daylight, to engage in responsive worship to Christ as to a God, to bind themselves by an oath (*sacramentum*) to abstain from all wickedness; that they did not commit any fraud, theft, or adultery—did not break faith or betray a trust; and then, after a brief separation, to reassemble and eat a harmless meal together.[4] Obviously the words "*carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem*," refer to

[1] *Epist.* 43 and 97, *lib.* X.
[2] *Letters of Pliny*, II. pp. 675–6. London, Dodsley, 1777.
[3] Smith's *Classical Dict.* art. *Dionysia.* [4] Epist. 97.

responsive or alternate worship to Christ as a Divine Being, and they are significant as to the nature of early Christian faith and practice. For this letter of Pliny was written only about forty years after the death of St. Paul. Trajan's edict, then, against the Christian assemblies, seems to have been the first, and while more especially aimed against those held in Bithynia, where early Christian painted grotto-tombs exist, yet it applied equally at Rome. From this date, then, we must begin to calculate the construction of the Catacombs as places of worship, retreats, and hiding-places.

But even these were discovered, and other imperial edicts were issued, as that of Valerian, A. D. 253, which forbade the Christians to assemble at the Cemeteries on pain of death;[1] the more just edict of Hadrian, A. D. 117–138, requiring a fair trial and punishment in proportion to the offense, not wishing the Christians to be harassed, nor malicious informers and slanderers to be encouraged, but punished. The Diocletian edict against Christianity was issued after a comparatively long peace, during which churches had been built, and vast multitudes had embraced it, so that Paganism became alarmed for its very existence, and made one desperate attempt to destroy Christianity altogether, by ordering the demolition of the churches; the burning of all sacred books; the degradation of such Christians as occupied honourable positions; the reduction of freedmen to slavery; the committal of the Bishops to prison; and the compulsion of sacrifice to the Pagan gods. This was later, A. D. 284–305, the dark hour before the dawn of peace.

As the *Agapæ* and secret assemblies of the early Christians will be the subject of separate examination as to their precise object and nature, I pass on to consider another matter that made the Catacombs and their art-teaching necessary. It is that of the shocking calumnies and unsparing ridicule heaped upon the Christian Faith and its adherents. The bitter taunt and the contemptuous laugh were even harder to bear than the fire and sword of persecution. To be daily jeered at and insulted by neighbours, friends, and even kindred, was a trial, indeed, of faith and patience. To be accused of worshipping the head of an ass, or the *pudenda* of the priest; of promiscuous intercourse, and eating infants at their assemblies, was not encouraging, even though there might have been very rare incidents, like that in the Apostolic Church at Corinth, to give some pretext for the monstrous slander. So far as we can learn, the irregularities which finally caused the *Agapæ* to be abolished altogether by positive canon law, and fasts to be substituted in their place, were not chiefly those of impurity and promiscuous intercourse, but rather excesses in eating and drinking, and dancing and revelry, at the graves of the Martyrs, or in

[1] Revoked by Gallienus. Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* VIII. c. 13. Also IV. cc. 8 and 9, and VIII. c. 2.

the churches.[1] These nightly meetings were indeed liable to abuse. Bishops in their own dioceses, and the Church at large, strove long and hard to suppress them, and at last succeeded; and fasts in the day-time were appointed as a substitute. But they who thus abused them were not good and true Christians, but rather such as from the days of the Apostles crept into the Church for the mere sake of feasting and drinking, or for selfish gain of some kind. To thousands of the poor, especially, these *Agapæ* were doubtless the chief attraction. But to compare them with the *Bacchanalia*, or with the Eleusinian Mysteries after their corruption, is unjust. And yet, how was the Roman magistrate to discriminate between them? There were various sects existing at the time whose practices were abominable enough, if we may believe what is said of them in the New Testament, and by early Ecclesiastical writers, whose leaders were such men as Simon Magus, Menander, Marcion, Marcus, Manes, Basilides, Carpocrates, &c., outside of the Church, and yet incorporating with their various systems of a sensual philosophy, many of the truths of Christianity. The mystery of iniquity early began its work, and even Apostles had to lift up their warning voice against it. Drunkenness and incest at Corinth; (I. Cor. xi. 17–23;) lovers of pleasures in Crete creeping into Christian homes, and leading away silly women, laden with sins, and slaves of lust; (II. Tim. iii. 6;) ungodly men crept in unawares, and turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, were spots in the feast of charity; (Jude;) and some of the Apocalyptic churches infested by the Nicolaitans, and Jezebels, and Ophites; (ii.) or to come down later, those whom Irenæus charges with the debauchery of women whom they had perverted from the faith and purity of Christianity, and brought over to their own sect; Clement of Alexandria reporting of the Carpocratians that both men and women met at supper in imitation of a love-feast, and after eating and drinking, blew out the lights and held promiscuous intercourse; Turtullian also to the same effect; (Apol. 35;) and Epiphanius saying of the Gnostics in retaliation, that they took an infant begotten of incest, and beat it in a mortar, seasoned it with honey, pepper, and other spices, and then ate it, calling it their perfect Passover; all this it was that Christianity had to bear in its early days, and that made it so necessary to devise some plan to be rid of the real or imputed evil.[2] If the Christian assem-

[1] Bellarmine says, "Ceterum quoniam paulatim occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum, abusus quidem irrepere coeperant, vel potius non raro committi: placuit Ecclesiæ nocturnas conventus, et Vigilias proprie dictas intermittere, ac solum in iisdem diebus celebrare jejuna." *De Ecclesia Triumphante*, lib. III. c. 17. p. 2274, Ingolstadt, 1586. Reeves' *Apologies*, I. p. 115, note.

[2] For a full and detailed account of these early sects that so much compromised Christianity and the Church, see Beausobre's *Histoire de Manichée*, Amst. 1734; the Rev. Dr. Ed. Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, Oxford, 1829; and Reeves' *Apologies*.

blies were so riotous and horrible, then the magistrate must interpose as in the case of the impure and tumultuous proceedings fostered by the tolerated priests of Isis, or the astrologers, or the fanatical Jews, an account of which we have in Milman's "History of Christianity." (c. 4, book II.) To escape all these prying sectaries, and these slanderous accusations, and these unjust implications, the early Church at Rome and elsewhere had to institute a rigid discipline known as the *Discipline of the Secret*, (*Disciplina Arcani*,) which will be considered in the next chapter. The Catacombs were constructed and adorned with symbols in just such a way as to keep the Christian doctrine and the Sacraments from profanation, perversion, and insult, on the part of all these sectaries and the Pagans. We shall find abundant evidence of this as we proceed with our investigations.

Meanwhile there is one thing which serves to confirm this view of the matter, with which I shall close this chapter. I have already stated that no crucifix of an early date has been found in the Catacombs. It is claimed by the Italian antiquarian Garrucci, that a blasphemous crucifix of Christ with an ass's head, has been found on the wall of a vault, perhaps the cell of a slave of one of Cæsar's household, on the Palatine hill, intended to ridicule some poor Christian who, like his fellows, may have had a private and genuine crucifix in use. It is enough to say that this ass's head is the head of Anubis, or Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury and custodian of the dead. It is Garrucci's inference that this *graffiti* caricature is that of the crucifixion of Christ, in order to claim as early a date as possible for all crucifixes. There are two good reasons for rejecting this inference: (1) Because a comparison of this supposed caricature with Anubis proves it to be the latter;[1] and (2) Garrucci has deliberately misrepresented the Ordination scene in the Cemetery of St. Ermete as given by Bosio, in changing the position of the Bishop's hand a few inches *above* the head of the Deacon, whereas in Bosio's work, from which it is originally copied, the hand is *upon* the head: and this change doubtless is made with the design to favour the modern Romish mode of ordination.[2] For this reason one can not be sure that Garrucci's drawing of this so-called blasphemous crucifix is correct, and I therefore herewith give King's, and one of Anubis from Count Caylus, so that they may be compared, as in the plate.[3] Mr. King's explanation is this: "Amongst the most frequent and most important type of all, is the jackal-headed god Anubis, usually represented in his ancient form, but occasionally with both a human and a jackal's head, often bearing the caduceus of Hermes to denote his office of conducting departed souls through the planets to their

[1] C. W. King's *Gnostics*, &c. p. 90. London, 1864.

[2] Compare these in Figs. 161–162, as given by Bosio, p. 565, and Garrucci, II. tav. 82.

[3] *Recueil D'Antiquités*, tom. 1 and 4. pl. 32 and 16.

FIG. 21.—Anubis as Guardian of the Dead.

final rest in the Pleroma: sometimes displaying a palm announcing the victory of the faithful, sometimes presiding over the Psychastasia, or weighing of the soul, and thus passing for the type of Christ, the Judge of quick and dead.

"Such an acceptation of Anubis is strangely adopted in a sard of my own, which offers to the first view that most orthodox and primitive Christian figure of the Good Shepherd, bearing a lamb on his shoulders, a crook in his hand, the loins girt with a belt having long and flowing ends; but on closer examination the figure resolves itself into the double-headed Anubis, the head of the lamb doing duty for that of the jackal springing from the same shoulders as the man's, whilst the curved ends of the girdle becomes the long and curly tail of the beast. By this, too, we are enabled to understand a rude drawing lately discovered on the wall of a vault on the Palatine, which represents this jackal-headed figure nailed to the cross, with the inscription—*ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ* (Alexamenos adores his god); in reality the work of some pious Gnostic, but which is usually looked upon as a heathen blasphemy, because the jackal's head is taken for that of an ass."[1]

The pagan calumny, that the Christians worshipped the head of an ass, is noticed by Tertullian in these words, in his Apology to the Roman rulers; (16;) "Like some others, you are under the delusion that our god is an *ass's head.* Cornelius Tacitus first put this notion into people's minds, in the fifth book of his histories, where he speaks of a herd of wild asses guiding the Jews to water in the wilderness, who, in gratitude, consecrated the head of this animal. And as Christianity is nearly allied to Judaism, I suppose it was from this taken for granted that we, too, are devoted to the worship of the same image. . . But lately a new version of our god has been given to the public of Rome by a certain hireling convict of a bull-fighter, who put forth a picture with this inscription, *ΌNOKOIHTHΣ*. (Onokoites, *i. e.*, an ass priest, or born of an ass.) He had the ears of an ass, was hoofed in one foot, carried a book, and wore a toga. Both the name and the figure gave us amusement." The idea intended to be conveyed was much the same as it is now, to deride a stupid and obstinate man with the name of a

[1] *Gnostics*, &c., p. 90, and Plate I. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 8. Also p. 150, Plate X. No. 1.

FIG. 22.—The Gnostic Anubis.

"jackass." "The shadow of an ass," was the old Greek and Roman proverb, as used by Menander. Apuleius uses it for something silly and foolish; and Celsus says: "The Christians and Jews most stupidly contend with each other, and this controversy of theirs differs in nothing from the proverb about the contention for the shadow of an ass."

But the figure discovered on the wall of the Palatine is not such as Tertullian describes; though in some of the old rude Gnostic gems, Anubis has somewhat the appearance of an ass, except that the ears are not so long.[1] Thoth or Mercury being the conductor and guardian of departed souls, and presiding at their trial, is a pagan type of Christ; and when he appears at all in the genuine Christian monuments, it is not as this jackal-headed Gnostic figure of Anubis, but as the human figure of the Greek and Roman Mercury. He is thus represented in connection with the ascent of Elijah in a fresco-painting of the Cemetery of St. Calixtus.[2]

Law, calumny, ridicule, Gnosticism, Judaism, and constant danger, made it necessary, therefore, for early Christianity at Rome to form itself into a separate community, and hide from a world hostile to its purity and simplicity, its faith and charity. And so the Catacombs grew into the most stupendous testimony in its favour extant, save only the Christian Scriptures and the Christian Church itself, still surviving long ages of kindred opposition.

[1] King's *Gnostics*, p. 91.
[2] Bosio's *Rom. Sott.* p. 257.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DISCIPLINA ARCANI: THE MYSTERIES.

*Disciplina Arcani.—Celsus, and his Knowledge of the Christian Faith and Practice.—The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian.—Three Grades of Initiation.—The Grand Secret.—Extract from Gerbet.*

INASMUCH as Baptism was the initiation of the Christian convert and catechumen into the Mysteries of Christianity, and the grand secret was that of the mysterious Trinity whispered in the ear, like the mystic and awful *aum* of the Hindus, indicative of their Triune god, I have here given a representation of our Lord's baptism in the Jordan, from a fresco painting in the cemetery of Pontianus, executed between the VI. and VIII. centuries, after the Discipline of the Secret had ceased. God the Father is designated by the Hebrew letters inscribed on the circular tablet held by the angel; God the Son stands in the river with the Baptist's hand laid on His head, either in confirmation, or to give Him a third and last application of water; and God the Holy Ghost is figured by the dove pouring down the Divine afflatus from its beak upon the head of Christ. The stag illustrates the longing of the soul after the waters of regenerate life, expressed by the Psalmist in the words, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God." (42, 1.) The gemmed cross, with flowers springing from it, and Alpha and Omega suspended from its arms, and lights blazing above, indicates all the glory and blessedness of redemption and regeneration here and hereafter, through Him who is the First and the Last, in Baptism and the Resurrection, the Light and Life of the world. This cross is part of the fresco, painted directly under the scene of the Baptism itself; and both are on the wall over a spring of water yet running there as of old, in what is still called the "Chapel of the Baptistry."[1]

In the first chapter, the opinion is advanced that early Christianity appropriated from Paganism the symbolical form of teaching, the better to inculcate and

[1] Agincourt gives the plan of it, in *Architecture*, pl. 63.

Fig. 23.—Christ's Baptism: Manifestation o

Jorated Cross.

preserve pure doctrine. We are now to see how the same necessity existed for what is known as the *Disciplina Arcani*, or Discipline of the Secret. It was something more than a mere secret assembly of Christians at night or before daylight for worship. It was a rigorous and protracted discipline in the knowledge and practice of Christianity, before any were admitted to the full privileges of the Church, especially to a participation of the Sacraments. Its origin is veiled in obscurity; but there can be no doubt that the same motive and necessity existed for its institution as prompted the Pagan Mysteries of Mithra, Samothrace, and Eleusis. These mysteries, especially the Greater, were at first pure; and had for their object, so far as can be ascertained, the inculcation and preservation of the doctrines of the unity of God, the soul's immortality, its lapse and return to God through virtue and obedience, and future rewards and punishments. The Lesser Mysteries were for the common people, and were *exoteric;* the Greater Mysteries were for the few thoughtful and cultivated minds of the community, and were *esoteric.* Paganism, therefore, had a double doctrine, which, as Ouvaroff says, "raised a wall of partition between the philosopher and the people—a feature inherent in all its institutions, in all its systems, and in all its ancient civilization. Christianity, in destroying the double doctrine, became a grand epoch even in the history of philosophy. The division of the mysteries into greater and lesser, belonged to the very nature of the institution; the great mysteries were reserved for an inconsiderable number of initiated persons, because they contained revelations which would have given a mortal blow to the religion of the state; the lesser mysteries were within the reach of all men, and probably comprehended symbolical representations of Ceres and Proserpine, not teaching anything contrary to polytheism, and even inculcating the doctrine of future rewards and punishments."[1]

Taylor, the Platonist, in his curious and instructive *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*, shows that the object of the lesser mysteries was to teach the fall and misery of the soul subject to matter; and that the greater mysteries, by means of mystic and splendid visions, were designed to represent the felicity of the soul when free from the body and purified from defilement, and its approach to God.[2] These mysteries were celebrated at night, from a notion then entertained and expressed by Plato in the *Republic*, that souls passed into generation or the new life at midnight. He is speaking of the departed, according to that ancient fable, of the soul's immortality, a belief in which shall enable the soul to pass happily over the river Lethe without contamination or harm: "That when night came on, the souls encamped beside the river Amelete,

[1] *Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis*, with Christie's observations, pp. 37–8. London, 1817.

[2] Pp. 5 and 53, &c. Amst. 1770.

whose water no vessel contains; a certain measure of the water then all of them must of necessity drink, and such of them as are not preserved by prudence, drink more than the measure, and he who drinks, always forgets everything; and that after they were laid asleep and it became midnight, there was thunder and an earthquake, and they were thence on a sudden carried upwards, some one way, and some another, approaching to generation like stars. . . But if the company will be persuaded by me, accounting the soul immortal, and able to bear all evil and all good, we shall always hold the road which leads above; and justice with prudence we shall by all means pursue; in order that we may be friends both to ourselves and to the gods, both whilst we remain here, and when we receive its rewards, like victors assembled together; and we shall both here, and in that thousand years' journey we have described, enjoy a happy life."[1]

What was thus true as to the object of the Greek mysteries, is also true of the Egyptian and Persian. Champollion, the younger, expressly says that "the symbolic characters of the Egyptians seem to have been more specially devoted to the representation of such abstract ideas as were in the domain of religion, and of the royal authority; these are, for example, on the Rosetta stone, ideas of God, immortality, Divine life, power, goodness, beneficence, law or command, a higher and a lower region, &c."[2] And Champollion-Figeac tells us for his gifted brother, that the Egyptian monuments are in accord with Herodotus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus, in disclosing the fact of one only God, superior to all the elements, in Himself immaterial, incorporeal, uncreated, indivisible, unseen, and that He was all in all, comprehending and embracing all things in Himself, and communicating with all: that the religion was a pure monotheism esoterically, but manifesting itself exoterically by a polytheistic symbolism, that is to say, one only God whose qualities and attributes were all personified in being either active agents or subordinate divinities; and that this religion had its doctrine, its hierarchy, and its worship.[3] Besides, this one God was a Triad as in India and Persia, not, indeed, the Christian Trinity as essentially One, but an approximation towards it. On the 27th of January, 1829, Champollion discovered in the temple at Kalabschi, in Nubia, a new generation of gods, consisting of Amon-Ra, the Supreme Being, the first and Father of all, associated with the first mother, or goddess Mouth, and forming an androgynous being, from whom all the other gods are derived, and become incarnate on earth. The last of these incarnations was Horus, as Krishna was among the Hindus, under the name of Horammon, the $\Omega$ of the gods, Amon-Horus being the $A$, or the

[1] *Republic*, c. X. end.

[2] *Précis*, 2d ed. p. 403. Paris, 1828.

[3] *Egypte Ancienne*, pp. 244–5. Paris, 1858. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. I. of 2d series, c. XII.

active generating spirit. The first Egyptian Triad, then, consisted of the three parts of Amon-Ra,—to know, or intelligence ; Amon, the male and father; Mouth, the female and mother; and Khons, the infant son. This triad manifested itself on earth in Osiris, Isis, and Horus.[1] The *doctrine* of the Egyptians consisted in a knowledge of this one God as a Triad, the immortality of the soul, and future rewards and punishments. The *hierarchy* was the subordinate divinities. The *worship* was public and secret. Moses must certainly have known this doctrine, but because it was the secret doctrine of the Priests, and knowing the proneness of the Hebrews to the idolatry of Egypt, he did not make it prominent in his writings, but only assumes it in his use of the three holy names, *Elohim*, *Adonai*, and *Jehovah*, together with the brooding and creative Spirit of God. "Let us make man in our image," implies the doctrine, or as some read it, in our blood and cross. So, too, of the immortality of the soul, and of future rewards and punishments: it was a doctrine so universally held, like that of the being of God, that there was no necessity of specially dwelling upon it.

It cannot be denied that the Egyptian religion, like that of India, was pantheistical; and that God was thus deprived of His distinct personality, and was seen and worshipped in almost every natural object. And this it was that made it so degrading, and so degraded the people. Animals may have been only the symbols of Deity at first, and their worship only relative; but in time they took the place of God, and became objects of worship themselves.[2] And so the ancient prophecy attributed to Hermes has been fulfilled. "O Egypt, Egypt, a time shall come, when, instead of a pure religion and a pure worship, thou shalt have a multitude of absurd fables incredible to posterity; and nothing shall remain to attest thy devotion but graven stones, thy sole monuments." Another prophecy, too, has been long since fulfilled of the district in which ancient Thebes was situated—"Pathros shall be the basest of the kingdoms." (Ezek. xxix. 15.)

Precisely the same essential doctrine was held in Persia, both in the public and secret cult of Mithra. Lajard—alas! that he did not live to complete and publish his great work!—distinctly informs us that the one God of Persia consisted of three, Ormuzd, Mithra, and Zarvana, as amongst the Assyrians and Phœnicians, the symbol being a circle denoting eternity, and the abstract representation of the one Supreme God uniformly called, *Time without bounds*, or the Eternal, containing in its circumference the material image of two other subordinate deities who are respectively figured by the upper part of the human body, inseparably united with

[1] *Egypt Anc.* p. 245.

[2] Pettigrew discusses this in his *Egyptian Mummies*, pp. 171–6. *Wilkinson* also, vol. I. 2nd series, pp. 171–2.

the body of a Dove.[1] Mithra is the dove, Ormuzd the human incarnation of God, and Zarvana the ineffable, eternal, and unrevealed Deity and Source of all. And this Mithraic cult was introduced into Rome only in the age preceding the birth of Christ.[2] Justin Martyr speaks of the mysteries of Mithras as having reference to Christ, when he says that they represent Him as begotten of a rock in the place or cave where these mysteries were celebrated by the initiated, and he perceives in this an imitation of Daniel's prophecy of the Stone cut without hands out of a great mountain, as well as some of Isaiah's prophecies.[3] Again, in describing the Eucharist of Christ's Body and Blood, or the cup of blessing, he refers to a similar sacrament among the Mithraic devotees, in language more strong than polite, viz.: "Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn."[4]

Tertullian is equally emphatic when he says that the devil has a baptism of his followers: "and if my memory still serves me, Mithra therein sets his marks on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection, and before a sword wreaths a crown."[5] This sword and crown have reference to death or martyrdom, as appears from another passage of Tertullian, where he speaks of the soldier of Mithras, who, at his initiation in the gloomy cave, or camp of darkness, has a crown presented to him at the point of the sword, as though in mimicry of martyrdom.[6] All the ancient pagan mysteries, then, being celebrated at night, kept profoundly secret, and having for their primary object the cultivation of virtue and Divine knowledge, at length, like all other human institutions, became corrupt by the indulgence of the most vicious and criminal practices, and for that reason had to be suppressed both in Greece and Italy.[7] Warburton truly says, that no surer cause of the horrid abuses and corruptions of the mysteries can be assigned than the season in which they were represented, and the profound silence in which they were buried. "Night gave opportunity to wicked men to attempt evil actions; and secrecy, encouragement to perpetrate them: and the inviolable nature of that secrecy, which encouraged abuses, kept them from the magistrate's knowledge so long, till it was too late to reform them." The provisions made by the state, in the first instance, to enable the Mys-

[1] *Recherches sur Le Culte Public et Les Mystères De Mithra*, pp. 43–4. Paris, 1867.
[2] Id. pp. 563-8.
[3] *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 70.
[4] *First Apology*, c. 66.
[5] *De Præs. Hæret.* c. 40.
[6] *De Corona*, c. 15.
[7] For a full account, see Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, vol. I. book II. sec. 4. Hurd's Ed. London, 1846.

teries to obtain the end of their establishment for the promotion of virtue and knowledge, became in time the means of defeating it, by becoming horribly subservient to lust and revenge.[1] The Apocryphal book of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, gives us an insight into the vices and crimes practiced in these Mysteries, when it says: "For whilst they slew their children in sacrifices, or used secret ceremonies, or made revelling of strange rites: they kept neither lives nor marriages undefiled; but either one slew another traitorously, or grieved him by adultery. So that there reigned in all men, without exception, blood, manslaughter, theft, dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury, disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, changing of sex, disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness." (xiv. 23–27.)

The first inception of the Christian Mysteries must be traced back to the Founder of the Christian Religion, and to the very necessity of things. He taught the people in parables, but expounded the hidden doctrine to His disciples alone, who, in turn, were to teach it to others. He commanded that pearls must not be cast to swine, nor holy things be given to dogs. But what His disciples had learned of Him in secret, they must preach openly in due time, so that some might hear and learn, while the most only jeered and mocked at the new doctrine. For the purpose of imparting this secret doctrine, He often went away from the multitude with his disciples to some retirement in the country; and He remained with them forty days alone, out of all sight and reach of His enemies, after His resurrection, on purpose to teach them how to order and rule His spiritual kingdom on earth, as well as to convince them of His having risen from the dead. The commission given to Peter at Galilee, and the final charge on Olivet are sufficient proof of this. From the very start, then, there was caution and reserve as to Christian doctrine and discipline. The very Advent of the Son of God to earth was at night. The Holy Supper was instituted at night. The Resurrection itself took place in the night. The meetings afterward were at night. Why? Because the kingdom of God cometh not with observation. It needs no outward pomp or power, no popular demonstrations, no worldly policy, to establish it in human hearts and lives. It is a quiet, secret, and potent influence, with tranquil ways and gentle demeanour, free from parade or ostentation; and above all, free from the vulgar shows and pageantries of this world's poor imitations of greatness. When the kingdom of God, as the Church represents it, degenerates into the world's pompous pretentiousness, it loses its power for good, and becomes a mere rival of the world for gain and selfish aggrandizement.

[1] Warburton's *Div. Leg.* vol. I. p. 225.

This caution and reserve as to Christian doctrine and discipline continued until shortly after the time of Justin Martyr, or until about the year 170, when it became necessary to institute the more rigid Discipline of the Secret.[1] Obviously in Justin's time this Discipline could not have been as rigid as it afterwards became, because in that case his unreserved account of the Christian worship and sacraments in his first Apology to the Roman authorities, could not have been made.[2] It would have been a betrayal of the secret, and of the mysteries. We have already seen that Hadrian (A. D. 117–120) was not opposed to the Christian religion for its own sake, and there can be no doubt that Justin's Apology had produced a favourable impression on the mind of the Emperor. But if the *Disciplina Arcani* had been then in full force and development, Justin could not have been so free in his account of the Christian faith and practice.

And then, too, there is the scoffing Celsus, Justin's cotemporary, whose knowledge of Christianity was most complete. Could he have been some renegade Christian or apostate like the Emperor Julian? I have sometimes been tempted to think so. Epicurean philosopher inclined to Platonism, he might have been; but where did he learn so much about Christian doctrine, and the ways and doings of the Christian community? His book entitled *The True Doctrine*,[3] a tissue of calumnies and blasphemous revilings against Christianity, answered by Origen, is unfortunately lost; but there remains in Origen's reply quite enough of it to show us how minute was Celsus' knowledge of the whole Christian system.[4] Origen himself says that there were two men of the name of Celsus, and both of them Epicurean philosophers. One of them lived in the time of Nero; the other, whom he refutes, lived in the time of Hadrian, and later. (c. 8.) And it is a most singular fact, that all the thunder of modern infidelity, including that of Strauss and Renan, has been stolen from Celsus, or is but a repetition of his refuted arguments and blasphemies. And it is another most singular fact, challenging the closest attention, *that every article of the Creed is found in the objections of Celsus*, or rather an epitome of the whole Gospel. In fact, just such things as we find in the symbolical representations of Christian doctrine in the Catacombs, such are also among the prominent things objected to by Celsus. He makes it his boast that he had derived his information from the Christian writings or books, than which no better refutation of Christianity existed; and that he could state many other things and events of the life of Jesus which are not recorded by the disciples. (II., c. 13

[1] Richard Rothe's *De Disciplinæ Arcani Origine*, p. 27. Heidelberg, 1841.

[2] Chapters 61, 65, 66, and 67.

[3] Λόγος ἀληθής.

[4] Eusebius says, "Origen composed in eight books a reply to the work of Celsus, the Epicurean, entitled "The True Doctrine." *Eccles. Hist.* lib. VI. c. 36. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 45. Geneva, 1694.

and c. 74.) In reference to God the Father Almighty, Celsus makes this objection: "God is good, fair, happy, of the best and most beautiful species. If He came down to men, He must be changed. This change would be from good to bad, from fair to foul, from happy to unhappy, from best to worst. Who would desire such a change? Without doubt mortal man only is liable to it. It is the property of the immortal God to be always the same: therefore God would never admit such a change." Again he says to the same effect: "Either God is changed, as the Christians say, into a mortal body,—and we have before shown that this is impossible,—or He Himself is not changed, but He causes those who behold Him to think that He is, and thus falsifies Himself, and involves others in error." The reply to this objection is, that God's essential being is unchangeable; but that in Providence and Grace He condescended to human affairs, and in His Son, or Logos, was made flesh and dwelt among us. This Logos the Christians of Celsus' day claimed to be Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God, of whom Celsus says; "that He was not a pure and holy Logos, but a man who was disgracefully punished and put to death." The reply of Origen again is, "that in one place the nature of the Divine Word is to be understood, which is God, and incapable of suffering; and in another the soul and body of Jesus. The Son of God is called the Maker of the universe, who is essentially God the Word." Again, Celsus ridicules the creation of man in these words: "They composed a story that man was fashioned by the *hands* of God, and was inflated like a bladder, by breath being blown into him"—a hand being the only symbol of God ever used in the Catacombs.

I pause to remark that here we have conclusive evidence that St. John's Gospel was then in use, and had been for some time, or Celsus could not have made this objection as to Christ being the Logos. Plato and Philo had indeed, before this, discoursed of the Divine Logos as an abstract idea, or at the best as a mere personification of Divine Wisdom; but St. John announced the Logos as a living Divine Person, the Word of God incarnate in Jesus Christ.

St. John's Gospel is the only one in which Christ compares Himself to the vine (xv.); and it is more than likely that in the Cemetery of Domatilla, one of the oldest, the vine traced on its walls has reference to this similitude, and is proof of the existence of this Gospel as early as A. D. 90. St. Justin Martyr and St. Hippolytus cite this Gospel, A. D. 110–20. But of this more will be said hereafter.

The whole Christian doctrine of the Incarnation of the Logos or Son of God, Celsus labours to refute in a most shameful and blasphemous manner, reproduced in modern times by the infamous Houston in his "*Ecce Homo*," and by Shelley in his "*Queen Mab*." Celsus admits that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, but em-

phatically denies His conception by the Holy Ghost. Even Joseph was not His father, but a soldier named Panthera. Here, again, I must remind the reader that the articles of the Creed as to our Lord's essential humanity, as conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary, were already well-known and fully developed, or Celsus could not have so laboured to refute them. Again, Celsus objects to the Flight into Egypt as unnecessary, where he says Christ remained long enough to learn magical arts: "It was there that Jesus learned magical arts of which He was so proud, that, when He returned to Judea, He proclaimed Himself a God; and that all His miracles, granted to be true, were nothing more than the common works of those enchanters, who, for a few *oboli* will perform greater deeds in the midst of the Forum, calling up the souls of heroes, exhibiting sumptuous banquets, and tables covered with food, which have no reality. Such things do not prove these jugglers to be sons of God; nor do Christ's miracles."

We shall soon see how the Christian belief on this whole subject of Christ's birth and miracles is expressed by early Christian art and symbols; and these objections of Celsus, together with much positive cotemporaneous Christian testimony, show us the existence and knowledge of all essential Christian truth, at a time when the Canon of Scripture as it now is, did not exist. The ancient Pagan notion of Christ, then, according to Celsus, was that He was a magician; the modern Pagan notion, according to Rénan, is that He was a mystic.

Intimately connected with our Lord's Incarnation and Birth, is the adoration of the Wise Men or Magi. It is one of the conspicuous representations of the early Christian monuments. It is noticed by Celsus thus: "Chaldeans are spoken of by Jesus as having been induced to come to Him at His birth, and to worship Him while yet an infant as God, and to have made this known to Herod the tetrarch; and that the latter sent and slew all the infants that had been born about the same time, thinking that in this way he would assure His death among the others; and that he was led to do this through fear, that, if Jesus lived to a sufficient age, He would obtain the throne." Origen, in his reply, points out the omissions and falsifications of Celsus, in confounding Chaldeans and the Magi, and in making no mention of the star. "I am therefore of the opinion," he says, "that the Magi, possessing as they did the prophecies of Balaam, which Moses also records, inasmuch as Balaam was celebrated for such predictions, and finding among them the prophecy about the star and the words, 'I shall show him to him, but not now; I deem him happy, although he will not be near,' they conjectured that the man whose appearance had been foretold along with that of the star, had actually come into the world; and having predetermined that he was superior in power to all demons, and to all common appearances and powers, they resolved to offer him their

homage. Accordingly they came to Judea, persuaded that some king had been born; but not knowing over what kingdom he was to reign, and being ignorant also of the place of his birth, bringing gifts which they offered to him as one whose nature partook, if I may so speak, (ἵν' ἄνυτως ὀνομάσω,) both of God and of a mortal man,—viz.: gold, as to a king; myrrh, as to one who was mortal; and incense, as to a God. . . . But since He was a God, the Saviour of the human race, raised far above all those angels which minister to men, an angel rewarded the piety of the Magi for their worship of him, by making known to them that they were not to go back to Herod, but to return to their own homes by another way."[1]

Our Lord's Baptism in the Jordan is another subject of artistic representation in the paintings of the Catacombs, and the mosaics of some of the early churches. Celsus objects to this baptism, and the dove, and the voice from heaven, as pure fiction.[2] The Jew in Celsus says, "When you were bathing, you say that beside John there appeared a dove, and lighted on you. . . . What credible witness beheld this appearance? Or who heard a voice from heaven declaring you to be the Son of God? What proof is there of it, save your own assertion, and the statement of another of those individuals who have been punished along with you?" *i. e.*, one of Christ's Apostles. The answer is that Christ's life and works are sufficient evidence of the Holy Spirit's descent upon Him, beside the testimony of so good a man as John the Baptist, or St. Matthew.

In reference to the Pagan and Christian Mysteries, Celsus has this to say, viz.: "When the criers call men to other mysteries, (*i. e.*, the Pagan,) they proclaim as follows: 'Let him approach whose hands are pure, and whose words are wise.' And again others proclaim, 'Let him approach who is pure from all wickedness, whose soul is not conscious of any evil, and who leads a just and upright life.' And these things are proclaimed by those who promise a purification from error. Let us now hear who those are who are called to the Christian Mysteries. 'Whosoever is a sinner, whosoever is unwise, whosoever is a fool, and whosoever, in short, is miserable, him the kingdom of God will receive.' Now, according to the testimony of early Christian writers, the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God on earth, *i. e.*, of the Christian Church, were the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, without which there could be no admission or fellowship in that kingdom. The pagan Mysteries were for those who were already pure and wise; the Christian Mysteries were for sinners and for fools, to make them clean, and to give them the true wis-

[1] *Origenes cont. Celsum*, lib. I. p. 46. Spencer's Ed. Cantab. 1677.

[2] Id. pp. 31, &c., or Taylor's *Fragments*.

dom!" It could not possibly enter the mind of a pagan philosopher, like Celsus, that poor and rich, learned and ignorant, bond and free, could alike enter this kingdom, provided all alike were possessed of humble and contrite hearts. And so we need not wonder at such reproaches as these, heaped on Jews and Christians alike by Celsus, viz.: "Goatherds and shepherds among the Jews, following Moses as their leader, conceived that there is only one God. These goatherds and shepherds being of opinion that there is but one God, delight to call Him the Most High, or Celestial, or Sabaoth, or to celebrate by any other name the Maker of the world; for they know nothing further. For it is of no consequence whether the God who is above all things is denominated after the usual manner of the Greeks, Jupiter, or is called by any other name, such as that which is given to Him by the Indians or Egyptians." Pope is of the same opinion, as thus given in his "*Universal Prayer*":

> "Father of all! in ev'ry age,
> In ev'ry clime, ador'd,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord."

Again, Celsus says of the Christians of his day, "Men who irrationally assent to anything, resemble those who are delighted with jugglers and enchanters, &c. For as most of these are depraved characters who deceive the vulgar, and persuade them to assent to whatever they please, so also it is with the Christians. . . . It is but recently, only yesterday as it were, since we punished Christ; and you, who are in no respect superior to keepers of oxen, have abandoned the laws of your ancestors and country. . . . What is said by a few who are considered as Christians concerning the doctrine of Jesus, and the precepts of Christianity, is not designed for the wiser, but for the more unlearned and ignorant part of mankind. For the following are their precepts: 'Let no learned ones come to us, no wise, no prudent; but let the unlearned, the stupid, infants in understanding, boldly come to us.' For the Christians openly acknowledge that such as these are worthy of the notice of their God, manifesting by this that it is only the ignoble, the insensate, slaves, stupid women and fools, whom they wish to gain over, and are able to persuade. You will see weavers, tailors, fullers, and the most illiterate and rustic fellows, who dare not speak a word before wise men, when they can get a company of children and silly women together, set up to teach strange paradoxes amongst them. This is one of their rules, and Celsus delights in its repetition—'Let no man that is learned, wise, or prudent, come among us; but if any be unlearned, or a child, or an idiot, let him freely come.' So they openly declare that none but fools and

sots, and such as want sense, slaves, women, and children, are fit disciples for the God they worship."[1]

But of such is the Kingdom of God, said its Divine Founder, whose truth and mercy were hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes. (St. Matt. xi. 25.) The early Church, so reviled by Celsus because of her charity for the poor and unfortunate, will teach to all posterity, until her Lord come to judgment, the one important lesson, that pride is her bane, and humility her glory—that her mission is chiefly to the poor, and miserable, and outcast, for whom no man cares—and that her very name and existence depend on binding the affections of the common people to her altars and her ministrations of love and mercy. The rich and proud, of worldly mind and worldly policy, will rule her to her ruin.

After objecting to some of the teachings of Christ, Celsus again aims his bitter satire at the Christian doctrines of Christ's suffering and death, *His Descent into Hades* and *His Resurrection* from the dead, all of which, except the actual crucifixion, are represented in the early Christian monuments by suggestive types and symbols. For instance, he objects to the Christian law as opposed to the Mosaic on this wise, viz.: "After the giving of the law to Moses, why did God's Son, a Nazarene man, exclude from any access to His Father, the rich and powerful, the wise and renowned? For He says that we ought not to pay any more attention than ravens do to food and the necessaries of life, and that we should be less concerned about our clothing than the lilies of the field. (See St. Matt. vi. 25–33.) Again, He asserts that to him who smites us on one cheek, we should likewise turn the other. (St. Matt. v. 39.) Whether, therefore, does Moses or Jesus lie? Or was the Father who sent Jesus forgetful of what He had formerly said to Moses? Or, condemning His own laws, did He alter His opinion, and send a messenger to mankind with mandates of a contrary nature?" And as to Christ's sacrificial death, which fulfilled the Law, Celsus asks, "Do you reproach us with this, O most faithful men, that we do not conceive Christ to be God, and that we do not agree with you in believing that He suffered those things for the benefit of mankind in order that we might also despise punishment? Neither did He persuade any one while He lived, not even His own disciples, that He should be punished and suffer as He did; nor did He show Himself—though a God—as one free from all evils."

That the doctrine of *the Descent into Hell* was held from the very first, although not formally incorporated in any written creed until about the year 390, is evident, I think, from the following reproach of Celsus respecting it: "Certainly, you Chris-

[1] See *Origenes cont. Celsum*, lib. III. p. 137, Cant. 1677. Taylor's *Fragments*, pp. 4, 8, 19, 20, 21, 25, 109–110. Bingham's *Antiquities*, b. I. c. 2, p. 8, vol. I. Bohn's Ed. 1856.

tians will not say that Christ, when He found that He could not induce the inhabitants on the surface of the earth to believe in His doctrines, descended to the infernal regions, in order that He might persuade those that dwelt there. But if inventing absurd apologies by which you are ridiculously deceived, what should hinder others also who have miserably perished from being ranked among angels of a more divine order?" The early treatise of St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, (A. D. 220–30,) on the subject of Hades, is further evidence as to the Descent into Hell being an integral part of the early Christian faith. (*Contra Platonem*, pp. 220–1. Fabricius, Hamb. 1716.)

On the doctrine of the *Resurrection*, so fundamental and so vital to the whole Christian system, and so often figured in early Christian art, Celsus has this to say as to its absurdity: "Grant that Christ predicted His resurrection, yet many others have been deceived by like predictions, made by such men as Zamolxis, Pythagoras, Rhampsinitus, Orpheus, Hercules, and Theseus, or the fables related of them. The question to be considered is not one of fable, but of fact—whether any one who really died ever rose again in the same body. You think the others are fables; but the catastrophe of your drama is elegant or probable by reason of what Christ said on the cross, the earthquake, and the darkness: that He who could not help Himself while living, arose after He was dead, exhibited the marks of His punishment, and His hands which had been perforated on the cross. But who was it that saw this? A furious woman, as you acknowledge, or some other of the same magical sect, or one who was under the delusion of dreams, and who voluntarily subjected himself to fallacious phantasms—a thing which happens to millions of the human race. Or, which is more probable, those who pretended to see this were such as wished to astonish others by this prodigy, and through a false narration of this kind to give assistance to the frauds of others. Is it to be believed that Christ, when He was alive, openly announced to all men what He was; but when it became necessary that He should obtain a strong belief in His resurrection from the dead, He should only show Himself secretly to one woman and her associates? *We certainly hope for a resurrection in the body, and that we shall have eternal life! We also believe that the Paradigm and primary Leader of this will be He who is sent to us, and who will show that it is not impossible for God to raise any one with His body that He pleases.*" The words in italics are remarkable for their faith in *a* resurrection, and for their inconsistency as to *the* resurrection of Christ; and the whole citation may have suggested to M. Renan his own like unbelief in any actual resurrection of Christ from the dead; for he asks, "Had His body been taken away? Or did enthusiasm, always credulous, afterwards originate the mass of accounts by which faith in the resurrection was sought to be established? This, for

want of positive evidence, we shall never know. We may say, however, that the strong imagination of Mary Magdalen here enacted a principal part."[1]

Again, M. Renan says, "The disciples had no choice between despair or heroic affirmation. The little Christian society worked the veritable miracle; they resuscitated Jesus in their hearts. Such a belief as theirs was so natural as to have been sufficient to have invented all its parts."[2]

Modern scepticism is very weak in its inventive powers, if it must so feebly echo the voice of ancient philosophical Pagan unbelief; and M. Renan ignores the fact that it was almost impossible to convince Christ's disciples of His resurrection. And that such men and women as these first disciples were, could have invented such a thing as the resurrection, is to place them in the front rank of poets and philosophers, far above Homer, and Socrates, and Plato. Such an invention on their part is almost as miraculous as the Resurrection itself.

As to the third general division of the Creed, and the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, the Forgiveness of Sins, &c., Celsus says, "If likewise you think that a certain Spirit descending from God announced to you things of a Divine nature, this will be the Spirit which proclaimed the Divine nature as perceived by the human intelligence, and with which men of old being filled, have unfolded so many things of a beneficial nature. If, therefore, you are unable to understand these assertions, be silent and conceal your ignorance, and do not say that those are blind who see, and those are lame who run," &c.[3]

Celsus heaped his reproaches upon Christianity for its doctrine of the *Forgiveness of Sins*, and says among other things, "It is manifest to every one that no one by chastisement, much less by merciful treatment, could effect a complete change in those who are sinners both by nature and custom, for to change nature is an exceedingly difficult thing. But they who are without sin are partakers of a better life."[4] It is simply a denial of the doctrine.

As to the General Resurrection at the last day, and the Life of the World to come, Celsus says, "Is it not most absurd and inconsistent in you, on the one hand, to make so much of the body as you do—to expect that the same body will rise again, as though it were the best and most precious part of us; and yet, on the other hand, to expose it to such tortures as though it were worthless? But men who hold such notions, and are so attached to the body, are not worthy of being reasoned with; for in this and in other respects, they show themselves to be gross, im-

[1] "*Life of Jesus*," pp. 356–7. [2] "*The Apostles*," c. 1. pp. 54–6.

[3] *Orig. cont. Cels.* lib. VII.; or Taylor's *Fragments*, pp. 33–4. Also Ante-Nicene Library, vol. 23, p. 468.

[4] Book III. c. 65.

pure, and bent upon revolting without any reason from the common belief. But I shall direct my discourse to those who hope for the enjoyment of eternal life with God by means of the soul or mind, whether they choose to call it a spiritual substance, an intelligent spirit, holy and blessed, or a living soul, or the heavenly and indestructible offspring of a Divine and incorporeal nature, or by whatever name they designate the spiritual nature of man. And they are rightly persuaded that those who live well shall be blessed, and the unrighteous shall all suffer everlasting punishment. And from this doctrine neither they nor any should ever swerve." To all of which Origen replies thus: "Celsus makes an unfounded charge against us when he ascribes to us the opinion 'that there is nothing in our complex nature better or more precious than the body'; for we hold that far beyond all bodies is the soul, and especially the reasonable soul; for it is the soul, and not the body, which bears the likeness of the Creator. For, according to us, God is not corporeal, unless we fall into the absurd errors of the followers of Zeno and Chrysippus. . . . And yet I wonder at what follows more than at anything that Celsus has ever said; for he adds, 'Those who lead a good life shall be happy, and the unrighteous shall suffer eternal punishment; and from this doctrine let not them or any one ever swerve.' For certainly, in writing against Christians, the very essence of whose faith is God, and the promises made by Christ to the righteous, and His warnings of punishment awaiting the wicked, he must see that, if a Christian were brought to renounce Christianity by his arguments against it, it is beyond doubt that, along with his Christian faith, he would cast off the very doctrine from which he says that no Christian and no man should ever swerve."[1]

All this early statement of Christian doctrine from an avowed enemy of Christianity is doubly valuable, both as an admission of its prevalence, and as a tribute to its great worth and influence. Celsus has not overthrown it. Article by article of the Creed can be verified in the early monuments of Christianity, both in painting, sculpture, and mosaic; and the Faith has come down to our times so pure, only because it was enshrined in hearts that had learned it, amid the fires of persecution, from the symbols on the walls of their subterranean chapels, and through their careful instruction in holy things before admission to the sacred mysteries.

This careful instruction, both oral and by symbol, belongs to the *Disciplina Arcani*. In answer to the charge of Celsus, that Christians invited sinners to their mysteries, Origen says, "It is not the same thing to invite those who are sick in soul to be cured, and those who are in health to the knowledge and study of Divine things. We, however, keeping both these things in view, at first invite all men to

[1] Book VIII. cc. 49–51.

be *healed*, and exhort those who are sinners to come to the consideration of the doctrines which teach men not to sin, and those who are without understanding to such doctrines as beget wisdom, and those who are children to rise in their thoughts to manhood, and those who are unfortunate to blessedness. *And when those who have been turned towards virtue have made progress, and have shown that they have been purified by the Word, and have led as far as they can a better life, then and not before do we invite them to participation in our mysteries.* Therefore, in the comparison which he institutes between the procedure of the initiators into the Grecian mysteries and the teachers of the doctrine of Jesus, he does not know the difference between inviting the wicked to be healed, and initiating those already purified into the sacred mysteries. Not to participation in the mysteries then, and to fellowship in the wisdom hidden in a mystery, which God ordained before the world to the glory of His saints, do we invite the wicked man, and the thief, and the housebreaker, and the poisoner, and the committer of sacrilege, and the plunderer of the dead, and all the rest whom Celsus mentions in his exaggerating style, but such as these we invite to be *healed*. God the Word was sent, indeed, as a Physician to sinners, but also as a Teacher of Divine mysteries to those who are already pure and sin no more."[1]

This first stage was a novitiate, and the person entering upon it was called a *catechumen*, or learner. There was not only diligent instruction in all Christian doctrine, but also close examination as to morals, conversation, and habits of life, as to any progress, amendment, or improvement. It was religious instruction and moral discipline combined. Justin Martyr makes this reference to it: "As many as are persuaded and believe that what we say and teach is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.' . . . And this is the reason (or rationale) of this rite as we have learned it from the Apostles. Since at our birth we were born without our own knowledge or choice, by our parents coming together, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training; in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in

[1] Book III. cc. 59–61.

the water the remission of sins formerly committed, there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed, calling him by this name alone. For no one can utter the name of the ineffable God; and if any one dare to say that there is a name, he raves with a hopeless madness. And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus he who is illuminated is washed."[1]

Here it will be noticed that what Origen calls *healing*, Justin Martyr calls *illumination*, and *regeneration*, and *remission of sins*, as effected in baptism. And this doctrine of baptismal regeneration, Justin claims to have had from the Apostles. Careful instruction in all articles of the Faith there must needs have been on the part of ignorant pagans before baptism; but why is baptism itself a mystery for which such preparation is deemed necessary? True, there must be a child of God before it can be born; but, then, it is also true that there can be no child of God without a birth. And baptism is the birth. It is the transfer from a state of nature into a state of grace—from darkness to light—from this sinful world into the Kingdom of God. We shall soon see in what perfect accord with this teaching are the oldest monuments of Christianity.

The secret discipline of the primitive Church seems to have had two or three classes of Catechumens, in different stages of advancement and fitness for admission into the Christian assembly. Origen thus speaks of it: "The Christians having previously, so far as possible, tested the souls of those who wish to become their hearers, and having previously instructed them in private, when, before entering the community, they appear to have sufficiently evinced their desire towards a virtuous life, introduce them then, and not before, privately forming one class of those who are beginners, and are receiving admission, but who have not yet obtained the mark of complete purification; and another class of those who have manifested to the best of their ability their intention to desire no other things than are approved by Christians; and among these there are certain persons appointed to make inquiries regarding the lives and behaviour of those who join them, in order that they may prevent those who commit infamous acts from coming into their public assembly, while those of a different character they receive with their whole heart, in order that they may daily make them better. And this is their method of procedure,

[1] *First Apology*, c. 61.

both with those who are sinners, and especially with those who lead dissolute lives, whom they exclude from their community."[1] In Tertullian's day, the heretics made no such distinction between a catechumen and a believer; for he says, "They all have access alike, they hear alike, they pray alike—even heathens, if any such happen to come among them. 'That which is holy they will cast to the dogs, and their pearls—only false ones—they will fling to the swine.' Simplicity they will have to consist in the overthrow of discipline, attention to which on our part they call finery."[2] And as to the kind of instruction and preparation which these catechumens must undergo before admission to baptism and the full privileges of the Christian assembly, we learn this much from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, that they must be instructed in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding of His only begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost. Let them learn the order of creation, the course of Providence, and dispensations of God's laws. Let them be instructed why the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein; let them also know their own nature, of what sort it is; let them also know how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and glorified the saints in every generation. . . . Let him that offers himself to baptism learn these and the like things during the time that he is a catechumen; and let him who lays his hands upon him adore God, and thank Him for His creation, for His sending Christ, &c., that the catechumen might hate every evil way, and walk in the way of truth, that he might be thought worthy of the laver of regeneration, and the adoption of sons, &c. And after this, the catechumen is to be instructed in the doctrines of our Lord's Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension. At his baptism he renounces Satan and all his works, pomps, and inventions, and rehearses the Creed as his belief.[3]

But then there was reserve as to imparting even to the catechumens all the mysteries of the Christian faith. In other words, there was an *esoteric* and an *exoteric* doctrine. Origen thus states it in his reply to Celsus as to the *Disciplina Arcani*: "Since he frequently calls the Christian doctrine a secret system, we must confute him on this point also, since almost the entire world is better acquainted with what Christians preach than with the favourite opinions of philosophers. For who is ignorant of the statement that Jesus was born of a Virgin, that He was crucified, and that His Resurrection is an article of faith, and that a general Judgment is announced to come, in which the wicked are to be punished according to their deserts, and the righteous to be duly rewarded? And yet the mystery of the Resurrection, not being

[1] Book III. c. 51.
[2] *Præs. Adv. Her.* c. 41.
[3] *Apost. Con.* Book VIII. cc. 39, 40, and 41.

understood, is made a subject of ridicule among unbelievers. In these circumstances to speak of Christian doctrine as a secret system is altogether absurd. But that there should be certain doctrines, not made known to the multitude, which are revealed after the *exoteric* ones have been taught, is not a peculiarity of Christianity alone, but also of philosophic systems, in which certain truths are *exoteric*, and others *esoteric*. Some of the hearers of Pythagoras were content with his *ipse dixit;* while others were taught in secret those doctrines which were not deemed fit to be communicated to profane and insufficiently prepared ears. Moreover, all the Mysteries that are celebrated everywhere throughout Greece and barbarous countries, although held in secret, have no discredit thrown upon them, so that it is in vain that he endeavors to calumniate the secret doctrines of Christianity, seeing he does not correctly understand its nature."[1]

St. Irenæus hints at the necessity of instruction before Baptism, as in the case of Philip and the Eunuch, in these words: "Nothing else but Baptism was wanting to him who had already been instructed by the prophets; he was not ignorant of God the Father, nor of the rules of proper life, but was merely ignorant of the advent of the Son of God."[2] This advent of the Son of God was part of the great mystery, according to St. Paul, (I. Tim. iii. 16;) and St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his fourth Catechetical Lecture, speaks of the *esoteric* doctrine thus: "To hear the Gospel, is indeed permitted to all; but the glory of the Gospel is set apart for Christ's genuine disciples only. The Lord spake in parables to those who would not hear; but privately explained these parables and similitudes to His disciples. The fulness of the glory belongs to those who are already illuminated; the blindness is that of unbelievers. These mysteries the Church communicates to him who is going out of the class of catechumens. Nor is it customary to reveal them to the heathen; for we do not tell to any heathen the secret mysteries concerning the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Neither do we openly and plainly speak of them among the catechumens, but only in a covert and secret manner, so that the faithful who know them may not be injured." And St. Basil the Great, in speaking of certain rites of the Church appertaining to Baptism and the Eucharist, which he claims were received by tradition from the Apostles, says expressly that they were guarded in reverent silence and dignity from all intrusion of the profane and uninitiated, so that they might not fall into contempt.[3]

Clement of Alexandria speaks of the necessity of hiding in a mystery the wisdom which the Son of God has taught; of the hindrances which there were in his

[1] *Cont. Celsum*, Book I. c. 7. [2] *Adv. Her.* Book IV. c. 23.
[3] *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27, pp. 311–12. Lipsiæ, 1854.

day in the way of his writing about this wisdom, lest he should cast pearls before swine; of the reason why the Christian Mysteries were celebrated at night, like the Pagan ones, because then the soul, released from the dominion of the senses, turns in upon itself, and has a truer intelligence; of the mystery of God hid for ages under allegory and prophecy, but as now revealed by Jesus Christ; and which St. Paul would only speak of among such as were perfect, giving milk to babes, and meat to men of understanding; and of these mysteries as entered upon through the tradition of the Lord, *i. e.*, by means of Baptism and Divine illumination.[1]

In this account of the Christian Mysteries there must be included the allusions made to them by Christ and His Apostles in the New Testament. There was something in them to be sought after most diligently, asked for most importunately, dug for as for hidden treasure, implying the stern and awful truth that these secret things could not and would not be forced upon the vicious, idle, inattentive, and frivolous portion of mankind who cared nothing about them. Twenty-eight times are the words Mystery and Mysteries used in the New Testament, in such various ways as these: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but to them it is not given," (St. Matt. xiii. 11; Mark iv. 11; Luke viii. 10;) This mystery, viz.: the temporary rejection of Israel, (Rom. xi. 25;) The revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, (Rom. xvi. 25;) The testimony or mystery of God, *i. e.*, the Gospel of salvation, (I. Cor. ii. 1;) The wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom, (I. Cor. ii. 7;) Stewards of the mysteries of God, (I. Cor. iv. 1;) Understand all mysteries, (I. Cor. xiii. 2;) In the spirit he speaketh mysteries, (I. Cor. xiv. 2;) I show you a mystery, (I. Cor. xv. 51;) The mystery of His will, (Eph. i. 9;) By revelation he made known to me the mystery; the mystery of Christ, (Eph. iii. 3 and 4;) Fellowship of the mystery hid in God from the beginning, Who created all things by Jesus Christ, *i. e.*, the world and the church, by which the manifold wisdom of God might be made known, (Eph. iii. 9 and 10;) This is a great mystery, *i. e.*, Christ and His Church like husband and wife, (Eph. v. 32;) Mystery of the Gospel, (Eph. vi. 19;) The mystery hid from ages and from generations, (Col. i. 26;) The riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you the hope of glory, (Col. i. 27;) The acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, (Col. ii. 2 and 3;) To speak the mystery of Christ, (Col. iv. 3;) The mystery of iniquity, (II. Thes. ii. 7;) Holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience, (I. Tim. iii. 9;) Great is the mystery of godliness, (I. Tim. iii. 16;) The mystery of the seven stars, and of

[1] *Stromata*, Books I. c. 12; IV. c. 22; V. cc. 9 and 10; VII. c. 17.

the seven golden candlesticks, *i. e.*, the seven bishops, and seven churches of Asia Minor; (Rev. i. 20;) The mystery of God should be finished; (Rev. x. 7;) Mystery, Babylon the Great; (Rev. xvii. 5;) The mystery of the woman. (Rev. xvii. 7.)

With but three exceptions, then, all this mystery relates to God, to Christ, to the Gospel, and to the Church. It is the whole doctrine of God's existence and manifestation, from first to last. And to teach all this great doctrine was the special object of the Primitive Church in her *Disciplina arcani*, precisely as it was the primary object of the Pagan Mysteries. The great and only difference between them was, that the Christian Mysteries were for all who desired the Divine knowledge, without distinction; while the Pagan Mysteries were restricted to a few. The one transcendent mystery as to the being of God is that of the Trinity, the grand secret imparted at Baptism; and allied with this is that other great mystery of the Divine manifestation on earth in the Incarnation of the Son of God, involving as it does the whole question of human redemption in soul and body as symbolized in the Sacraments of the Church, which are the main channels of grace to mankind.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that besides the grand secret as to the Trinity preserved in the Christian Mysteries, like the mystic AUM of the ancient Hindus, which was only thought of in reverent silence, and never audibly pronounced, there was equal reserve as to the doctrine of the Eucharist, to which none but the *Illuminati*, or such as had been baptized and anointed, or confirmed, were ever admitted. The *Competentes* were such as had undergone their preparation for Baptism. So that there were three general classes of Christians in the Primitive Church, viz., the Catechumens, the Competentes, and the Illuminati, or Mystæ, or Faithful. Not only was the Eucharist guarded from all intrusion of the Pagans, but even the different grades of catechumens were not permitted to be present at its celebration. Whether or not the doctrine of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, or Transubstantiation, was then taught, we have no definite means of ascertaining, the assertions of an "Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," to the contrary notwithstanding.[1] The reserve on this question is entirely too close to open! The monuments are no more explicit than the Fathers are. But for all this there was something mysterious about the Eucharist as related to the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, and His union with the church, which could only be appreciated by the highest exercise of faith; and therefore none but the faithful were admitted to the high privilege of its participation. No explanation of it is given by the Fathers; no explanation appears in the monuments. It still remains

[1] Tom Moore's, vol. I. cc. 12 and 13. 2nd Ed. Longman's, 1833. For another account see G. S. Faber's "*Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*," vol. I. c. 8. London, 1832.

where the Lord left it, a profound mystery, like the union of soul and body, spirit and matter, God and man, Christ and His Church.

It is very seldom, indeed, that either the doctrine of the Trinity or the celebration of the Eucharist appears in the monuments of the Primitive Church; and the reason is so well given by a French writer on the subject, that I cannot forbear to cite it: "The rule of the Secret Discipline applied as well to the monuments as to the catechumens, *i. e.*, the law of prudence and reserve, not to divulge the secrets of Christianity. Epitaphs, sculptures, and paintings had to be equally reserved as to these mysteries as oral teaching was, because the rule was established when the Christian assemblies took refuge in the Catacombs. Two views of this law of secrecy here present themselves. (1.) That the Secret Discipline prescribed great caution in the monuments themselves, because the Church so precisely observed the rules prescribed for the gradual instruction of the catechumens. It is true that those of the first class, called *Day scholars* (*externes*), were not permitted to enter the churches; but this exclusion did not apply to the other classes. The second class, viz.: that of *hearers* (*auditores*), could remain in the churches with the congregation of the faithful to hear the reading of some parts of Holy Scripture and their exposition, after which they retired. The privilege of remaining there longer, and of uniting in the common prayers, was accorded, with some restrictions, to the class called *Prostrates* or *Prostrants*. When the time came for them to depart, the *Competentes*, or class of the *Elect* continued some time longer praying in the interior of the church; but they could not assist at the most sacred part of the mysteries. If the churches of the Catacombs were too small to be constantly used for the simultaneous reunions of the faithful and the catechumens, this material obstacle, though opposed to the entire execution of the rule, did not destroy the rule itself which authorized these classes of catechumens to enter the churches when they were not otherwise occupied by the faithful. With greater reason these reunions ought to take place in the sepulchral chapels ornamented with paintings and epitaphs. But if these paintings and epitaphs had there revealed, in any explicit manner, the doctrines which could not orally be communicated to the catechumens, then the law of the Secret Discipline would have been violated, by tracing on the walls those truths which could only be taught them where they had the right to be admitted. At the same time it is very possible that the right conferred upon them by the general rules of the Discipline, had not been in habitual use within the innermost recesses of the Catacombs. The churches, or the chapels, by reason of their small dimensions, having thus been for the exclusive use of the faithful, special places had to be assigned in other parts of the Catacombs for the meetings of the catechumens. Whatever probability may attach to this opinion,

it is not necessary to conclude from it that the paintings and inscriptions could, for this reason, be free from the reserve recommended by the law of the Secret Discipline. For when the catechumens were admitted into the Catacombs, it might happen that, in spite of the established order, they would from time to time penetrate into the corridors, into the sepulchral chambers even, where the paintings and inscriptions would reveal to them prematurely certain doctrines, if these doctrines had there been clearly expressed.

(2.) The other view is that the Christians feared the Pagans would enter these sacred subterraneans, which did happen more than once. But whatever may have been the motive of these incidental precautions, it is enough to say, that the general spirit of the rules followed them in the matter of the Liturgy, and forces the conviction that this spirit imperiously preserved a great prudence or secrecy as to the monuments of Christian piety. The Liturgy, or at least its most integral part, was so secret that it was not committed to the most confidential writings. A letter of Pope Innocent I. furnishes the most decisive proof of this. A certain bishop named Decentius consulted the Pontiff upon the rites of the Sacraments, and this answer was made, viz., "That instead of asking for explanations in writing about the *secret things*, he should have contented himself, during his sojourn at Rome, with observing what took place in the celebration of the Mysteries, at which he had several times assisted."[1] Nevertheless, the Pontiff answered on some points of the Ritual, yet preserved the greatest reticence on others. "You assure me," he says, "that some of your priests wish to give themselves the blessing of peace, and to have it given to the people, *before* the consecration of the Mysteries, when it must be given *after* all those things about which I cannot write." Again he says, "As to the other things about which we are not permitted to write, you will ask us when you come here, and we will be able to answer. A written communication would betray the secret."[2]

Such then was the order followed at the beginning of the fifth century, at a time when publicity would have caused much less inconvenience than before, and when society almost entirely was on the eve of professing Christianity. Why then this secret of the Liturgy, if it did not contain some doctrinal matter?[3] And how then could the Church, in times of persecution, resolve to paint on the walls of its chapels, a permanent declaration of those things which she refused to entrust to the letters which she addressed, not only to private Christians, but to bishops, after the triumph of Christianity—letters which could have been destroyed, if necessary,

[1] Innocent I. was the thirty-ninth bishop of Rome, during the time of the younger Theodosius, A.D. 402–17.

[2] Migne's *Patrology*, tom. XX. p. 51. Res. ad Dicentium.

[3] Rothe insists upon it that the Sacraments were secret only *dogmatically*. De *Dis. Arcan.* p 20, c. 11.

or placed in the sacred archives? On the other hand, the sacred monuments could not wholly abstain from all expression of some religious truth. Has the Church ever been able to construct sepulchres and oratories without that Christian sentiment which feels the need of stamping them with the seal of her Faith? The utility of a language that speaks to the eyes, and which leaves such a lively impression on the soul, makes itself felt in all times. Christianity is not only composed of the sentiments which it excites in the heart; it also includes truths lodged in the mind, in order to be the controlling principles of these feelings and sentiments. Yet both seek expression as much as possible through all the means of outward manifestation which God has put at human disposal. The Primitive Church, as we shall see, meant thus to make her Christian Art serve as the exponent of her Faith, and the expression of her piety. This law of manifestation modified the law of secrecy. Its two needs thus reciprocally restricted it, and made some agreement necessary. This conciliation would conduce to the adoption of symbolical signs, which painting, above all, was the proper medium of furnishing. Symbolism is a veiled expression. The pictures invested with symbolical characteristics, were so traced on the walls as to reveal truth, and yet not indiscreetly divulge it. Symbolism, then, was obligatory. We might affirm that it must have existed, even though its existence could not be actually established.

But besides this, Christian antiquity has left us, beyond these obviously emblematic signs and images, a monument by which we may determine the meaning of symbols, in the lettered inscriptions which often accompany them. Thus the word *Petrus*, written on a glass painted with a representation of Moses striking the rock, may refer to Baptism, Peter being to the new dispensation what Moses was to the old. A simple method seems to have been adopted by the piety of early Christianity of attaching a doctrinal meaning to certain miracles which made it unnecessary to go outside of Scriptural facts to learn or understand the doctrines. Thus the miracle of the healing of the man born blind furnishes a figurative representation of Baptismal Regeneration, by which man passes from darkness to light. The healing of the Paralytic signifies the remission of sins committed after Baptism. The manna which nourished God's people in the desert, and the miracle of the multiplication of bread, furnish an emblem of the Eucharist. To the *initiated* these analogies were so striking that it would have been impossible to create, by any effort of the imagination, a symbolism more satisfactory, so to speak, than that which they found already made and furnished in the Bible itself. On the other hand, these pictures did not betray the secrets of initiation and of the Liturgy. If they had a doctrinal meaning for those who were fully initiated in the Christian Mysteries, they only afforded to others some of the historical features of religion,

some miraculous facts, which would create no disorder, and which the Christians used in their discussions with the Pagans themselves. This system of paintings, therefore, which revealed the doctrines of Christianity to the initiated, and covered them as with a pious veil from all others, was then called for by the two needs of the Church, which she had to satisfy, viz., secrecy and edification, a two-fold rule which she herself prescribed." [1]

I have no doubt that these two needs of the Primitive Church modified the Secret Discipline, making it more rigid at some times than others; but of its existence from the beginning, in some form, there can be no doubt whatever. If the Pagan Mysteries preserved what little pure knowledge of God, of immortality, and of the doctrine of future rewards and punishments there was left in the heathen world, so are we much more indebted to the Christian Mysteries and symbols of the Primitive Church for all our superior knowledge of these, and other vital subjects.

[1] "*Esquisse de Rome Chrétienne*," by Mgr. Ph. Gerbet, Bishop of Perpignan, vol. II. c. 8, 5th Ed. Paris, 1866. The Primitive Liturgies were wholly restricted to the Eucharist.

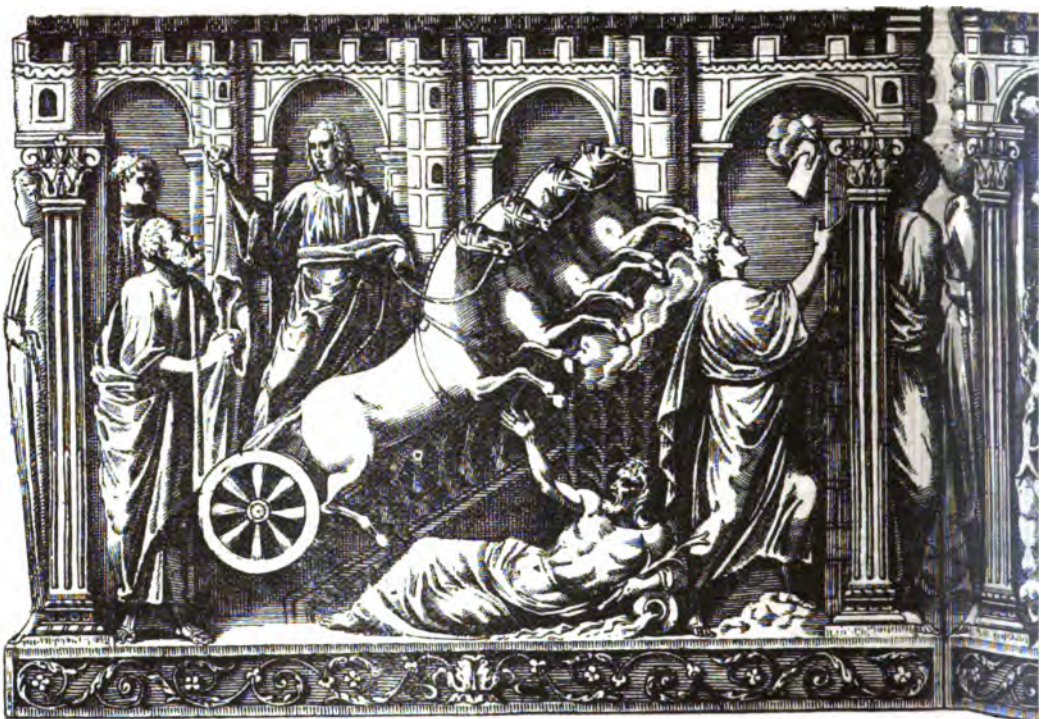


FIG. 24.—The Divine Hand giving the Law to Moses and

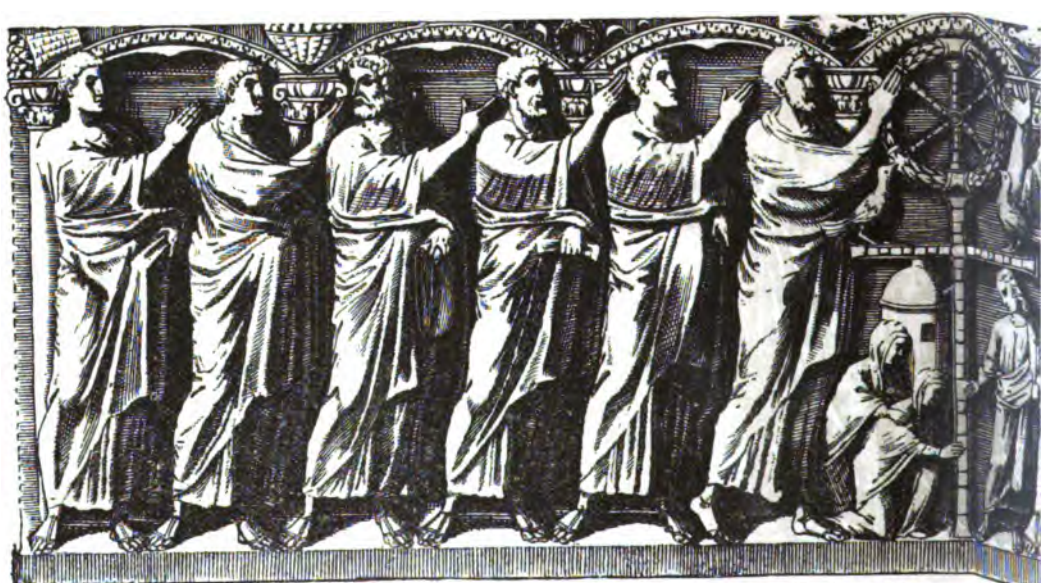
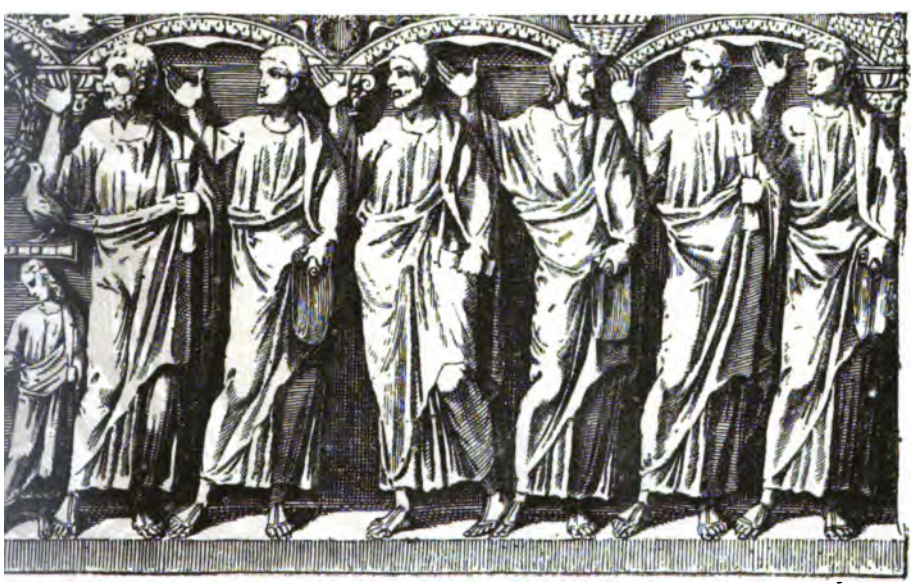


FIG. 25.—The Sacred Monogram encir ed a

loses and in the sacrifice of Abraham.



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## CHAPTER V.

### GOD, THE FATHER ALMIGHTY.

*God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.—Pagan and Christian Symbols of God.—Hindu, Egyptian, and Hebrew Symbols of the Trinity.—The Hand of God in the Law, and the Sacrifice of Abraham.—Creation of Eve.—The Pope as Creator.—Alpha and Omega.—Inscriptions.*

THE Pagan Mysteries and the *Disciplina Arcani* of the Primitive Christian Church having had for their chief object the knowledge of God and his relations to us, as well as our relations to Him, and other kindred doctrines, such as that of our lapse and restoration, immortality, and future rewards and punishments, as considered in the last chapter, I now proceed to the inquiry as to the mode of imparting this knowledge to the initiated, and at the same time of concealing it from the uninitiated.

But how shall the human mind form any just and adequate conception of God, or give it expression? This was and it still is, the problem with such as do not receive Christianity as a Divine revelation. In ancient times the circle was the symbol of the eternal, invisible, and infinite God, among the Hindus, Persians, and Egyptians. Early Christian art retained this symbol, but always around her Lord, or some type of Him. Take, for example, the representation of Brahm on the next page, the unrevealed and unknown God of the ancient Hindus, in connection with another representation of their conception of God as Creator. No. 1 is Brahm as self-existent, self-contained, and eternal, or simply a circle formed by bending his body round so that his great toe is in his mouth. What a grotesque figure! No. 2 is God as male and female, with the Divine effulgence or power on one side, and the product or creation on the other. Or as Creuzer expresses it, No. 1 is Brahm the Supreme God, the principle of the universe, at the instant which precedes his revelation, as indicated by the rays of light around his head; the mantle, which almost entirely envelops him; the great toe in his mouth, and the circle thereby made, are so

1. FIG. 26. 2.

3. FIG. 27.—The Persons of the Hindu Triad, including the Female Principle.

many signs of being, as unrevealed, self-contained, eternal, infinite, and sunk in profound meditation on his own essence.[1]

No. 2 is Brahma-Maya, the first revelation of Brahm under the form of an hermaphrodite The chain in the hand of the male portion of the figure is the succession of created things; the dancing attitude of Maya or the female, and the magic veil full of animals, express joy and fecundity; and the pointed cap or crown indicates divine royalty. No. 3, or figure 27, is Narayana, *the Spirit moving on the waters;* and *he who will wipe away our sorrows;* he is one of the Triad, and a surname of Vishnu.[2] The toe in his mouth, as in No. 1, represents his incomprehensible spiritual nature. And so we have what seems to shadow forth the Christian Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and, as the Latin Church represents the mystery, the Virgin Mary is included, as the necessary female principle in every idolatrous and pantheistic system of religion.

Those of us who have all our lives been accustomed to regard the Hindus as polytheists, and their religion as polytheism, will surely be surprised to hear what Major Moor says of the matter, viz.: "Strictly speaking, the *religion* of the Hindus is *monotheism.* They worship God in unity, and express their conceptions of the

[1] Creuzer's *Symbolik*, by Guigniaut, pl. 1.

[2] Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pl. 20, pp. 74, 80, 385.

Divine Being and his attributes in the most awful and sublime terms. God, thus adored, is called BRAHM; the One Eternal Mind; the self-existing, incomprehensible Spirit." Again he says, "Of that infinite, incomprehensible, self-existent Spirit no representation is made; to his direct and immediate honour no temples rise; nor dare a *Hindu* address to him the effusions of his soul otherwise than by the mediation of a personified attribute, or through the intervention of a priest. . . . But, although the *Hindus* are taught to address their vows to idols and saints, these are still but types and personifications of the Deity, who is too awful to be contemplated, and too incomprehensible to be described."[1]

Colebrooke says, that "The real doctrine of the whole Indian scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the stars, and planets, as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of the Hindu mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the *Vedas*. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any other portion of the text, which I have yet seen; though such are sometimes hinted at by the commentators."[2] And in another place, this distinguished Oriental scholar says, "The ancient Hindu religion, as founded on the Indian scriptures, recognizes but one God, yet not sufficiently discriminating the creature from the Creator."[3]

H. H. Wilson remarks that "Some of these statements may perhaps require modification; for without a careful examination of all the prayers of the Vedas, it would be hazardous to assert that they contain no indication whatever of hero worship; and certainly they do appear to allude occasionally to the Avatáras, or incarnations, of Vishnu. Still, however, it is true that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni, or fire; Indra, the firmament; Váyu, the air; Varuna, the water; of Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic worship, consisting of prayers and oblations offered—in their own houses, not in temples—by individuals for individual good, and addressed to unreal presences, not to visible types. In a word, the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry."[4]

And again he says, "The religion of the Vedas, as far as we are acquainted with it, differs in many very material points from that of the present day. . . . It is declared in some texts that the deities are only three; whose places are the earth,

[1] *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 1–3.
[2] *Essays*, vol. I. p. 27.
[3] *Essays*, vol. I. pp. 110–111.
[4] *The Vishnu Purana*, Pref. p. II. London, 1840.

the middle region between heaven and earth, and the heaven; namely, fire, air, the sun. Upon this, however, seems to have been grafted some loftier speculation, and the elements came to be regarded as types and emblems of Divine Power, as there can be no doubt that the fundamental doctrine of the Vedas is monotheism. 'There is in truth,' say repeated texts, 'but one deity, the Supreme Spirit.' 'He from whom the universal world proceeds, who is the Lord of the universe, and whose work is the universe, is the Supreme Being.' Injunctions also repeatedly occur to worship Him, and Him only. 'Adore God alone, know God alone, give up all other discourse;' and the Vedánt says, 'It is found in the Vedas, that none but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped, nothing excepting Him should be adored by a wise man.'

"It was upon these and similar passages that Rámohan Roy grounded his attempts to reform the religion of his countrymen, to put down idolatry, and abolish all idolatrous rites and festivals, and substitute the worship of one God by means of prayer and thanksgiving. His efforts were not very successful; but he did not labour wholly in vain; for there is a society in Calcutta, which although not numerous, is highly respectable, both for station and talent, which professes faith in one only Supreme God, and assembles once a week, on a Sunday, to perform Divine service, consisting of prayers, hymns, and a discourse in Bengali, or Sanscrit, on moral obligations, or the attributes and nature of the Deity."[1]

Sir Wm. Jones says, "That the learned Indians, as instructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only one Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE, in the neuter gender; they believe his Essence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own; and they suppose him to manifest his power by the operation of his Divine Spirit, whom they call VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NARAYAN, or *moving on the waters*, both in the masculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *first male;* and by this power they believe that the whole order of nature is preserved and supported."[2] The *Gayatri*, or holiest verse of the Vedas is this: "Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, (not the visible luminary,) the Godhead who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress toward his holy seat."

"What the sun and light are to this visible world, that are the supreme *good* and *truth*, to the intellectual and invisible universe; and, as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire

[1] *Essays and Lectures*, &c., vol. II. pp. 50-2. London, 1862.

[2] *Works*, vol. III. p. 350. Lord Teignmouth's Ed. London, 1807. And No. 3, or Fig. 27, on page 88.

certain knowledge, by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of beings; *that* is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude."

"Without hand or foot He runs rapidly and grasps firmly; without eyes He sees, without ears He hears *all;* He knows whatever can be known, but there is none who knows Him; Him the wise call the great, the supreme, the pervading spirit."

"Perfect truth; perfect happiness; without equal; immortal; absolute unity; whom neither speech can describe, nor mind comprehend; all-pervading; all-transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence, not limited by space or time; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without an intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause, the first of all causes; all-ruling; all-powerful; the Creator, Preserver, Transformer of all things; such is the Great One: this the Vedas declare."[1]

And yet with all this evidence before him as to the spiritual doctrine, A. P. Cory charges materialism upon the whole Vedic system, and Sir W. Jones with being its apologist.[2]

Now, according to the system of symbolism adopted by the Hindus, a circle is BRAHM, Eternity; having neither beginning nor end; it denotes unity, perfection. A circle enclosing a triangle, and a triangle enclosing a circle, have mysterious allusions to Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, not easily comprehended.[3]

As the Hindus had both a male and a female Trinity, so the triangle was the symbol of triune co-equality; when the apex of the triangle pointed up, the male trinity is designated, and when it pointed down, the female is meant. When these two triangles intersect each other so as to make six points, the union of the two deities or trinities is intended. In other words, the triangle pointing up denotes the male principle, or active power of creation, as fire, and the triangle pointing down, denotes the female principle, or passive power of creation, as water, or the sun and moon, heaven and earth, &c.[4]

Early Christianity was extremely cautious about the use of any symbols of the Trinity, on account of her Secret Discipline; and so far as I know, only one or two instances of the triangle on her monuments occur. One of these is on the corner of a gravestone with the Christian monogram inscribed, and found in the cemetery of Priscilla. It is given on the next page, fig. 28. The other I find in my own note book, as copied from the Christian side of the Lapidarian Gallery of the Vatican,

[1] Sir W. Jones' *Works*, vol. 13, pp. 367–9. [2] See his *Mythological Inquiry*, pp. 20–1. London, 1833.
[3] Moor's *Pantheon*, p. 400, and plate II., Nos. 43, 44, 45 and 46. [4] Id. p. 399, and Plate II. No. 42.

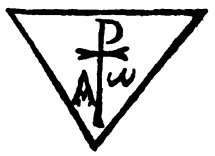

FIG. 28.

and is the union of the two triangles. They doubtless both refer to the Trinity; and the Abbot, J. Gaume, cites an early inscription in which the belief in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit is especially recorded.[1]

It is a curious and instructive fact, that the Jews had symbols of the Divine Unity in Trinity as well as the Pagans. The Jews, however, were expressly forbidden to make any human or other likeness of God; symbols and types there might be, provided they did not degenerate into objects of idolatrous worship. On this account painting and sculpture were little practiced among them; and when they did fall into idolatry, the idols were Pagan ones. Here is a circle, with three *Yods*, and one *Kamets*, or sacred *tau* inscribed within it, used as a symbol of God among the Jews. It is one of their cabalistic figures to which a most sacred and profound meaning belonged. The *Yod* is the first letter of the name of God or Jehovah, and the tenth or perfect number of the Hebrew alphabet. According to Gesenius and Parkhurst it means *hand;* and in the Phœnician and Samaritan alphabets, and on Maccabæan coins, it still is a rude image of the hand. Basnage cites the Rabbins as saying of it, "The *Yod* or J, is one of those things which eye hath not seen, but has been concealed from all mankind; its essence and nature are incomprehensible; it is not lawful so much as to meditate upon it. Man may lawfully revolve his thoughts from one end of the heavens to the other, but he can't approach that inaccessible Light—that primitive Existence contained in the letter *Yod*."[2]

FIG. 29.

Kircher affirms that *Yod* designates God the Father, or the Beginning and Fountain of all things; and that the above circle with the threefold repetition of this sacred and mysterious letter, indicates the Divine essence and the three *Hypostases* or Persons.[3] Fig. 29.

The symbol is called the sacred *Tetragrammaton.* In ancient Chaldæan paraphrases, preserved among the Jews, and in ancient Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible in the Vatican, is exhibited or described this symbol or *Tetragrammaton* as above; "They drew three *Yods* with the point Kamets placed underneath, and sometimes enclosed the whole in a circle. The three *Yods* were so drawn to mark the *three Hypostases* in the Divine nature. Equal in magnitude, and similar in form, they denoted the co-equality of these persons. By the single Kamets placed under-

[1] *Histoire Des Catacombes*, p. 454. Paris, 1848. [2] *Hist. of the Jews*, p. 193. London, 1708.
[3] *Œd. Egyptiacus*, II. pt. I. p. 235. Also p. 226, &c.

neath, they meant to symbolize the *unity* of the essence common to each person."[1] Nothing is here said of the circle, which must certainly have been intended to symbolize the *eternity* and *infinity* of the Divine nature. Buxtorf the younger, who gives this statement in his treatise on the ten names of God, also affirms that the sacred name Jehovah properly resolves itself into but *three* letters, J, H, V, which signify the Being who revealed Himself as He who *was*, *is*, and *is to come*.

Kircher has this to the same effect, viz., "That the ancient wise men among the Hebrews who thought more attentively of the name of God, were accustomed to designate the ineffable mystery of the most Holy Triad, not by four letters, but by three *Yods* inclosed in a circle with the vowel *Kamets* placed underneath, according to the author of a Rabbinical book, called Pardes, who affirms that this mystery is expressed thus, יִיי, *i. e.*, by three *Yods* and Kamets underneath."[2] St. Prosper of Aquitaine speaks of the hand of God, which forms and models *Yod;* and St. Eucher, Bishop of Lyons, in the fifth century, says that by the hand of God the Divine power is implied.[3]

Now inasmuch as *Yod* means the hand, which is only a synonym of strength and power, so we find that a hand itself was used symbolically among the Jews to express the power and efficiency of God. This was done by the high priest in giving the threefold benediction to the people, as recorded in Numbers vi. 24, 25, and 26, which he not only repeated three times, and each time in a different tone of voice, but with the repetition, elevated his right hand, and extended the middle fingers in so marked a manner as to symbolize the three hypostases, as shown in Fig. 30. Both Christianity and Mohammedanism have adopted this symbolical form of benediction from Judaism. The hand was worshipped as a god; was used as an amulet; was made a votive offering; and was a symbol of faith and amity between nations, in times anterior to Christianity. Athanasius tells us that some of the idolators of his day "exalted to the rank of gods the several parts of the human body, as the head, the hand, &c;" upon which Montfaucon remarks,

Fig. 30.—Jewish form of Benediction.

[1] In antiquis paraphrasibus Chaldaïcis manuscriptis Judæorum, nomen hoc *Tetragrammaton* scribitur per *tria Yod* cum subscripto Kamets, et nonnunquam circulo inclusa. Tria jod, putant denotare tres hypostases; tria Jod, tres æquales hypostases; unicum Kamets, tribus illis subscriptum, essentiam unicam tribus personis communem.—Buxtorf, Dissert. p. 260. Basil, 1662.

[2] Hinc antiqui Hebræorum sapientes nomen hoc Dei attentius considerantes, illud non per quatuor, sed tria Jod circulo inclusa, et subscripta vocali Camets, ad ineffabile Sacrosanctæ Triadis mysterium indicandum, signare solebant, ut sequitur, יִיי, quod Author libri, qui intitulatur Pardes, his verbis affirmat, quod ob mysterium hoc nomen scribunt Yod, uti hic יִיי—*Œd. Egypt*, II. pt. I. pp. 114. 235, 238, &c. Id. II. pt. pp. 114-116.

[3] Didron's *Icon. Chrét.* 215.

FIG. 31.—Egyptian Symbol of God's Hand.

"As to the hands, we have more reason to believe it true than of the other parts of the body, because we find a great number of them, most of which are full of heads of gods, and of those animals which were objects of the monstrous worship of the Egyptians."[1]

One of these hands, Kircher says, was worn as an amulet of great power, viz., the one having the head of Serapis in the palm, wearing on the collar the Isiac cross; the scales of justice and various animals on the back; and the two forefingers and thumb extended as in the Romish form of benediction.[2]

FIG. 32.—Greek Symbol of God's Hand.

Huemac, the strong hand, was the god of earth quakes in ancient Mexico. The Zapotecs worshipped such a deity under the figure of a hand carved from a precious stone; and the hero-god of the Mayas in Yucatan was also worshipped under the image of the Working Hand.[3]

Every diligent reader of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures must have noticed the very frequent mention of God's hand in them, as His creative, preserving, protecting, and saving instrument: not that God really has any hands, but

[1] *Antiquity Explained*, vol. II. pl. 44, p. 208. London, 1721.
[2] *Œd. Egypt.* II. pt. II. p. 451.
[3] *Myths of the New World*, by Dr. Brinton, p. 183. N. Y. 1868.

they are symbols of His manifest power and goodness. Even now it is common to use the expression, the Lord's hand, for any Divine interposition of power and goodness. Early Christianity most certainly inherited the Jewish hatred and loathing of idolatry; and the shocking forms and vices of Pagan idolatry with which it had to deal made them abhor it still more; and so we find no pictorial or sculptured image of God the Father whatever, in the earliest monuments of the Christian faith. One of the very best authorities on this point tells us that during the first centuries of Christianity, even as late as the twelfth century, no portrait of God the Father is to be seen. His presence is intimated only by a hand issuing from the clouds or from heaven. The hand is sometimes entirely open, and darting rays from each finger as though it were a living sun.[1]

As illustrations of both the Pagan and Christian conceptions of God's hand as a symbol of His presence and power, I reproduce on the preceding page these two representations, one Persian, the other Greek; one Pagan, the other Christian.

Fig. 31 represents the worship of the sun, or rather the worship of God through and by means of the sun as mediator, after the Persian domination in Egypt, 523 B.C., under Artaxerxes Longimanus. The sun's disc is sending forth rays of light, each ending with a hand; and some are bestowing life's hopes and blessings in the symbol of immortality, the cross. All that was dear in this life and the life to come, is here intended by these hands holding forth the very sign of eternal life, and coming forth from the one source of all life and blessing. Samuel Sharpe remarks that in this figure the sculptor intends to designate the Persian king Longimanus, or long-handed, because his arm was supposed to reach over Asia, Africa, and part of Europe. If so, then Longimanus owed his conquests and his power to God, and makes the acknowledgment in this act of worship. Sir G. Wilkinson found among the ruins of the ancient city of Alabastron, a sculpture representing the king, queen, and two children worshipping the sun, with just such rays of light, hands, and crosses as the above.[2]

Fig. 32 is from a Greek miniature of the tenth century, and represents the Divine hand darting forth rays of power and blessing, after the mode of benediction in the Greek Church. The Greek letters indicate the figures to be Night, Aurora, and the prophet Isaiah; and the whole is an allegorical representation of God's power as celebrated by this prophet, in such passages as these, "Behold the Lord God will come with a strong hand; I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I have made

[1] Didron, *Iconog. Chrét.* p. 207.

[2] *Egyptian Mythology*, &c., p. 71.

[3] *Manners and Customs*, 2nd series, I. p. 298, pl. 30.

FIG. 33.—The Divine Hand, the Cross, and Triad.

the earth, and created man upon it; I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded," &c. (xlv. and xl.)[1] Isaiah's mission was, in large part, to foretell the advent of Messiah and His joyous reign; and this picture no doubt has reference to the night passing away and the new day of peace and righteousness as about dawning on the world.

I also give two representations of the subject vastly different in the treatment, but akin in the fundamental idea. The first is a Christian mosaic at Ravenna, over the altar, on the south side of the apse of the church of *St. Vitalis*, A. D. 547; and the other is an ancient Egyptian painting found on a mummy. It is part of a manuscript taken from the rolls of the covering, and belonged to the first Napoleon, who allowed Denon to copy it.

The round shield or tablet in Fig. 33 with the jewelled cross and *A* and *Ω*, borne by the two angels, is a symbol of the eternity of God; the cross is the symbol of God's whole manifestation of Himself in His Son for the good of mankind; the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet are significant of God's immensity—that He includes all things—made all things—was before all and shall survive all; in a word, they are symbols of God's creative power, always and everywhere present. (4) On one side is Jeremiah, (5) and on the other, Moses on the Mount, receiving

[1] Didron, *Iconog. Chrét*, pp. 208–9.

FIG. 34.—Egyptian Symbol of the Triad.

the law from the hand of God, or the ascent of Elijah. (6) At any rate, the hand of God reaches out of heaven towards some one of His earthly saints for good and in merciful interposition. Within the semi-circle is seen the hand of God again interposing to save Isaac, and arresting the uplifted arm of Abraham with the knife in his hand. (10.) Under the tree is a table in shape like an altar, at which stand the three holy men that appeared to Abraham, and the Patriarch hospitably entertaining them; the whole being a representation of God's interposition for our salvation, as Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Of course so late as this, the doctrine of the Trinity was no longer a secret.

The other figures, given above, are the Pagan expressions of the same fundamental idea. An Egyptian priest stands before an image of Isis or the great mother, nature, represented by a cow, and is making an offering of some tre-foil plant. Over the cow is the sacred *Uraeus*, or symbol of the Egyptian Triad, consisting of the winged globe and the serpent; and representing the three powers of creation, preservation, and reproduction. The dark disc is God unknown as the source of all things; the serpent is the Divine Wisdom or emanation; and the wings are those of the brooding and flying and protecting care and goodness of the Spirit. The mummy underneath the cow is the dead man or woman awaiting the time of his or her resurrection by the power of God, for whose interposition the priest is no doubt praying and making his oblation.[1] Horapollo tells us that when the ancient Egyptians would represent *Eternity* they delineate a serpent with its tail covered by the rest of its body, which they call *Ouraius*, but in the Greek language it signifies Basilisk; that this animal is alone immortal, and destroys other animals

[1] *Denon's Travels in Egypt*, II. pl. 65, pp. 299–300. London, 1803, 4to.

by merely breathing upon them; and that because it thus has the power of life and death, they place it on the head of the gods.' In this picture, then, the serpent must be taken as the symbol of that Divine power which both kills and makes alive again—which reproduces life through death.

Infidelity has been accustomed to say, from the time of Dupuis to the present, that Christianity is only a sort of copy of ancient Paganism: that it has no new ideas, and must therefore be rejected. But where did Paganism get its sublime conceptions of God, its notions of immortality and human destiny? Whence did all ancient nations derive them, hold them, and agree so marvellously about them? This universal faith must have an adequate cause; and Christianity is but the more full, clear, true and glorious exponent of it all. Religion is something more than the delineation and personification of the laws and operations of nature, or it could not have been so universal in its essential ideas of some power or powers above and beyond and independent of, nature. The symbol hovering over the cow Isis and the dead mummy means this, or it means nothing; and the priest elevating his offering towards it, in presence of Isis or Nature as mediatrix, has the same meaning. In other words, the offering is made to the invisible powers of nature, through the medium of nature.

If Christ was before Abraham, as He claimed to be, then surely He must have manifested Himself to other nations beside the Jews, or other nations, including the Jews, must have derived their religious systems and ideas originally from some one common source. This use of the hand of God, so general and so significant, could not have been by accident; if it were idolatrous, early Christianity could not have adopted it, for it always preferred death to the practice of idolatry.

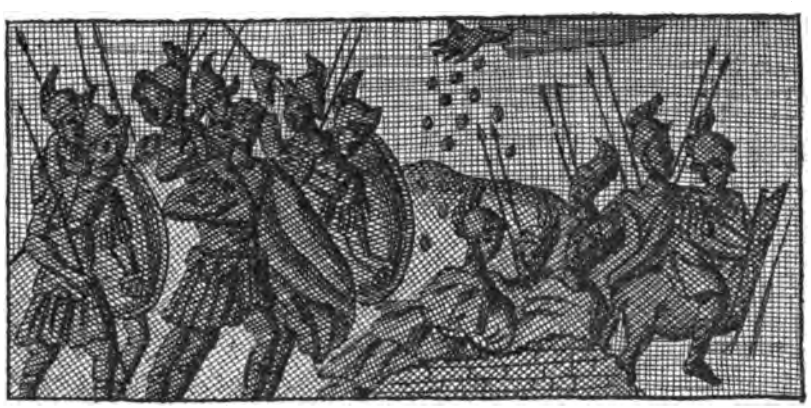

FIG. 35.—Battle of Beth-Horon.

[1] *A. T. Corey's Ed.*, p. 6, London, 1840.

But I must go on to notice other instances of the use of the Divine hand, and the doctrine involved in it. Take this mosaic in the church of *Galla Placida*, at Ravenna, describing the battle of Beth-Horon, where the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon the Amorites, as recorded in Joshua, x. 11. (See Fig. 35.)

Here it will be noticed that the Lord God is represented only by a hand, as late as the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era. There are also other instances at Ravenna, as given by Ciampini, of the Divine hand holding a crown over the head of our Lord, as well as over the heads of the saints, as the Rewarder of virtue, as shown in Fig. 36; and on some of the coins of Constantine, struck after his death, he is seen translated to heaven in a chariot, the Divine hand reaching out of heaven to receive him.

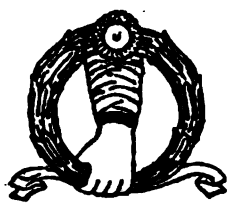

FIG. 36.—Divine Hand and Crown.

As an illustration of this truth, in more modern times, take Fig. 37, of the hand of God reaching out of heaven to rescue the souls of the just and translate them to Paradise, copied by Didron[1] from a fresco in the church of the great Greek convent at Salamis.

These souls are represented as little, naked children, kneeling meekly, with folded hands, in joyful adoration and safety. It illustrates that passage of Scripture which says that all God's saints are in His hand; (Deut. xxxiii. 3;) and that other consoling passage read on All Saints' Day, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there no torment shall touch them; they are in peace;" (Wisdom of Solomon, iii. 1-4;) or that saying of Jesus Christ our Lord, in which He identifies Himself with God the Father, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. I and my Father are one." (St. Jno. x. 27-30.)

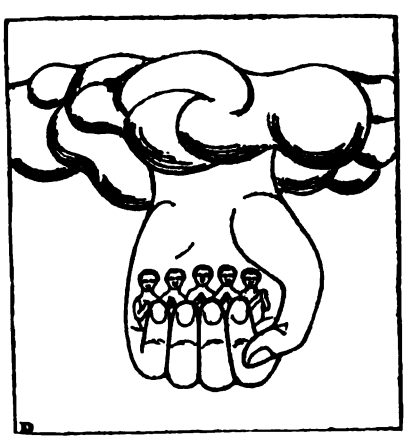

FIG. 37.—Souls in the hand of God.

When the prophet Isaiah represents the Lord as saying that heaven and earth are the work of His hand; (lxvi. 2;) and when St. John says that the Logos was God

[1] *Didron's Icon. Chrét.* p. 216.

by whom all things were made; (i. 1–3;) and King Solomon grandly describes the Divine wisdom or Logos as presiding over creation; (Prov. viii.;) we are led to conclude that this Divine hand and Logos are identical; and that while early Christian art mainly intended to designate God the Father by the hand issuing from heaven, yet it was a manifestation of the Father through the Son.

Now, the two main scenes depicted in both the paintings, sculptures, and mosaics of early Christian art, in which the hand of God appears, are the SACRIFICE

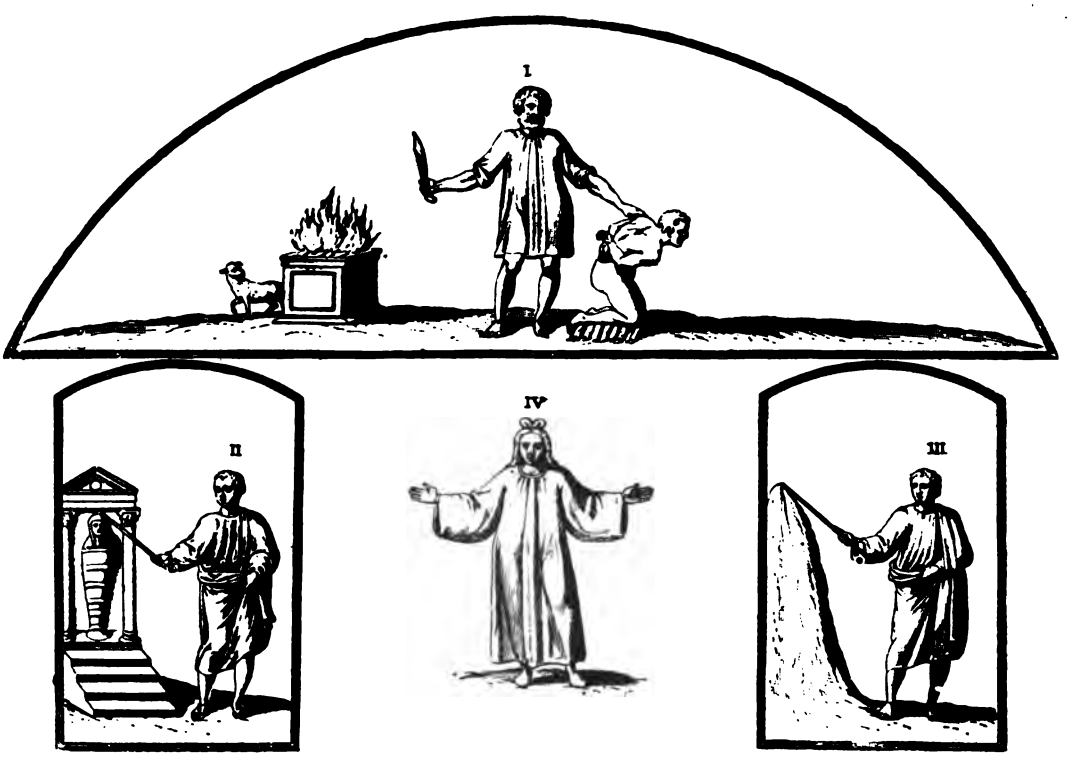


FIG. 38.—The Sacrifice of Abraham, &c.

OF ABRAHAM and the GIVING OF THE LAW TO MOSES. These are repeated over and over again, in various groupings of Old and New Testament subjects. And it is on this grouping of subjects that I must insist as having a meaning, and not as a mere hap-hazard thing without design or motive. Look at the two sarcophagi placed at the head of this chapter, or at the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus further on, and see how the Divine hand appears in the giving of the Law to Moses and in the sacrifice of Abraham, arresting the uplifted arm and knife. Or see how all the twelve Apostles, with uplifted hands, turn in adoration towards that central symbol

on a cross, as the sign of hope, joy, and life to the world, with the youthful Lord Himself underneath comforting the sorrowing sisters of Bethany, and all other mourners. It is the Divine circle enclosing the sacred monogram, with the Doves symbolizing the Holy Spirit and the soul of redeemed humanity.

The Law of God received and obeyed leads to heaven. He who receives it, in the upper sarcophagus, is a youthful person, such as Christ is almost always represented; and Moses must therefore be intended as his type; just as the figure in the chariot, intended for Elijah, is youthful and a type of Christ; and the prostrate figure under the horses is the Pagan river god utterly undone and overcome; the whole obviously being intended to teach that Christ is the Revealer of God's will to men both under the Law and under the Gospel—that He came to fulfill the Law and then take His and our redeemed humanity into heaven. These are instances of Old Testament types applying to New Testament facts and fulfillments. Or look at this engraving, (Fig. 38,) and see how full of meaning it is. It is from a fresco in the Cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter, as given by Bosio.[1]

No. 1 is the sacrifice without the appearance of the Divine hand; No. 2 is the resurrection of Lazarus; No. 3 is Moses striking the Rock; and No. 4 is a female Orante representing the praying Church. In all these figures, except that of Abraham, there is fresh, joyous youth depicted. But why this grouping? The sacrifice of Isaac typifies that of Christ, and Christ's deliverance from death in the Resurrection as the pledge and warrant of the deliverance of all His people; and so the resurrection of Lazarus is given where Christ proclaimed Himself the Resurrection and the Life. It is the blood of Christ that cleanses us from all sin; it is the body of Christ that nourishes us to everlasting life; and so Baptism is typified by the smitten Rock; and the victim for sin on whom we feed is typified by the Lamb at the altar. The woman is the Church which ministers these sacraments, and proclaims pardon, peace, and eternal life to all mankind. This subject will be more fully considered when I come to treat of the Church and the Sacraments in their proper place. I only refer to it here by way of illustrating the connection existing between the two scenes in which the hand of God chiefly appears.

Composed as we are of body, mind and soul, *i. e.*, of a material and an immaterial nature, we find within ourselves two different and opposite kinds of tastes, desires, and propensities, viz.: animal and spiritual, earthly and heavenly, devilish and God-like, or as St. Paul expresses it, "I find a law that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 359.

me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." (Rom. vii. 15–25.) Again, he says that, "By the law is the knowledge of sin; and the strength of sin is the law." (Rom. iii. 20; I. Cor. xv. 56.) Sin manifests all its inherent energy in opposition to the law, and the law develops the nature and power of sin; the law defines sin, condemns it, and has a penalty attached to its violation. Without the law we would hardly know what sin is.

Now this inherent law of rectitude established in human hearts originally, traces of which still remain in all men, was enacted into a positive ordinance and statute, at Mt. Sinai, in the giving of the two tables of commandments to Moses. They contain nothing new. They are as old as the creation of mankind; only at the time of re-enacting and republishing them, a necessity existed in the degeneracy, debasement, and disregard of the law on the part of all mankind for this special re-enactment and renewal of it; or as St. Paul expresses it, "The law was added because of transgressions; till the Seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator;" (Gal. iii. 19;) the law was simply a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ; and Christ's love fulfilled the law so as to bring us to God. Obviously no law can of itself give any man the good disposition to love and obey it; that disposition must either be inherent or it must be acquired. The law presupposes it; and all law is only made for imperfect beings or transgressors. Even in a state of innocence, mankind was placed under a law of service imposing the test of obedience, simply because a limited, finite, imperfect nature can not be a law to itself. Against this law human nature rebels as a restraint, with moral, intellectual and physical ruin as the consequence, unless some counteracting influence can be brought to bear to avert it. This remedy is the Love of God in Christ, and Christ's whole work on earth and in heaven for human redemption. This love of God is the solvent that enables us to meet the obligations of the law. For it inspires a corresponding love in us which is the fulfillment of the law, so that we no more have the disposition to violate it. The highest and best exponent of this love of God is in the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, typified by animal sacrifices of old, and perpetuated in memorial Eucharistic oblations now and until the end of time. And thus we have the two correlative forces of spiritual and moral life, law and love, acting upon us, in seemingly opposite directions, like the two great forces of nature, and both of them figured and symbolized in the Cross. Thus, too, we have the motive of early Christian art in representing the hand of God in the two paramount scenes of the giving of the Law and the Sacrifice of Abraham, the last of which pre-eminently typified the sacrifice of Christ, by whose

mediatorship the law was both ordained and fulfilled. To enumerate or give more specimens of the very frequent occurrence of this Divine hand in early Christian art, would not only be tedious, but needless; and I only therefore ask the reader to look at the sarcophagus already indicated to satisfy himself as to the truth of the matter, how both the Law and the Gospel came to men from heaven through Christ in order to raise them up to heaven with Christ. Neither the Law nor the Gospel could be of human origin, in the estimation of the Primitive Church; it was the hand of God that gave both; and this hand of God, St. Cyprian says, was Christ, citing the well-known passage in Isaiah, "The Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save." (lix. 1.)[1] And this is again indicated on the other sarcophagus, by the sacred monogram of Christ encircled, in the midst of the adoring Apostles, ready to go forth on their errand of mercy to mankind.

Now inasmuch as God is invisible and has no body or bodily organs, it must be a materializing of Him to represent Him under a bodily form; and so thought the early Christians. Yet inasmuch as He manifests Himself in His works and in His Son, there must be some mode of indicating this manifestation, so plain and evident that the common mind of mankind can have some sense of His Being and presence, His wisdom, power and goodness. And so even John Damascenus, who was no iconoclast, says, "That the essence of the Divine nature ought not to be represented, since it has never been revealed to human eye. But he permits the Son of God only to be figured, because He, in His ineffable goodness, became flesh, appeared on earth under a human form, conversed with men, took upon Him our nature, our heavy material body, the form and colour of our flesh. We are not, therefore, in error when we represent His image, for we desire to see His face."[2] When, therefore, the early Christian artists, under the guidance and authority of the Church, ventured to indicate the interposition or Being of God the Father, it was always by a hand only, or by the circle. No bodily form was ever depicted. St. Augustine speaks of the matter more than once, and says that God has no form or figure like ours; but when His wings are spoken of, protection is signified; His hands signify His working; His feet that He is ever present; His eyes, seeing, &c.[3] And again, "When any thought of God comes to you, if it is of the nature of a bodily image, reject it, disown it, deny it, spew it out, drive it hence."[4] And thus early Christianity bears her testimony against materialism, against all mere naturalism; and in favour of the pure spirituality of God, and His essential unity.

There is a point, however, in the narrative of the sacrifice of Abraham in Gen-

[1] *Treat.* ii. 4, p. 101.
[2] *Epist.* cxlviii. c. 4. tom. 2, Migne, p. 628.
[3] *Didron*, p. 205.
[4] *Epist.* cxx. c. 13. tom. 2, Migne, pp. 458–9.

esis, which cannot be overlooked, viz.: that of the angel of the Lord calling to him out of heaven, and saying, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad," &c. (xxii. 11–12.) The point is, why is not this angel represented, instead of the Divine hand? One or two instances of the presence of the angel occur in later Christian art, as cited by Montfaucon and Agincourt; but none is seen in the earlier monuments. How shall this be explained?

Inasmuch as both the Old and New Testaments use the symbol of the Divine hand only by way of accommodation to human weakness as expressive of Divine power, care, and protection; inasmuch, too, as Christ Himself so uses it when He says that His sheep shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of His hand, because He and the Father are one, (St. Jno. x. 28–31,) it must be so, that this Divine hand—always the right—was understood by the Primitive Church to indicate something more than an angel, a mere creature of God, but that it rather meant the Lord Himself as Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer; and therefore any delineation of an angel would not have conveyed the truth; it would have been misleading and mischievous. In the Mosaic account of Abraham's sacrifice, the angel of the Lord and the Lord Himself are obviously identical. In the example already given in Fig. 38, there is no presence of any kind, either hand or angel; and there is another like it in the cemetery of *St. Marcellinus and Peter;* and one in the cemetery of *St. Priscilla* represents two chaplets, one over each of the heads of Abraham and Isaac, as indicative of the rewards of obedience, but no hand nor angel. Two others in the same cemetery have no hand, or anything.[1] This careful abstaining from any materializing of Deity shows the horror of idolatry on the part of the early Church. A mere angel would have been a sort of blasphemy. The angel of the Lord, however, is vastly different, and could either not be represented at all, or only indicated by a hand, which is Christ, the Wisdom of God and the Power of God.

Four hundred years before the advent of Christ, we have this Jewish estimate of the subject under consideration: "I Esdras saw upon the Mount Sion a great people whom I could not number, and they all praised the Lord with songs. And in the midst of them was a young man of high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns, and was more exalted; which I marvelled at greatly. So I asked the angel and said, Sir, what are these? He answered and said unto me, These be they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal, and have confessed the name of God; now they are crowned and receive palms. Then said I unto the angel, What young person is it

[1] *Bosio*, pp. 525, 551. Aringhi, tom.ii. pp. 38–39, and p. 117.

that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands? So he answered and said unto me, It is the son of God, whom they have confessed in the world." (ii. 2; 42–48.) Here the angel who talked with Esdras and the Son of God are very different.

Again, in the Book of Enoch, written about 150 years B. C., and cited by St. Jude, we have such remarkable expressions as these, viz.: "I beheld the Ancient of days, whose head was like white wool, and with Him another whose countenance was like that of a man, full of grace and like an angel. Then I inquired of one of the angels who went with me concerning this Son of Man; who he was; whence he was; and why he accompanied the Ancient of days. He answered and said unto me, This is the Son of Man to whom righteousness belongs; with whom righteousness has dwelt; and who will reveal all the treasures of what is concealed; who raises up kings and hurls them from their thrones; who is invoked before the Lord of spirits, and his name in the presence of the Ancient of days. Who, thus worshipped before the sun and the signs were created, shall be the hope of them whose hearts are troubled, and the support of the righteous and holy to lean upon; and shall be the light of nations. All who dwell on the earth shall fall down and worship before him, shall bless and glorify him. Before the world was created and forever, He existed; and He has revealed to the saints and to the righteous the wisdom of the Lord of spirits." (cc. xlvi. 1–5; xlviii. 1–7.)

Philo Judaeus, an Alexandrian Jew inclined to Platonism, uses the following remarkable language on this subject. In speaking of Jacob's Ladder, he says, "That it represented the Archangel, viz.: the Lord himself firmly planted on the ladder; for we must imagine that the Living God stands above all things, like the charioteer of a chariot, or the pilot of a ship."[1] Again, he says more expressly, "That the name cherubim designates the two original virtues which belong to the Deity, viz.: His creative and royal virtues,—the first being peaceable, gentle and beneficent; the second, legislative, chastening and correcting. One has the title of God; the other, Lord."[2] And still again, he says, "no mortal thing could have been formed on the similitude of the supreme Father of the universe, but only after the pattern of the second Deity, who is the word of the Supreme Being."[3] And lastly he says, "God like a shepherd governs earth, air, water, all plants and living creatures whether mortal or divine, like a flock of sheep; and He regulates the nature of the heavens, and the periodical revolutions of the sun and moon, and the variations and harmonious movements of the other stars, ruling according to just laws,—appointing as their immediate Superintendent His own right Reason, His First Born Son, who is

[1] *Dreams*, i. c. 25. [2] *Questions on Genesis*, B. i. c. 57. [3] *Id.* ii. c. 62.

to receive the charge of this sacred company as the Lieutenant of the Great King; for it is said, "Behold I am He; I will send my messenger before Thy face, who shall keep thee in the way."[1]

And this is the Good Shepherd of the Catacombs, that most favourite and oft-repeated subject; this is the angel of the Lord who called to Abraham; and this is the hand of God which gave the Law and ordained the great Sacrifice of Love.

God the Father as Maker of heaven and earth is never depicted in early Christian art. The process of creation is no where revealed; it is only said, "He spake and it was done; He commanded and it stood fast." And what is thus left a mystery in holy Scripture, primitive Christian art was too reverent to attempt the delineation. But as the creation of Adam and Eve is described, an example as early as the fourth century occurs in a Greek ivory tablet, as given by Gori. Here is a copy of it. Adam is fast asleep; and Eve, a beautiful young girl of fifteen or eighteen years, rises from his side, with raised hands towards the Divine hand, as if engaged in worship.

Fig. 39.—Creation of Eve.

At St. Mark's Church, Venice, there is a curious series of mosaics, of the eleventh century, representing the six days of creation; first, the Spirit of God moving upon the waters is figured by a dove hovering over a chaotic mass of dark waving lines; second, the Creator Himself, with a cruciform nimbus or glory round His head, which always indicates Christ in Christian art, the Second Person, the Divine Logos, by whom all things were made; and standing with His right hand extended towards a red globe, with rays of light streaming from it, and over it an angel to represent the first day. After the six days of creation, we see, in the last place, the same Son of God, young, beardless, and beautiful, seated on His throne, holding the cross in His left hand, and blessing the Seventh day with His right, represented by an angel bending low to receive the blessing; while six other angels stand round as representatives of the other six days.[2] All this is fanciful enough, and is perhaps as much as could be done in this direction; but it is the Son of God who is Creator. And when in these same Venetian mosaics the Creator is represented as breathing into man the breath of life, it is still the same young and beardless Christ handing to Adam a little spirit with butterfly wings, or a Psyche, which flies up to His face and is gladly welcomed.[3]

[1] *Agriculture*, c. 12. [2] *History of our Lord*, i. pp. 75–7. [3] *Id.* p. 90.

So also in illuminated Bibles, even of the fifteenth century, Christ is represented as Creator, with cruciform nimbus, and bearded, and only about thirty years of age; or at the top of Jacob's ladder, in the same way; or as creating Eve. In the *Biblia Pauperum* we have precisely the same treatment of the subject, as also in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.* And it is a most interesting fact that in the quaint old wood-cuts of the latter two books the creation of Eve is almost precisely that of the Greek ivory tablet of the fourth century in Fig. 39 above, except that in place of the Divine hand, the youthful figure of Christ is given, say about at the age of thirty. The cruciform nimbus is evidence of this. Even in the translation of Enoch as given in the *Biblia Pauperum*, in connection with that of Elijah, as types of our Lord's ascension, it is still the form of the Son of God that takes the Patriarch with both hands and lifts him up from earth to heaven.

FIG. 40.—The Creator as Pope, in full canonicals.

But when we come down to the sixteenth century, and to the culmination of Papal pride and power, we find how utterly disregarded and ignored the second command of the Decalogue had become; and how the old Christian symbols of God had degenerated into images. Look at this shocking Papal blasphemy, viz.: the creation of Eve by the Deity under the image of the Pope in full canonicals, copied from a church window in France, by Didron.

To be sure, there had been other human images of God the Father before this, by four or five centuries, but generally in paintings or sculptures of the Trinity; never before, however, had Christian art ventured on such a profanation as this. Christian doctrine, Christian morals, and Christian art degenerated together, and it is called development! Even dear old Hans Holbein, in his *Dance of Death*, must needs follow the fashion of his times, and represent God the Father as the Sovereign Pontiff crowned and in full royal robes creating Eve; and as appearing to Job seated in clouds, thus attired and holding the globe in His hands, as well as in his representation of the Trinity, in his Old Testament *Icones*.[1]

All this is but a repetition of the degeneracy and the debasement of the old

[1] pp. 63–6. Pickering. London, 1830. *Dance of Death*, 1st cut. *Id.* 1833.

Patriarchial faith into Pagan idolatry; of simple truth as taught by symbols perverted into falsehood by images and idols.

But I must close this chapter with some notice of a few out of many like inscriptions, and of two other symbols that state or imply the belief in God the Father Almighty. Gerbet cites this, *Cassius Vitalio Qui vixit Ann. Lviii. Mensibus xi. Dies x. Beneme. Fil. Fecerunt. In Pace. Qui in Uno Deo Credidit in Pace, i. e.*, To Cassius Vitalius, who lived fifty-eight years, eleven months, ten days. His children made this tomb for a well-deserving father. In peace. Who believed in One God. In peace.[1] Gruter gives this, *Hic Positus est. Florentinus. Infans. Qui vixit. Annos Septem. Et Requiem Adcepit. In Deo Patre. Nostro et. Christo Eius, i. e.*, Here the infant Florentinus is placed. Who lived seven years, and who received rest in God our Father, and in His Christ.[2]

These inscriptions look like traces of the Creed, especially the latter; and this child must have been taught it and have been baptized.

What is still more interesting is to notice this inscription on an old stone from Carthage, evidently a liturgical one from the most solemn part of the service, *Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis, i. e.*, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will, which must be the true reading. Le Blant, who cites this in his book of Gaulish Inscriptions, thinks it must have been placed in some church, judging from the presence of the same inscription in the Basilica of St. Clement, the oldest church in Rome; and therefore belonging to the same period.[3]

And here is another from the same liturgical source, or suggestive of it, *Deus qui sedes ad dexteram Patris descripisti in loco Sanctorum tuarum Animulam Nectarei.* God, who sittest at the right hand of the Father, allot the soul of Nectareus in the place of Thy saints. This is cited by Boldetti in the old Greek character, who gives the above Latin translation.[4] Was there, indeed, a Liturgy so early as this? And did it teach so well the doctrine of God's unity and Christ's Divinity? And is it the same essentially that has come down to our times in the Communion office of the Prayer Book?

Among De Rossi's dated Christian inscriptions, one was found in the cemetery of St. Agnes in 1857, on the fragment of a sarcophagus, to this effect, "Before the Kalends of July, Constantius, ever faithful, went to God. He stands worthy at the throne of *God the Father*."[5] The date is A. D. 294. And here is another containing one of the opening sentences of the Burial Service, from the book of Job, "The

[1] *Esquisse*, ii. pp. 121-2. [2] *Inscriptiones*, p. 1052, No. 12. [3] *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaul*, i. p. 28.
[4] *Osservazioni*, i. p. 58. [5] *Inscriptiones*, &c., I. No. 1133. p. 521.

Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, and blessed be the name of the Lord. Constantius, who lived ——years, in peace."[1] There is one respecting the Trinity to this effect, "Quintilian, a man of God, confirming the Trinity (*confirmans Trinitatem*), loving purity, renouncing the world, rests with ———. Who lived ———, in the consulship of Theodosius, Augustus, and Rumoridus, illustrious men," *i. e.*, A. D. 403.[2] The blank spaces indicate obliterations in the monument; and the date is after the pacification of the Church, and the relaxation of the Discipline of the Secret.

But the same belief in God the Father Almighty was also expressed by the first and the last letters of the Greek alphabet used as symbols, viz.: *A* and *Ω*. "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." (Rev. i. 8.) The received text omits the word *God*, and is followed in our English version; but in the best texts, as the Sinaitic, the Codex Vaticanus, Griesbach, Tischendorf, and others, the reading is, "saith the Lord God, the Almighty," *ὁ παντοκράτωρ*. This is also the reading of St. Jerome's Vulgate; it is Wicliff's, the Rheims', and the Lusitanian. It is a remarkable fact that the word *παντοκράτωρ* is used in direct connection with God the Father, in the very first symbol of the Christian Faith of which we have any account, viz.: that of St. Irenæus, A. D. 180, Bishop of Lyons, who says that the Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples this faith," viz.: the belief in one God, the Father Almighty, &c.[3]

If, therefore, Alpha (*A*) and Omega (*Ω*) were Apostolic symbols denoting God the Father as the Almighty Creator, and this term was used in the earliest formula of the Faith as expressive of His eternal power and Godhead, we must expect to find these symbols in frequent use in the early Christian monuments. Accordingly we do find them everywhere, on seal rings, on glasses, on tablets, on lamps, in paintings, on sarcophagi, and gravestones. Between these two letters the whole alphabet or all knowledge is comprehended. The alphabet, in its various combinations, simply reveals or expresses thought, and gives it a body. So when Alpha (*A*) and Omega (*Ω*) occur in connection with the monogram or the cross, as they so often do, they stand for all that God is as revealed or embodied in Jesus Christ. All that we can possibly know of God is through Him.

As Alpha, God is the beginning of all things in creation; as Omega, He is the last of all in redemption, or the consummation and restoration of all things. He

[1] Id. I. No. 1241, p. 548. [2] Id. I. No. 523, p. 222.

[3] *Contra Haer.* I. c. 10, and Heurtley's *Harmonia*, p. 7, &c.

is Alpha in Genesis; He is Omega in the Apocalypse; from first to last all Scripture is full of Him. As first and only begotten Son of the Father, His going forth was from everlasting, or ever the earth was; eternal and unchangeable, He shall order, rule, and restore all at last. (Eph. i. 3–11.) And because from first to last Christ Jesus is the brightness of the Father's glory, Alpha and Omega were used so frequently by the early Christians, with the monogram or the cross to express this truth; and wearing it on their persons, or glittering on their lamps, or before them in their subterranean chapels on almost every gravestone, or blazing from the vaulted ceiling or arch of every early church of Christendom, this monogram with *A* and *Ω* taught the persecuted saints of old that their own lives were bound up in the life of Christ their Lord; that although this life's *A* looked onward here to a whole alphabet of changes and chances, yet there was the *Ω* of complete and perfect excellence in the changeless and eternal Logos of God, in the Book of Life elsewhere. Not only were these alphabetical symbols a protest against Polytheism and Arianism, but they were also expressive of faith in God as a common Father, making no distinction between His earthly children, save on the score of fidelity and obedience to Him, and of love to one another. Alpha taught them that their own life, natural and spiritual, had its beginning in God through Christ; Omega directed their hope and desire to life's perfect consummation and bliss in God's eternal kigdom. Starting as that life had done from God, its whole alphabet had been most painfully conned, studied, and learned in that severe school of the Church's early childhood; it had been spelled and read in manifold combinations of joy and sorrow, of fear and peace, of trial and bereavement, consolation and recompense, smiles and tears, until at last the Omega of all human knowledge, suffering, and patient waiting, was reached by martyrdom in the blessed infinitude that lay beyond, of God's rest and reward.

Tertullian, citing Ephesians i. 10, as to all things in heaven and earth centering in Christ, says, "The two Greek letters, the first and the last, the Lord takes to Himself as figures of the beginning and the end which concur in Himself."[1] St. Augustine says, "Just as no letter precedes Alpha, so the Son of God is second to none." And Prudentius says, "That Alpha and Omega are synonyms of Christ, who is the beginning and the end of all things, present, past, and future."[2] But Bede gives this better explanation,[3] *Ego sum A et Ω initium et finis, dicit Dominus Deus. Initium, quem nullus præcedit; finis, cui nullus in regno succedit. Qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est omnipotens. Hoc idem dixerat de Patre. Deus enim Pater et venit et venturus est in Filio, i. e.,* "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning

[1] *De Monogamia*, c. 5. [2] *Cathemerinon*, H. 9. [3] *Tom.* V. p. 1063. Basle, 1563.

and the end, saith the Lord God. The beginning, which nothing precedes; the end, to which nothing in the kingdom succeeds. Who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty. This same thing is spoken concerning the Father. *For God the Father both has come, and will come in the Son.*" The Son is the wisdom and the power of God unto salvation; the beginning of the creation; the end of redemption; first of all God's almightiness in the one; last of all His goodness and mercy in the other.

When, therefore, the early Church by her art, her symbols, and her inscribed monuments, taught the spirituality and unity of God, she was doing no more than making a complete restoration of His lost and forgotten Being in the Pagan world, and striving to bring erring men back to His true worship. And to this end the Church did not hesitate to use familiar Pagan symbols adapted to her need and to the expression of truth, just as she made use of Pagan letters and Pagan language. All honour to her wisdom and to her large-hearted liberality; she won and conquered, not by withholding, or disguising, or compromising the truth of God, but by teaching it clearly and fully by such means as the Pagan mind could comprehend, and in all alluring ways of illustration and artistic beauty. Puritanic stiffness and sourness did not then beget repulsion and disgust; for the King's Daughter had arrayed herself in her beautiful garments, and was all glorious within. Nor had Papal pride and pretentiousness yet arisen to turn the truth of God into a lie, and pervert His worship into idolatry; for rejecting all images of God the Father, the Church worshipped Him, and believed in Him as the Maker of heaven and earth, through Jesus Christ His Son our Lord.

"Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."
*Acts*, xvii. 23.

## CHAPTER VI.

### JESUS CHRIST AS DIVINE.

*Jesus Christ His Only Son our Lord.—The Theophania of Eusebius.—Hippolytus.—The Sacred Monogram.—Pagan and Jewish Types.—Dagon.—Constellation of the Fishes.—The Fish and the Fishermen.—Carp and Dolphin.—The Vine and Its Branches.*

EARLY Christian art was very timid and cautious about representing the Divinity of our Lord under any human form. Even His humanity was rather an ideal type than an actual portrait. Symbols of His Divine nature and mission were first and most frequently used, as the Monogram, the Lamb, the Fish, the Lion, the Anchor, the Lyre, the Vine, and the Palm. Then we have figurative or allegorical representations of Him under the forms of the Good Shepherd, Orpheus, Apollo, or at least of youth blooming in immortal beauty, of whom Isaac may also be the type. This immortal youth is seen on the monument, a representation of which immediately precedes this chapter, as an evidence and illustration of the treatment of the subject by early Christian art. It is not the earliest representation, but only very conspicuous from the celebrity and magnificence of the monument which contains it.

The legend on this sarcophagus is that of *Junius Bassus, an illustrious man, who lived forty-two years and two months, Prefect of the city, a neophyte who went to God the VIII. Kalends of September, under the consulship of Eusebius and Hypatius, i. e.*, A. D. 352–8, when Liberius was Bishop of Rome. The expression went to God, (*Iit Deum,*) is deserving of notice as an illustration of the passage in Ecclesiastes, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return to God who gave it"; (xii. 7;) and is proof of the non-existence of purgatory as yet, with the inscriptions already cited in the previous chapter. The word "neophyte" simply indicates recent baptism.

This remarkably elegant, costly, and beautiful sarcophagus, of Parian marble and Corinthian style, was found in the Vatican Cemetery, A. D. 1595, during the

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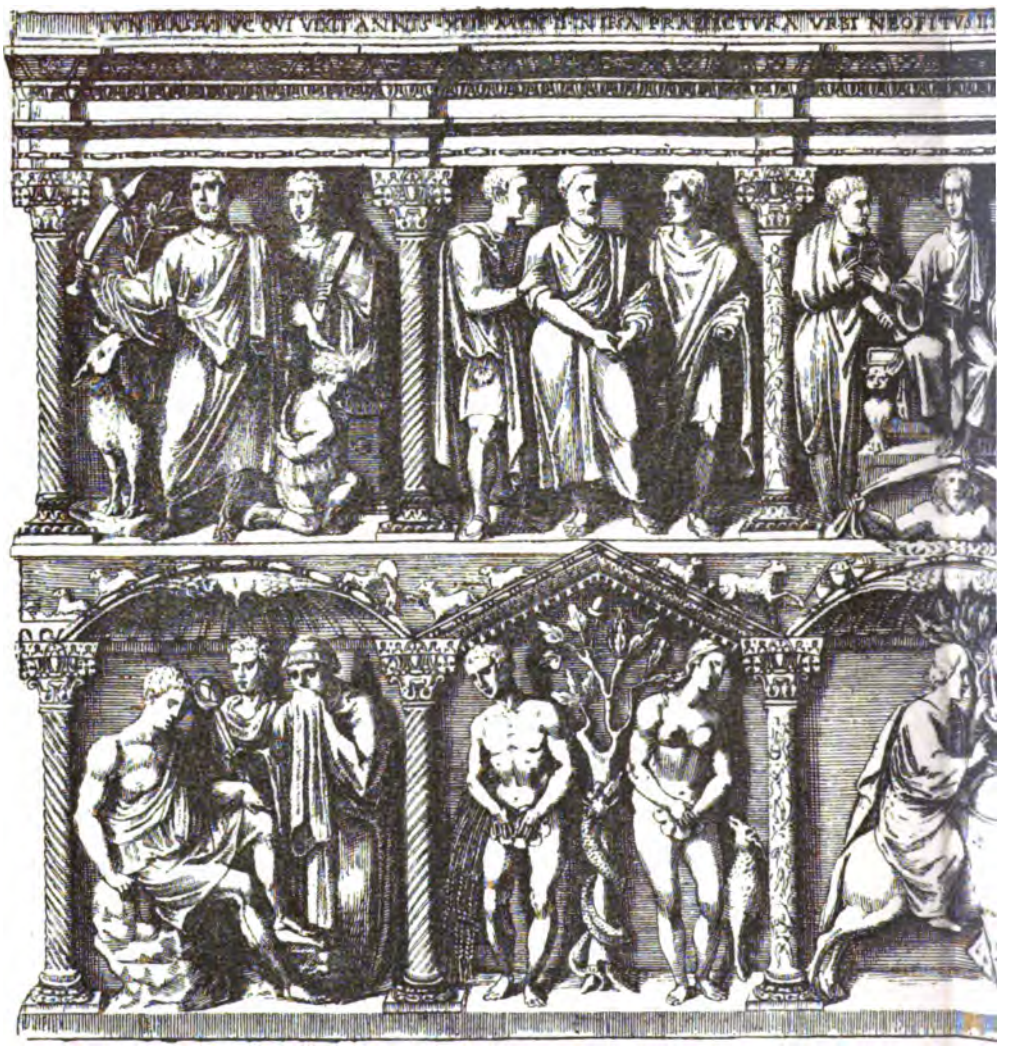
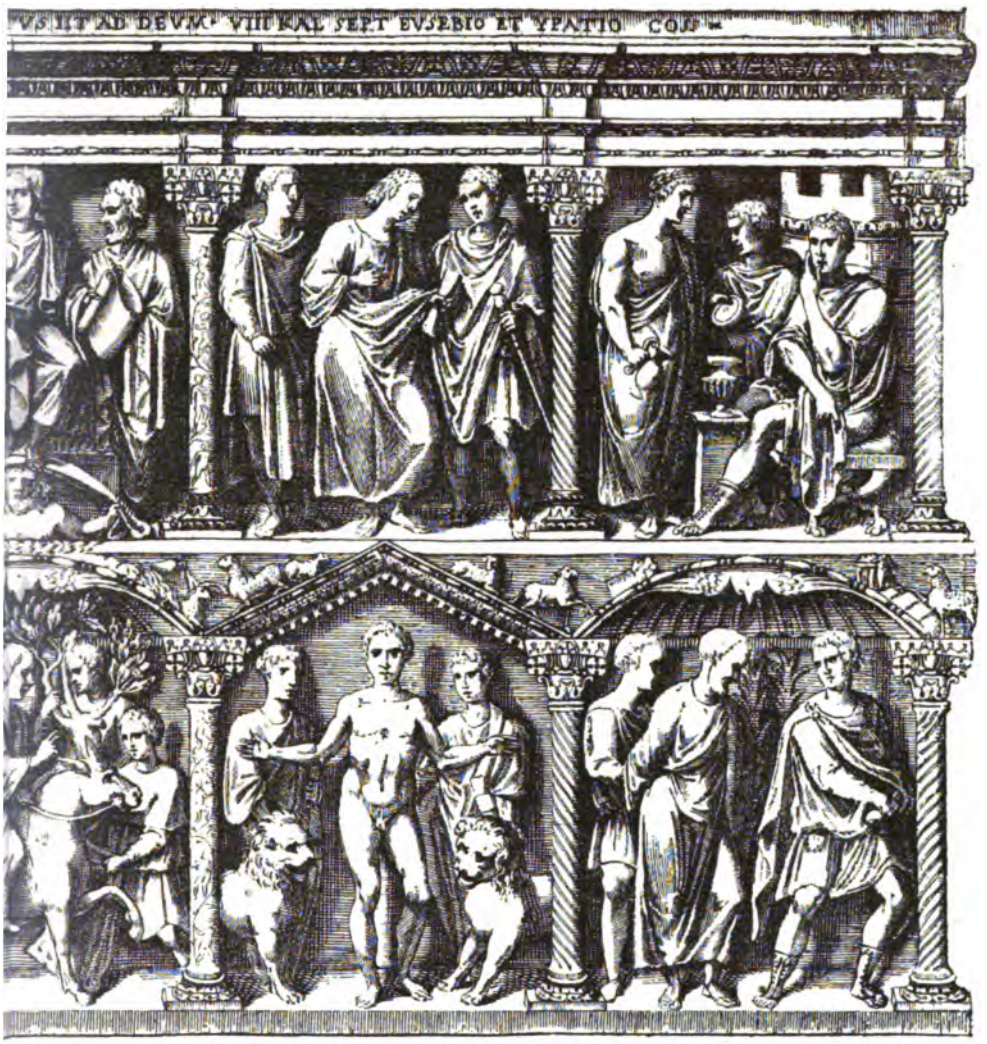


FIG. 41.—Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus



Bassus. Christ's Divinity shown

Pontificate of Clement VIII. The subjects carved in relief are from the Old and New Testaments; and the sheep allegorically represent the two Sacraments: Moses striking the rock, and receiving the Law; the resurrection of Lazarus, and the like. In the very centre of these scenes we see Christ as a youth, in His earthly triumph when He rode into Jerusalem on an ass to take possession of the Temple as His Father's house of prayer for all nations; and also in His heavenly triumph when He rose from earth to sit down at the right hand of God the Father. A detailed examination is necessary to show us the meaning of the grouping of the various scenes and subjects. The lower range of panels contains, (1) Job in his affliction, with his wife standing near, holding the cross in one hand as the sign of hope and health in the life to come, and wiping her face with the other, in her weeping and distress at the Patriarch's suffering, calling upon him as the only present relief to bless God and die; while another and more youthful figure also stands near, perhaps the type of that Redeemer and Kinsman whom he should see as God incarnate, clad in his own flesh, and coming for his redemption both in soul and body: (2) Adam and Eve after their sin striving to hide their shame, while a lamb and sheaf of wheat are depicted as types of their respective occupations henceforth in the toil of spinning and tilling the ground, but not without hope of relief and salvation in the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world, and nourishes His people with heavenly bread: (3) Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, with Zaccheus in the tree, and one spreading a garment in the way: (4) Daniel in the den of lions as a type of Christ overcoming the two great enemies of mankind, sin and death, including the grave: and (5) St. Peter's arrest as a type of the persecuted church. Then in the upper panels we have (1) The sacrifice of Abraham and the Divine hand arresting the uplifted *gladius;* (2) St. Peter's denial of his Lord; (3) Christ on His throne with two Apostles, Peter and Paul, on either side; (4) our Lord's arrest; and (5) Pilate washing his hands. Between these two series of panels are the sheep. Over the lower central one are represented Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Over the last, on the right, we see the giving of the Law and the resurrection of Lazarus. And over the last one, on the left, is the striking of the rock, and perhaps the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, which is either incomplete or mutilated.

Now, it will be noticed that the most youthful figure of Christ on this monument is that which is seated on a throne, with his feet resting on a veil bent like a bow, and held by an old man. This cannot be without meaning, especially when we have it repeated on another sarcophagus, where the veil is held by a young male figure, instead of the old man. (Fig. 42.) Mrs. Eastlake, after saying of this, that it is "Christ above, sitting enthroned in heavenly state; for His feet are upon the earth as His footstool, which is represented under the form of Tellus, with the firmament

symbolized by an arch of drapery above him," strangely conjectures that it may be the Transfiguration, our Lord's other triumph on earth, with Moses and Elijah on each side, and the earth on which they are supported, typifying the high mountain on which the scene occurred."[1] The objection to this view of the matter is this, that the mythological Tellus is uniformly a female figure in a sitting or reclining posture, with all the marks of fruitfulness and abundance about her, and never a bearded old man holding a veil or the firmament over his head; that the earth is feminine, and heaven, or Ouranos, masculine.[2] Vossius declares that Tellus is represented under the figure of a matron, because the woman receives, *i. e.*, is the passive power of reproduction; in a sitting or reclining posture, because the earth is immovable; with a key, because in the Spring she opens the treasures of productiveness.[3] It is not then, upon earth that the youthful Lord here places His feet, but rather plants them in the firmament of heaven itself, as Lord of the elements, and of the higher regions of the world. His triumph on earth in lowliness and meekness is succeeded by His triumphant exaltation to heaven in glory and honour. Thence He rules the world and His Church, as represented by the two chief apostles, Peter and Paul. The Church is a Divine institution, and the Apostolic commission is Divine, as indicated by the scrolls; all alike pro-

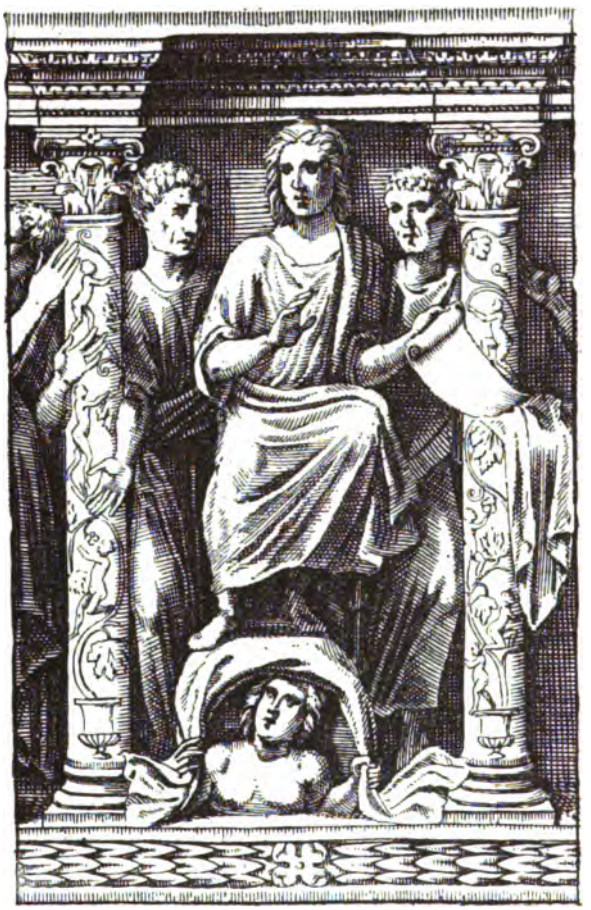


FIG. 42.—Christ enthroned on one of the Pagan Symbols of the Elements.

[1] *History of our Lord*, I. Int. pp. 13 and 14.

[2] Spence's *Polymetis*, pp. 240–1, pls. 9, 25, 26, and 27. Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile*, II. p. 43, or any Classical Dictionary.

[3] *De Theologia Gent.* &c., lib. VII. c. 27, p. 770.

ceed from the one source and centre of all power and authority symbolized by the throne; and He who sits upon it is Lord of all.

Veiled figures like this are of frequent occurrence on the Pagan monuments, and denote either the winds, or they are figures of Jupiter, or Ouranos himself, as no more than a personification of the upper regions of the universe and the elements. Two of these allegorical figures are to be seen on a sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese, at Rome, one of which is a youthful male figure, and the other a female, in the treatment of the fall of Phæthon; and which Winckelman conjectures to be the winds assisting in that fall.[1] On page 114 I reproduce the enthronement of Christ on this veiled youthful male figure as given by Bosio; and here I give part of Winckelman's or Millin's representation of the fall of Phaethon. (See Figs. 42 and 43.)

FIG. 43.—The Fall of Phaethon; veiled figures of the Winds assisting; the young male figure in upper right corner is like the one under the feet of Christ.

On the next page is a representation of Apollo, or the sun-god, riding the heavens or *Ouranos*, represented by an old bearded man holding a veil, just as on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.[2] (See Fig. 44.)

There is another Pagan figure like this old bearded Ouranos, on the Antonine column, viz., that of Jupiter with hands outstretched in the form of the cross, and sending down a tremendous shower of rain upon his beloved Romans, to quench

[1] *Monumens Inédits*, &c., I. No. 43, p. 215. Paris, 1808. [2] Millin's *Gal. Myth.* pl. 27.

their intolerable thirst, during that famous battle in Germany, when Marcus Aurelius was on the point of defeat, and the Christian legion prayed for rain, and the rain came to turn defeat into victory.[1] Has this enthronement of Christ on such Pagan allegorical figures as these, representing the heavens and the whole elemental world, no possible allusion to, or connection with, such things as these? Or is it intended to symbolize the triumph of Christ and His Church over Paganism? Or is it Christ ruling this world for the peace and quietness of His Church? It must have some meaning, and until a better one is pointed out, I choose to give it this, especially as there is another example of the same kind, with the single exception that the enthronement of Christ is on a veiled *youthful* male figure representing the elements, as above;[2] still denoting the triumph over Paganism, or the true Lord of the elements; still giving the scroll of the Gospel to the Apostle Peter or Paul, as indicative of its Divine origin, and that of the Apostolic commission. (See Fig. 42.)

FIG. 44.—Helios, Amphitrite, and Ouranos.

On this sarcophagus of Junius Bassus all that could possibly be crowded together of Scripture scenes, sacraments, and Apostolic order—the sin and wretchedness and trials of men, and Christ's merciful relief and triumph, is so done as expressive, not only of the faith in which this Roman Prefect and Christian neophyte died, but also of the faith of the Church at the time of his death. The Arian controversy was now at its height. The priests of God were pursued and slain in the churches. Liberius, Bishop of Rome, was an exile in Thrace for refusing to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius; although afterwards, in the feebleness and childishness of old age, he weakly yielded to the lay power of the State, the degenerate and despotic Constantius, and retracted his refusal in order to regain his see.[3] The State would make the Church Arian, and the stout Catholic heart of the Church refused, even though a Bishop of Rome might yield to Arian domination; and so clinging to the one faith delivered to the saints as a sacred deposit, viz.: the doctrine of Christ's essential Divinity and co-equality with God the Father, the Church of

[1] Montfaucon's *Antiquity*, &c., I. pl. 9, Fig. 13. [2] Bosio, p. 85, and Aringhi, I. p. 193.

[3] This matter pro and con is discussed by Platina, Bower, Milman, Robertson, and Dollinger.

that day suffered persecution. Tumults arose after the death of Liberius, of a worse kind than before. The Arian and Orthodox factions fought in the streets and in the churches with such fierce animosity that, on one occasion, one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in one of the basilicas.[1] It was, however, six or seven years before the death of Liberius that Junius Bassus died; and his death is spoken of by the Roman historian of the times, Ammianus Marcellinus, in these words, *Dum haec ita aguntur, Romae Artemius curans vicariam, praefecturam pro Basso quoque agebat; qui recens promotus urbi praefectus fatali decesserat forte. Cujus administratio seditiones perpessa est turbulentas, nec memorabile quidquam habuit, quod narrari sit dignum; i. e.*, "While these things were going on, Artemius, acting as deputy governor of Rome, also succeeded Bassus as prefect, who, recently promoted to be prefect of the city, had died. His administration had been marked by turbulent seditions, but by no other events sufficiently memorable to deserve narration."[2]

This noble Roman, of that old patrician family of the Bassi that first among men of rank and distinction embraced Christianity, had died an orthodox Christian, doubtless, judging from the enthronement of Jesus Christ, on his sarcophagus, as Lord of all. But how did Bassus as an orthodox Christian obtain so high an office under an Arian emperor?

It was doubtless his great family influence, joined with his own excellence of character and eminent fitness for the position; for without these it is improbable that an Arian emperor like Constantius would make an orthodox Christian like Junius Bassus prefect of Rome, when he had already condemned Athanasius and banished Liberius. Or perhaps his deferred baptism, until just before his death, may have had something to do with it.

However the case might be, the sarcophagus of this noble Roman has no trace of Arianism on it; for like all other genuine productions of an earlier Christian art than this, the youthful Christ is the Divine Son of God, as distinguished from the man Christ Jesus, who is otherwise represented.

That the Council of Nice did not invent the doctrine of Christ's Divinity, but only state, in its symbol, the Christian faith as held from the beginning, is evident from the monuments and from Ante-Nicene writers, such as those whose testimony has been collected by Bishop Bull, by Faber, Burton, and others. Since their time, other Ante-Nicene documents have been found, such as the lost writings of Hippolytus and the *Theophania* of Eusebius, both of them distinguished Bishops and writers of the early Church. From the latter I cite at random these remarkable sayings, viz.: "God's essential Being is uncreated; He dwells in light which no man can

[1] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. xxvii. iii. p. 392.

[2] *Id.* lib. xvii. c. xi. p. 120.

approach; the Word of God is the Creator of the world, Whom as His Divine Power, His only-Begotten, He appointed as Mediator, even before His Incarnation, between Himself and the angels; and Who, holding intimate and present converse with God, meekly lowered Himself to the form and manner of those who were so far removed from His princely state. In no other way could God be mixed up with perishable matter. He is Lord of the elements and of the seasons. All is of God by the Son. He is the Power and the Wisdom of God, publishing His Father's secrets, as words do thoughts, as a stream proceeds from a fountain. He revealed Himself at all times to men, instructing their ignorance, revealing the knowledge of Divine things; the life-giving WORD OF GOD, Who is the Saviour and the Conqueror of death."[1] And this was all said and put forth as the belief of the Church, just after persecution had ceased, and before the council of Nice was ever dreamed of. And yet this great Bishop, Philosopher, and Historian has been suspected of Arian heresy!

St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, A. D. 192–223, in his *Philosophumena or Refutation of Heresy*, discovered at Mt. Athos in 1842, makes that to be a heresy which Noetus taught and Callixtus held, viz., that the Divine Essence has but the two names, Father and Son; that this Divine Essence was manifested to the world, born of a Virgin, conversed with men, suffered on the cross, died and did not die; and rose on the third day; that the Being who was buried in the tomb, wounded with the lance and pierced with nails, was the God and Father of the universe. In his *Address to the Heathen*, St. Hippolytus thus defines the Christian faith: "God one, the First and only One, and Maker and Lord of all, had nothing coeval with Himself, not infinite chaos, nor immeasurable water, nor solid earth, nor thick air, nor hot fire, nor subtle breath, nor the azure vault of the vast sky. But He was alone with Himself. He by His will created the things that exist, which did not exist before, &c. This One and Supreme God generates the Word first in His own mind, not as a voice, but as the indwelling Reason of the universe. Of existing things, Him alone He generates. For the Essence of things is the Father Himself from Whom is the cause of generation to what is generated. The Word was in the Father; the Word, bearing the will of Him who begat the Word, and not unconscious of His Father's cogitation. For simultaneously with His procession from Him who begat Him, being His First-Born, He had as a voice in Himself the ideas conceived in His Father's Essence; whence when the Father bade that the world should be created in its single species, the Word executed what was pleasing to the Father. . . . For whatsoever He willed, He made; He created by the Word these things, not having capacity to be otherwise than as they were. . . . The Word

[1] *The Theophania*. Dr. Lee's trans., Camb., Eng., 1843.

alone is of God—of God Himself. *Wherefore He is God, being of the substance of God.* But the world is of nothing, wherefore it is not God. The Law was given by God through the instrumentality of Moses. The Word of God regulates all things—the First-Born of the Father—the Day-Spring Voice before the morning stars."

St. Hippolytus then pursues the matter of this Word or Voice of God as having made known the will of God to the prophets; as having come in the flesh as a pattern to all men; and ends his address by an account of His identity of nature with ourselves, as shown by His toil, hunger, thirst, sleep, suffering, death, and resurrection, in order that when we suffer we may not despond. "Know thyself by knowing the God who made thee. For Christ is the God who is over all; Who commanded us to wash away sin, regenerating the old man, having called man His image from the beginning, and thus showing in Him (*i. e.*, Christ) a figure of His love to thee." [1]

Inasmuch as St. Hippolytus lived not long after Justin Martyr, whose *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* is full of the prevailing Christian doctrine respecting the Angel of the Covenant that appeared to the Patriarchs and Prophets of Israel as having indeed been Christ the Messiah and Son of God before His Incarnation; and as both these learned and able defenders of Christianity were Greeks living at or near Rome, it is no wonder that we find the Roman monuments of that early day, and later, so full of the doctrine which they taught as derided by the Gentiles, and even called in question by such men as Noetus and others of the Christian community. The invisible God—God in His spiritual essence, could not be represented; the soul of man, not his bodily eyes, could alone perceive His existence and recognize His presence and power; a hand might be the symbol of merciful interposition in human affairs in the giving of the Law and in providing a sacrifice and substitute for sinful man; but the Son of God, His manifest personal Reason and Intelligence, who creates, governs, teaches, and saves, might be represented, because He had so often appeared under angelic forms in the old dispensation, and as a man in the new. And this, therefore, will account for the very frequent representations of this Angel of the Covenant appearing to Adam and Eve, to the Patriarchs and Prophets, and to the twelve Apostles, as a mere youth clothed in ever fresh beauty and strength, in all the monuments of the first four centuries of Christianity. In painting, sculpture, and mosaic, this youthful Divinity is constantly appearing. God never grows old, nor does His Son; and when Christ does appear as a middle-aged and bearded man on the monuments, it is His humanity alone that is intended.

[1] Bishop Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus*, and Bunsen's *Hippolytus and His Age.*

It is a marvellous thing that Paganism has its *avataras* or appearances of God on earth, whether as copies or as independent types and prophecies of Christ's manifestation of God to men, it matters not; for in either case a tribute is paid to the truth and superiority of Christianity; and so we have the *Bel* of the Assyrians and Babylonians; the *Mithra* of the Persians; the *Agni* of the Hindus; the *Horus* of the Egyptians; and the *Apollo* of the Greeks and Romans, all bearing a striking analogy to the real Son of God, being all of them sun-gods themselves. Because the sun was the great creator and restorer in nature, he was adored or made the medium of the adoration paid to the Creative, Preserving, and Restoring Powers of the universe by all these ancient peoples. They were seeking after God; for to the greater part of the Pagan world God was unknown. Their mistake was in identifying nature and God, and not retaining nature as a mere symbol. Their religion, as a consequence, became unreal; and their gods mere fictions—mere forces of nature deified —mere creatures of the imagination. If nature be God and made itself, then there is an end of all argument about religion. In that case religion becomes natural science or natural history. God as a Supreme Being or Person above and beyond and independent of, nature, there is none; and religion is an impossibility. But religion is a fact, and has been a fact ever since the existence of the human race. It stands, therefore, as witness to the universal belief in Something or Some Being behind nature and beyond it; and when the sun was at first chosen as the most conspicuous symbol and the most fitting type of God's unknown Being and attributes, they were feeling their way after Him and making their images of the material sun like the grace and beauty and fresh bloom of nature acted upon by his warmth and light. If Christianity and its Sun of Righteousness are but copies or adaptations of this old Paganism, then how did it take the place of Paganism? It would be a house divided against itself. Some real and not merely ideal Divine Personage had appeared among men, or Christianity is but a fiction like the rest. It was not afraid of the Pagan Apollo, when it adopted the beautiful ideal of that youthful sun-god to express the Divinity of Jesus Christ as a fact.

I have been led to anticipate somewhat on this subject which will be more fully treated hereafter, simply from the necessity of explaining the central and conspicuous figure on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, and the Christian doctrine which gave rise to it. Christianity was not to be outdone either by Paganism or Heresy in all beautiful and benevolent ideal representations of its Lord, when the fear of degenerate Paganism and idolatry had subsided. Orthodox Christians were not the first to make a likeness of their Lord, because at that time they feared to make any representation of God, even in the likeness of Christ. And it is upon this absence of any genuine and authentic portrait of Jesus Christ that I base an argument of

His Divinity as held by all true Christians even from the first. Had they believed Him to be only a man, there would have been portraits of Him without end, in painting, statuary, gems, and mosaics. But because He was deemed a Divinity, we find no such portraits—but only ideal types. The Gnostics are the first we read of as having made any pictures of Christ, and as early as A. D. 150. It was by these sectaries, says M. Raoul Rochette, who attempted at various times, and by a thousand different schemes, to effect a monstrous combination of the doctrines of Christianity with Pagan superstitions, that little images of Christ were first fabricated, the original model or likeness of which was traced back to Pontius Pilate, who is said to have caused it to be taken from the Original. This we have from St. Irenaeus, who tells us of "a certain woman named Marcellina, of the sect of Carpocrates, who, to propagate the Gnostic doctrines at Rome, came from the far East, during the episcopate of Anicetus, and led multitudes astray. They style themselves Gnostics. They also possess images, some of them painted, and others formed of different kinds of material; while they maintain that a likeness of Christ was made by Pilate at the time that Jesus lived among men. They crown these images, and set them up with the images of Plato and Pythagoras and the rest; and have other modes of honouring them after the same manner as the Gentiles."[1] The mention of Anicetus fixes the date A. D. 156; and these images of Christ must have been in existence before, a possible example of which is on the title-page of this book, and which Agincourt claims to belong to the first century.[2] It is like the story which Lampridius tells of the Emperor Alexander Severus, placing among his household gods the portraits of Christ and of Abraham, opposite to those of Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana, and between images of the most revered kings and philosophers, paying them all a sort of divine homage.[3]

Basilides, a still earlier heresiarch of the Gnostic school, in the time of Hadrian, A. D. 117–38, cites this passage from the prologue of St. John's Gospel touching Christ: "He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" (i. 9;) and this is important testimony as to the very early existence of St. John's Gospel,[4] especially written to set forth the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. As the first converts to Christianity were Jews, it is obvious, as C. W. King remarks, "that their Jewish prejudices were so powerful that we may be sure no attempt was made to depict our Lord's countenance until some generations after all that had beheld it on earth had passed away;"[5] and as corroborative of this remark he

[1] *Her.* i. c. 25, sec. 6. [2] *Peint.* tav. 13, no. 22. [3] *Didron Icon. Chrét.* pp. 249–50.

[4] St. Hippolytus, *Ref. Her.* Book VII. c. 10, p. 276 of Vol. VI. Ante-Nicene Library.

[5] *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 68.

calls attention to the fact, that in the extensive French cabinet of antique gems, only four can be found which belong to the Roman imperial times that contain any Christian devices, and these are the Good Shepherd, the Dove, the Fish, and the Chrisma, or monogram of Christ.[1] On account of this horror of idolatry on the part of the early Christians, it is safe to conclude that no actual portraits of Christ were ever made by them, or are now in existence. But this does not alter the fact of early and numerous ideal representations and types of Him, both painted and sculptured, as teachers and reminders of His God-like prerogatives and powers. And this ideal in art was ready at hand in Apollo and Orpheus; and the Christian Church did not hesitate to adopt it as type of the true Sun of Righteousness, and Subduer of human passion, and Divine Teacher, and Saviour. If the great Son of God really became the son of man, it could not be idolatrous to represent Divinity in Humanity, else the Incarnation itself must be considered idolatrous. God manifest in the flesh, and God manifest in His works, cannot be thus idolatrous; and so, after a while, say in the second and third centuries, the Church came to such a conclusion; and the problem was how to represent this fact without making an actual image of the God-man, which might be worshipped instead of Himself. Grace, beauty, youth, sweetness, benignity, goodness, and wisdom were all combined in this ideal; and yet no picture or statue of Christ has ever been produced that completely satisfies the heart's conception of Him. He is above all the sons of men; and therefore no artist can fully depict the Divine ideal; it is beyond his reach. No actual portrait is possible, and therefore none exists. If Moses and his people borrowed from the idolatrous Egyptians all that was necessary for national greatness, except the Patriarchial religion, so the early Church borrowed from surrounding Paganism all that was necessary to her growth and prosperity, except the religion of Christ and His Apostles. And as in the one case the borrowing was in time perverted into idolatrous imitation, so, it must be admitted, was it in the other, through human perversity. If God cannot, in some way, be brought near to us, within the range of our conception and thought, He must ever remain a God unknown. But when He reveals Himself and we see His Image, then it is not idolatrous to bow down and worship, provided that Image is not some creature of earth, air, or water; or some creation of our own reason and imagination. For if God is only what we conceive Him to be, then He must vary and change according to every man's notion; and instead of true worship rendered to Him, there would only be the idolatry of man's own conceptions. Revelation, therefore, is absolutely necessary to any right knowledge and true worship of God; and this revelation is

[1] *Antique Gems*, ii. p. 25. London, 1872.

primarily the name of God, *I am—Jehovah—Jah*—a name claimed by Jesus Christ, when He said, "Before Abraham was *I am*."

*The Sacred Monogram.*

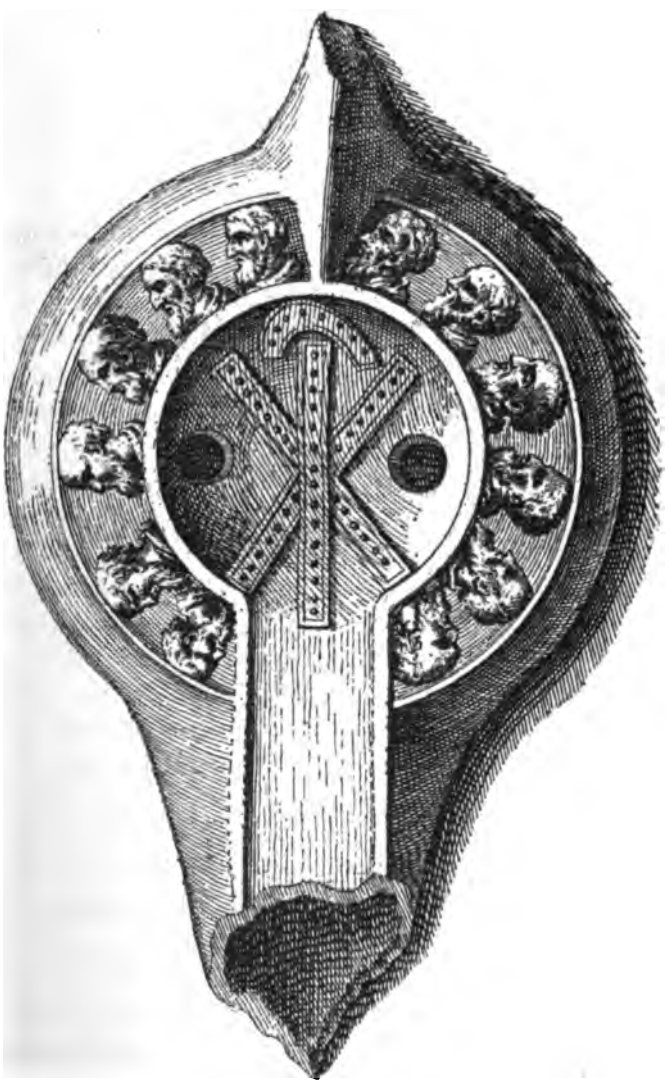


FIG. 45.—The Sacred Monogram and the heads of the Twelve Apostles, on a Lamp, significant of the Light of the world.

"Thou shalt call His name JESUS; He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest," was the angelic announcement to the Blessed of women, the Virgin of Galilee; and in prophetic vision Isaiah saw the presentation in the Temple at Jerusalem, eight days after His birth, of Him who was called Jesus, and of whom he prophesied, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon His shoulder; and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." (ix. 6.) It is the new name of God henceforth under a new and better state of things; the old name Jehovah and its use would soon become obsolete with the waning and dying voice and power of Judaism. As *Jod* or *Yod*, the tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, stood for this old and venerated name of God; so *Iota*, the ninth

letter of the Greek alphabet, and of the same numerical value as *Jod, i. e.*, ten or the perfect number, stands for *Jesus*, the new name of God. In combination with the Greek X or Cross of the ancients, already considered, it would mean Jesus Christ, and be but the abbreviation of that name. Instead of the old *swastika* written on the foreheads of Hindu devotees, or the old *crux ansata* held in the hands of Egyptian gods and goddesses, or set up in the fields and gardens of the Greeks and Romans for good luck and fertility, or worn as a charm against the evil-eye, this new cross, Chrisma, and name should be set on the foreheads of the baptized; should be carved on grave stones and seal rings; should be conspicuous and occupy the place of honour in the mosaics of the old Basilicas; and should stand everywhere for the mystery of the God incarnate.

And I venture to affirm that this is what St. John means, when he says, in the Apocalypse, of the faithful unto death, "I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, New Jerusalem; and my new name:" (iii. 12;) "having His Father's name written in their foreheads;" (xiv. 1;) "I will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it;" (ii. 17;) "His (the Lamb's) name shall be in their foreheads." (xxii. 4.)

Obviously this new name of God, and of Christ, the Lamb of God, are identical: and the Christian monogram or Chrisma should henceforth take the place of the old Pagan cross as a sign of salvation and eternal life; for Jesus is He who saves from sin. "Wherefore," says St. Paul, "God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God, the Father." (Philip. ii. 9–11.) Or, if in a few instances, the old Pagan symbols were retained, it was only because a Christian significance was attached to them.

I have already referred to this *decussa* of Plato, in the first chapter of this work, and given illustrations of it from Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, and other sources. But this form of the cross is not exclusively Platonic or Vedic; it is also Egyptian. In Creuzer's *Symbolik* we have a picture of the god Mendes or Amon, the generator, the Pan of the Egyptians, with this very *decussa* glittering on his breast with the winged globe and the *Uræus*, as the most sacred of symbols, as the emblem of unrevealed Deity, of the supreme intelligence, of the God who hides Himself, (Isa. xlv. 15,) the soul of nature, the *Eicton*, the *Thoth-trismegistus*, the *Amon-Knouphis*. This is very extraordinary testimony as to the one meaning of this symbol, in all antiquity. To find it here on the generating divinity in connection with the other

symbol of the Triad, is very significant, and simply means that all life is the gift of God, and that this *decussa* is the special sign of creative and producing power, or as St. John says of the Logos, "*In Him was life.*" But as the phallic emblem is also on the figure of Pan, and worshippers are kneeling in adoration before it, there can be no doubt that among the Egyptians, at least, this form of the cross was as much a phallic sign as the *crux ansata.*[1] The symbol, however, has not the perpendicular *Iota* as yet; When or why Paganism used this perpendicular mark with the *decussa*, I do not know; but we find it figured on coins of L. Lentulus, and on medals of the kings of the Bosphorus, before the Christian era.[2] Even the X P, which I had thought to be exclusively Christian, are to be found in combination thus: ☧ on coins of the Ptolemies, and on those of Herod the Great, struck forty years before our era, together with this other form, so often seen on the early Christian monuments, viz.: ☧. And in regard to it, King well remarks, "although

FIG. 46.—The Sacred Monogram encircled, with Alpha and Omega.

these symbols, as far as regards their *material form*, were not invented by the Christians, they nevertheless received at this time a new signification, and which became their proper one; and everybody agrees in giving them this peculiar signification, when they occur in the coinage of Constantine."[3] This signification is simply the belief of Constantine in the Divine interposition in the conquest of Maxentius. It is the vision of the cross as the sign of victory by Divine aid.

As a complete example of the sacred monogram thus formed of I and X, or Jesus Christ, I cite the above, (Fig. 46,) from Ciampini.[4] It has the Alpha and Omega.

[1] Guigniaut's Ed. pl. 37, No. 155, and tom. 4, p. 45.

[2] King's *Early Christian Numismatics*, p. 13. London, 1873. Waxel's *Recueil et Suite*, &c., No. 56. Berlin, 1803.

[3] *Early Christian Numismatics*, pp. 12 and 13, &c.

[4] *Vet. Mon.* 1, plate 67, no. 1, p. 227.

Two saints or apostles, each with a roll of a book and laurel-crowned, stand on either side of the monogram; and the vestment of one is marked with I or Jesus. This is found on the same monument, at Ravenna, with the Good Shepherd and His flock. He sits upon a rock, in the midst of the pasture, holding the Latin cross in one hand, and allowing a sheep to lick the other. Earlier than this, however, do we find the monogram and the cross used together on the same monuments.

Another and more frequent form of the monogram is the combination of the two Greek letters XP, which are simply the first two letters of the single and sacred name of Christ. Several examples are here given on seal rings, from Boldetti.[1]

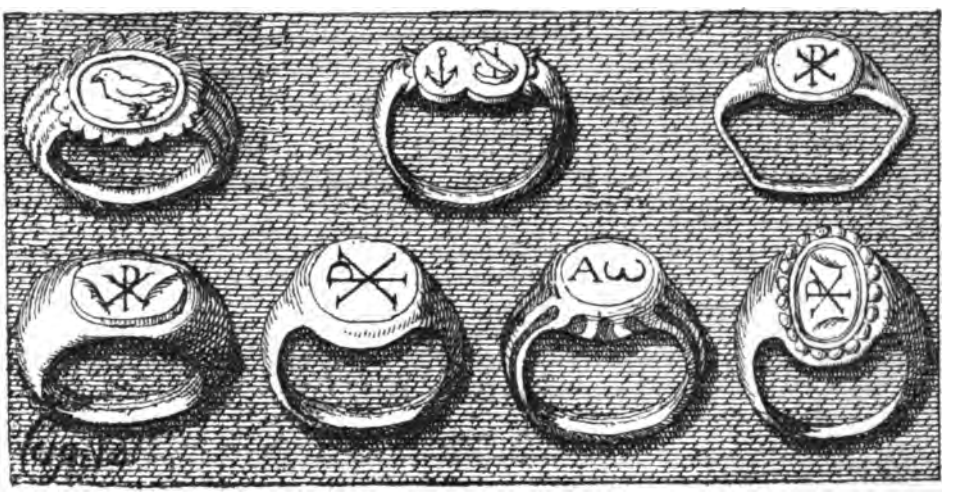



FIG. 47.—Seal Rings and various Symbols.

Two of these are accompanied with palm branches, indicative of the victory of faith in Christ; another has simply the Alpha and Omega; and two others have the dove, the ship, and an anchor, reminding us of the instruction of St. Clement of Alexandria, "Let our seals be either a dove, or a fish, or a ship scudding before the wind, or a ship's anchor, or a musical lyre; and if there be one fishing, he will remember the apostle, and the children drawn out of the water. For we are not to delineate the faces of idols, we who are prohibited to cleave to them; nor a sword, nor a bow, following, as we do, peace; nor drinking cups, being temperate. Many of the licentious have their lovers engraved, or their mistresses, to remind them perpetually of amatory indulgences."[2]

Dr. Burgon, a well-known clergyman of the Church of England, for some years

[1] *Osservazioni*, Pt. ii. p. 502.

[2] *Ped.* lib. iii. c. 11.

chaplain of the English Church at Rome, and who studied the Christian monuments there in company with De Rossi, doubts whether a single Roman cross occurs on any of them for the first four centuries; and says that "the Greek monogram, with and without the Alpha and Omega, was exclusively in favour from the earliest times.[1] Aringhi gives less than thirty examples of the Roman cross, which are chiefly on the sarcophagi of the later periods; while he also gives more than a hundred examples of the Greek monogram, with and without the Alpha and Omega. Boldetti has about thirty examples of the cross proper, but chiefly the floriated Greek; and one hundred and seventy examples of the monogram without Alpha and Omega, and twenty more, with these letters. Le Blant cites about forty Roman crosses, and eighty-six monograms, about half of the latter and two of the former having Alpha and Omega. Gruter gives this curious one, viz.: IC XC / NI KA *i.e.*, Jesus Christ conquers by the Cross.[2] Sometimes, though rarely, the old sacred *tau* is given with the Alpha and Omega. Even Dr. Rock does not venture the opinion that the Roman cross, much less the crucifix, occurs in the earlier monuments: but says: "In the Christian cemeteries, scarcely one sepulchral monument has been discovered which does not bear the monogram of Christ, arranged in the form of a cross," giving in a note its usual form and explanation.[3]

The Greek monogram, therefore, was the prevailing symbol of Christ as the First and the Last, during the first three centuries of the Christian era, as more expressive of faith in His Divine character and mission to seek and to save the lost; while the cross afterwards became the symbol of His human sufferings and death, until it culminated in the ghastly crucifix. Or rather, the Primitive Church dwelt more on the Divine side of Christ's person and office than upon the human.

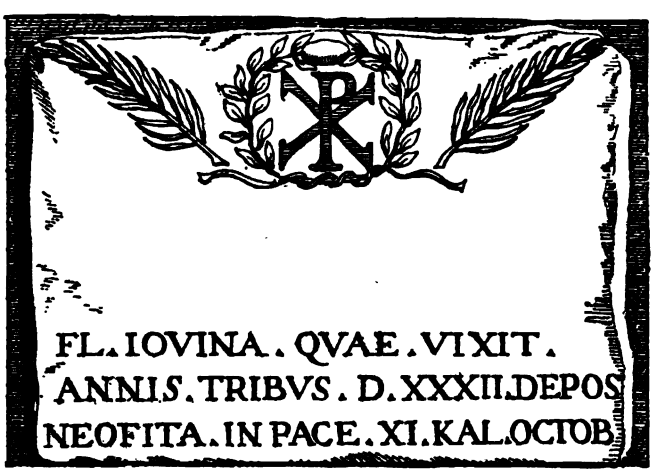



FIG. 48.—The Monogram with Palm-branches.

The palm-branch accompanies this enwreathed monogram, in token of victory and peace. (See Fig. 48.) The inscription tells its own touching story of the newly-

[1] *Letters from Rome*, pp. 210–11. London, 1862.
[2] *Hierurgia*, p. 356. London, 1851.
[3] *Inscript. Ant.*, p. 1049, no. 1.

baptized child whom it commemorates, viz.: "Flavia Jovina, a neophyte, who lived three years, and thirty-two days. Deposited in peace the eleventh kalends of October."[1]

The inscription is so brief and simple that it argues an early date. The parents of this child felt confident that Christ had taken her to Himself in Paradise; and so they placed over her remains the blessed symbol of His Divine name and mission as a Saviour. United to Christ first in holy baptism, she was now united with Him in the new and better life.

And yet it must be said, in all truth and candor, that the use of the Roman cross does not detract from the sacredness of the monogram, any more than the humanity of Christ detracts from His Divinity, or His suffering detracts from His glory. And, therefore, when the Pagan cross was restored to its proper place and true significance by later Christianity as a symbol of the human side of the Son of God, *i. e.*, of His Incarnation, suffering and death, I cannot see more in this than the complement of the whole Christian doctrine. I object to the crucifix because it is an image and liable to gross abuse, just as the old Hindu crucifix was an idol. As I have already discussed the several forms of the cross in the first chapter of this work, nothing more remains to be said than this, viz., that when Christ spake to the men of His day to take up the cross and follow Him, He was speaking to them of something well known and understood among them as a symbol or sign of all that was sacred and binding in the obligations of life. The cross was marked on the foreheads of the men of Jerusalem that were to be spared from destruction, in Ezekiel's time, for it was *tau;* (ix., 4–6;) it was stamped on valuable documents, coins, and on the necks of camels and thighs of horses;[2] it was woven into garments; and in various other ways it was used before the Christian era as a symbol of ownership, of safety, and of solemn compact. True, it had become grossly perverted; but Christianity restored it, at last, to its true and lawful use as a symbol of Christ's ownership of His creatures.

It is what St. John means when he speaks of the "servants of God sealed in their foreheads;" (Rev. vii.;) they belonged to God; were redeemed by His Son; had entered into solemn covenant with Him; and therefore must have His mark or seal upon them. This same mark or sign, after thousands of years, has survived in seals and documents of the present day; and the poor man who fixes his mark or cross to a marriage paper or a deed, instead of his own name, from inability to write it, is doing what was always done by the kings, nobles, and even Patriarchs of the olden times, when they set their hand and seal to important documents.

[1] Boldetti, pt. I. p. 271. [2] R. Rochette, *Crux Ansata*, pp. 16–17. *J. Bosio*, p.485,

The learned Basnage and other over-zealous Protestants like him, have affirmed that the Greek monogram of Christ was the invention of the Emperor Constantine, and never used before his day, since no Christian monument has it inscribed, of a date previous to A. D. 312. But this is altogether a mistake. For in De Rossi's dated inscriptions alone, we have examples of it, as early as A. D. 268, 291, and 298. For my part, I do not see what a fanatical Puritanism hopes to gain by denying or ignoring the facts of Christian archæology and early history, except the disgust and contempt of all fair-minded men; nor can I see any other result of the utter ignorance of these things than a perpetuation of the present dismal cant, bigotry, and strife about a symbolism that leads to Rome! The sacred monogram and the cross were used in every act of worship, they were stamped on the bread of the Eucharist, and marked on the foreheads of the baptized, worn on seal rings, &c., long before the term Pope was ever exclusively applied to the bishop of Rome, or ever modern Romanism was dreamed of. They are simply Christian symbols of all that Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of man, is to us as a Saviour.

Constantine, indeed, adopted the sacred monogram which was already in use; he did not invent it. On the day before the battle with the tyrant Maxentius, Eusebius tells us, the Emperor resolved to seek from God in earnest prayer, all that aid which he needed. "While he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvellous sign (*θεοσημία τις*) appeared to him from heaven, the account of which, related by any other person, would be difficult of belief. But since the victorious Emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, and confirmed the statement with an oath, who could hesitate to credit the relation, especially since the testimony of after time has established its truth? He said, that about mid-day, when the sun was beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of blazing light in heaven, above the sun, with this inscription, *τούτῳ νίκα, By this conquer.* At the sight he was struck dumb with amazement himself, and the whole army with him."[1]

The next day, Eusebius goes on to say, Constantine called together the workers in gold and precious stones, and ordered them to make an imitation of this sign which he described to them. And thus it was made, viz.: "A long spear overlaid with gold, and a piece placed transversely over it formed a cross, on the top of which transverse piece was fixed a crown made of gold and precious stones, in which were the two letters of the name of Christ, the letter P being intersected by X exactly in its centre; and these letters the Emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the transverse piece which crossed the spear

[1] *Vita Const.*, lib. I. c. 28, pp. 515–16. Reading's Ed. Cantab. 1720.

was suspended a flag or streamer of purple cloth, covered with a most profuse embroidery of brilliant gems; and which being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was square, and between it and the monogram were portraits of the Emperor and his children." [1]

FIG. 49.—The Labarum of Constantine.

And here, (Fig. 49.) is one form of that famous *Labarum* or imperial banner, carried henceforth at the head of the army in its conquest of the Empire for Christ and His Church. The medal also shows the head of Constantine.

### *Christ as the Fish and the Fisherman.*

Next to the sacred monogram, the Fish takes its place in importance as a sign of Christ in His special office of Saviour. It is not encircled like the monogram; and is not accompanied by Alpha and Omega. It is not properly a symbol like the monogram: it is rather an emblem or figure of Christ in His Divine presence and power in that saving ordinance of holy Baptism and of that holy Eucharist, of both which He is the Author. Tertullian speaks of it thus: "We little fishes, according to our *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently remaining in water," [2] which last expression obviously means, that we must keep ourselves clean and pure after Baptism, and faithful to our Baptismal vows, in order to salvation.

There are two senses in which the Fish applies to Jesus Christ, first, as the mere word; and second, as the image or picture: and both signify His saving presence and power in the Sacraments, as the Son of God. The word Fish is an abbreviation of this whole title, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, and Cross; or as St. Augustine expresses it, "If you join together the initial letters of the five Greek words, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστος Θεου Υἱὸς Σωτήρ*, which mean Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour,

[1] *Vita Const.*, I. cc. 30–31, Reading's Ed. Cantab. 1720. [2] *De Bapt.*, c. 1.

they will make *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, Fish, in which word Christ is mystically understood, because He was able to live in the abyss of this mortality as in the depth of waters, that is, without sin."[1] To the acrostic of the full title, attributed to the Erythrean Sibyl, Eusebius adds *σταυρός*, or cross; and Opsopaeus adds still more.[2] St. Augustine ends the acrostic with the word *Σωτήρ*, Saviour. I here transcribe this curious and celebrated acrostic as given in the English version of the *Oration of Constantine:* (c. 18.)

*I* "Judgment! Earth's oozing pores shall mark the day;
*H* Earth's heavenly King His glories shall display:
*Σ* Sovereign of all, exalted on His throne,
*O* Unnumbered multitudes their God shall own;
*Υ*
*Σ* Shall see their Judge, with mingled joy and fear,

*X* Crowned with His saints, in human form appear.
How vain, while desolate earth's glories lie,
*P* Riches, and pomp, and man's idolatry!
*I* In that dread hour, when Nature's fiery doom
*Σ* Startles the slumb'ring tenants of the tomb,
*T* Trembling all flesh shall stand; each secret wile,
*O*
*Σ* Sins long forgotten, thoughts of guilt and guile,

*Θ* Open beneath God's searching light shall lie;
*E* No refuge then, but hopeless agony.
*O* O'er heaven's expanse shall gathering shades of night
*Υ* From earth, sun, stars, and moon, withdraw their light;

*Υ* God's arm shall crush each mountain's towering pride;
*I* On ocean's plain no more shall navies ride.
*O*
*Σ* Dried at the source, no river's rushing sound

*Σ* Shall soothe, no fountain slake the parched ground.
*Ω* Around, afar, shall roll the trumpet's blast,
*T* Voice of wrath long delayed, revealed at last.
*H* In speechless awe, while earth's foundations groan,
*P* On judgment's seat earth's kings their God shall own.

*Σ* Uplifted then, in majesty divine,
*T* Radiant with light, behold Salvation's Sign!
*A* Cross of that Lord, who, once for sinners given,
*Υ* Reviled by man, now owned by earth and heaven,
*P* O'er every land extends His iron sway.
*O* Such is the name these mystic lines display;
*Σ* Saviour, eternal King, who bears our sins away."

[1] *De Civ. Dei.*, lib. xviii. c. 23.

[2] *Sib. Orac.* pp. 380–3. Paris, 1607.

This acrostic, together with the whole of the Sibylline oracles, has been the subject of much discussion and criticism, some scholars holding them all to be utter forgeries; others maintaining their substantial genuineness; and still others considering them as interpolated. It is very surprising, indeed, to find such a man as Godfrey Higgins maintaining their genuineness in such language as this: "If the Sibylline Oracles had been a *Christian* forgery, they would not have placed Ararat in Phrygia, Asia Minor. The more I consider these oracles, the more convinced I become that they are genuine."[1]

While Bishop Horsley is persuaded that the verses cited by the later Christian Fathers, as Sibylline oracles, which describe so minutely the events of Christ's advent and office, are scandalous forgeries, by whomsoever made; yet he contends that there were some genuine Sibylline oracles prophetic of the Messiah, which Celsus charged the Christians of his day with interpolating, and Origen challenges the proof. The Bishop specially refers to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue addressed to Pollio, not long before our Lord's birth, as to the appearance of some remarkable person who should deliver the world from physical and moral evil, as having been the special prophecy of the Cumæan Sibyl; and that the poet derived his prediction from that source alone.[2] The Danish Bishop, Münter, is of the same opinion. In his *Sinnbilder* we have this account of the Fish as a symbolical word indicative of Christ's pre-eminence as Divine. Says the learned Bishop: "In the Talmud the Messiah is called דָּג, or *Dag, i. e.*, Fish. The Jews connected Him with the astronomical sign of the Fishes; and the conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in this constellation, which indicated the land of Judea, was to announce His birth. Abarbanel, in his commentary on the prophet Daniel, positively says that this is derived from ancient sources of authority as in the highest degree probable. And the learned John Frischmuth, in his work on the Christian Religion as against the Jews, remarks on the madness and infatuation and obstinacy of that people, that they themselves have concluded that the time of Messiah's advent was indicated by the conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation of the Fishes; and yet when that conjunction actually took place at Christ's birth, the Jews rejected Him."

"In the Gemera, also, there is a reference to this sign of the fishes as the forerunner of Christ or the Messiah, which is this, viz.: "It shall go before Him, the war of the Thaninim or fishes." One such fight of the stars or constellations as prophetic of the advent of a purer religion at the end of the world, closes the fifth

[1] *Anacalypsis*, I. p. 427, and especially his able defence in book x. pp. 555–80, same vol.

[2] *Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Messiah dispersed among the Heathen*, pp. 7–21. London, 1822, Nine Sermons, 3d Ed. Blondel, Floyer, Bishop Bull, and T. Taylor discuss the matter *pro* and *con*.

ook of the Sibylline oracles, thus: 'The stars began a fight . . . . the morning ar getting on the back of the Lion; Capricorn struck on the tail of the Bull; . . . ıe Fishes came under the belt of the Lion," &c.[1]

No wonder, then, Bishop Münter remarks, "that the early Christians adopted ıis idea of Christ as represented by the constellation of the fishes, which was then ɔ well known under the initial letters of the Greek words, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Ὑὸς Σωτῆρ*, or *ΙΧΘΥΣ*. It gave rise to that splendid fantasy of acrostic poems, ı which such delight was at that time taken," referring to the one just cited above om the *Oration of Constantine* as copied from the Sibylline books. I am afraid it very much interpolated, since even Sir John Floyer gives up its genuineness. It early Christian, however.

The fish figured on the ancient Christian monuments is either the carp or the ɔlphin; the one, an article of food; the other, the playful and darling pet of .ilors. De Rossi says that the use of this figure or symbol belongs to the first ur centuries of the Christian era, and is more especially to be referred to the mes of persecution when the Secret Discipline of the Church existed. Its use ter the time of Constantine is more from custom or ornament than from necessity. .s the Christians of those early times were forbidden, on pain of death, to mention ıe name of Christ, and as the initiated must have some sign of recognition and ellowship as Christian brethren, the fish was adopted even so early as the second century, or in the time of Clement of Alexandria, whose instruction about seal rings has been already cited.

I cannot disguise facts. Truth demands no concealment or apology. Paganism has its types and prophecies of Christ as well as Judaism. What, then, is the *Dag-on* of the old Babylonians? The fish-god or being that taught them all their civilization. Where did the Jews learn to apply *Dag* to their Messiah? And why did the Primitive Church adopt it as a sign of Christ?

Here is the old mythological story as Berossus tells it: "In the first year there appeared, from that part of the Erythræan sea which borders upon Babylonia, an animal without reason,[2] Oannes by name, whose body, according to Apollodorus, was that of a fish; that under the fish's head he had another head, with feet below like those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice, too, and language were articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day. This being was accustomed to pass the day among men, but took no food at that season; and he gave them an insight into letters and sciences and arts of every kind. He taught them to build cities, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to

[1] Opsopæus, p. 343. Floyer, pp. 143–4.

[2] The original is *ἄφρενον*, without heart or liver. Is. Vassius reads *ἄῤῥεν ὸν*, male.

them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect the fruits; in short, he instructed them in everything which could tend to soften their manners and humanize their lives. From that time, nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions. And when the sun had set, this Being Oannes retired again into the sea, and passed the night in the deep; for he was amphibious. . . . . Moreover, Oannes wrote concerning the generations of mankind; and of their civil polity; and the following is the purport of what he said, viz.: An account of the chaos or abyss of waters; the formation of earth and heaven: the production of light out of darkness; the reduction of the universe to order; the formation of the stars, sun and moon; the creation of men and animals; an account of the Deluge; the sending out of the birds from the ark," &c., as in the book of Genesis; and not long ago found in Babylonia, written on fragments of an ancient cylinder, and more fully made up since.[1]

Babylonia and Chaldea must have derived their civilization from abroad by way of the sea, perhaps from India; but the ultimate source of this civilization, according to this account of Berossus, is some mysterious Being of a twofold nature and inhabiting two worlds at pleasure,—the Being who is the Author of all things in nature and of nature itself, and of every blessing to mankind—of which this *Dagon* or Fish-god was but the type. And this Being who reveals and teaches man knowledge, coming forth from the abyss of infinite and fathomless mystery, and after doing good to men, retiring again into it, is no other than Christ Jesus the Son of God and Saviour of the world, the sacred *IXΘΥΣ* of early Christianity. Whether Clement or his master Pantænus first suggested the Fish as a sign of Christ, according to this old Oriental mythical type, it is not easy to say. The fact is unquestionable, whatever its origin or significance.

A saviour and revealer and teacher of men must have two natures; and therefore the Fish of early Christianity represents Christ as both Divine and human, *i. e.*, it is a figure of the whole complex Being of the God-man, Mediator. The Fish represents the manhood only in that subordinate sense which relates to this world and its affairs so often compared to a troubled sea, out of which both He and His own people are delivered. Julius Africanus (A. D. 220) says: "Christ is the Great Fish taken by the fish-hook of God, and whose flesh nourishes the whole world." St. Prosper of Aquitaine says: "The Saviour, the Son of God, is a fish prepared in his passion, and by whose entrails we are constantly and daily nourished and

[1] Cory's *Fragments, &c.*, pp. 22–29, 2d Ed., London, 1832. Geo. Smith's trans. of *The Chaldean Account of the Deluge from Terra Cotta Tablets*, London, 1872. See also his more recent "*Assyrian Discoveries*," pp. 13, 97, 100–2, and 190.

enlightened." St. Augustine exclaims: "*IXΘΥΣ* is the mystical name of Christ, because He descended alive into the depths of this mortal life, as into the abyss of waters." And again: "Christ is the fish, which young Tobias took living from the stream; whose heart, consumed by passion, put the demon to flight and restored sight to the blind." And Optatus says: "The name of *piscina* given to the baptismal font, of which the water, the element of fishes, purifies us from all stain and becomes the means of salvation, is derived from the fish, symbolizing Him by whom we are nourished, healed and redeemed." [1]

Indeed, the fathers of the Church, after the Discipline of the Secret was relaxed, explained the fish as a figure of Christ giving Himself for man's nourishment and redemption; the fish which furnished the tribute money was but a type of Christ offering Himself for the salvation of the whole world; the broiled fish which Christ gave to seven of His disciples at the Sea of Galilee after His resurrection, was a figure of Himself "cooked by tribulation at the time of His passion," as St. Gregory expresses it, or as St. Augustine says, "The broiled fish is Christ." And the Venerable Bede has summed up the doctrine in that well-known aphorism, which still retains its place in archæological parlance, viz., *Piscis assus, Christus est passus, i. e.*, the cooked fish is Christ that suffered; or, to put it in the form of a couplet,

> "The fish fried
> Was Christ that died." [2]

So, too, the miraculous multiplication of the loaves and fishes has been interpreted as having some relation to the holy Eucharist, an interpretation amply sustained by several very early monuments, as we shall see when the sacraments of the Church come to be examined and illustrated.

But there is still another consideration of the matter to which I must here allude, in order to complete this part of the subject, viz., the dolphin as a figure of Christ in His capacity of Saviour or Deliverer from death and the grave, and as the Giver of eternal life. It cannot be doubted that the special object and motive of adopting the dolphin on the Christian monuments was to conceal as much as possible the Christian doctrine from the Pagans, and at the same time express it to the initiated of the Christian community, by symbols borrowed from mythological Pagan art. The playful dolphin, so beautiful of colour, so quick of motion, so sportive about ships, and so beloved of sailors, was made by Oriental Pagan nations a type of that good Power, which not only protected man against the dangers of the

[1] Didron's *Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 355–6.

[2] Comment on St. Jno. xxi. tom. V. p. 851. Basle, 1563.

FIG. 51.—Tritons, Nereids, and Dolphins; and winged Genii or souls passing through the sea of death or Hades to another existence. Sculpture.

sea, and brought him in safety to the desired haven, but also of the same benign and saving Power conducting mankind safely across the sea of life, and bringing them to the happy islands of the blessed immortals. The fables of Arion, and others of like kind, as well as Pagan sculptures of great spirit and beauty show this. Look, for example, at the representation of this subject as given by Millin, of the Nereids, assisted by the Tritons, and other sea animals, conducting the souls of the dead across the sea to their blest abode. There are four of these represented as little naked, newly-born children, sitting on the backs of Dolphins, and another astride the shoulder of a Triton.[1] (Fig. 51.)

In view of all this, Bishop Münter asks the significant question, "Is it not possible, that not only the Gnostics, who did not shun these Pagan ideas and symbols of religion, but also the Catholics, adopted the dolphin as a figure of Christ, and had it carved on their sepulchral monuments with the same intent? Or have the Pagan monuments caught the light of Christianity by anticipation?" And this good bishop does not at all hesitate to express the opinion that the carp or dolphin on Christian and Pagan monuments indicated the hope and belief in a blessed immortality secured by the mercy and goodness of God, or the gods; and this from the first age of the Church all the way down to the middle ages; for he found three fishes carved in the form of a triangle on old baptismal fonts in the churches of Zeeland and Fünen.[2] The fishes arranged in this form and within the circle denote the eternity and Trinity of God's being.

And what shall be said of such antique gems as these, viz., one described by C. W. King, a large cornelian brought recently from the north of India by

[1] *Gal. Myth.* pl. 73.

[2] *Sinnbilder*, &c., pp. 48-52, pl. 1, No. 26.

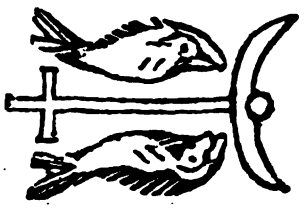


FIG. 52.—Dolphins and Anchor.

Col. Pearse, on which the Good Shepherd stands, bearing His lost and found lamb across His shoulders, surrounded by the mystic letters, *I.X.Θ.Υ.Σ.*, and on the reverse in Greek, this legend, *ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΣΩΖΕ ΚΑΡΠΙΑΝΟΝ ΑΕΙΠΟΤΕ, i. e.* "O Christ, save Carpianus forever." It is an evidence of the spread of Christianity into the far distant East at an early day.[1] The other gem is copied by Miss Twining from R. Rochette, representing a youthful head resting on a fish, and surrounded by the Greek letters, *ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ*, "Of Christ"; or when the Dolphin is entwined round the anchor, with the legend *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, it indicates hope in Christ as an anchor to the soul.[2] We have here an example of two dolphins with the cross-anchor between them, to denote Christ as the hope and stay of the parting soul crossing the dark waters of death. The figures occur in the midst of a Greek inscription, to the effect that the venerable Maritima had extinguished her earthly light, and now had all of immortality; for her piety was always productive.[3] (Fig. 52.)

And here again is another variety in the use of the fish on gravestones. In this case it is the carp, perhaps indicative of the person buried, who is a child, as belonging to Christ by baptism.

"Emilius in peace. Lived 15 years, 3 days." Such is the brief and simple inscription, indicating high antiquity. Surely the fish here has more significance than that of a mere trade or name; coupled as it is with the dove and the monogram, it must have some reference to Christ as the Saviour and Lord of this child. The Greek cross, too, is shown to have been in early use by this monument.[4]

Christ, then, is the Great Fisherman as well as the Fish, so pictured and sculptured in the early Christian monuments, and so described in early Patristic writings. Clement of Alexandria concludes his Pedagogue with this significant verse addressed to Christ, among others in that old Hymn of his:

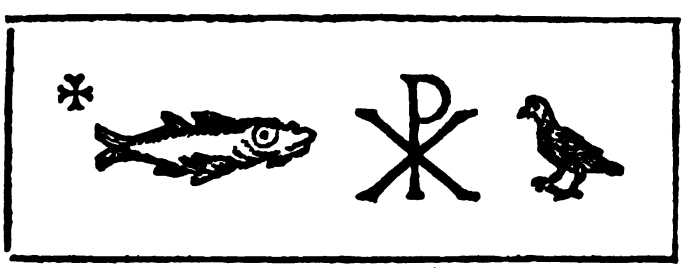


FIG. 53.—The Fish, Monogram, Dove, and Greek Cross.

[1] *Antique Gems*, II. p. 30. [2] *Symbols and Emblems*, &c., p. 28, and plate, 4to. London, 1852.
[3] Boldetti's *Osservazioni*, II. p. 370. [4] Boldetti, p. 453.

" Fisher of men, whom Thou to life dost bring,
From evil sea of sin,
And from the billowy strife
Gathering pure fishes in,
Caught with sweet bait of life."

FIG. 54.—Christ as a Fisherman, with His net and Fish, which looks like a Dolphin.

Or literally: "Fisher of men, who are saved, catching the chaste fishes with sweet life from the hateful waves of a sea of vices."

St. Gregory Nazianzen says that Jesus, the Fisherman, descended into the stormy abyss of this world in order to draw men from it like fishes, and carry them up into heaven. This is seen on the sarcophagus and in the paintings which I give in the chapter on Baptism. On a cornelian gem published by the Abbé Vallarsi, at Verona, is the representation of a young fisherman, holding a little fish on his hook, with the word *IXΘYΣ* opposite the fish. But the most complete monument of this kind, according to Didron,[1] is furnished by a miniature in the manuscript of

[1] *Icon. Chrét.* p. 357.

Herrade. God the Father is there represented holding in his hand a line, which He casts into the depths of the sea. The line itself is formed of the busts of Patriarchs, Prophets, and Kings, enchained one with the other, from Adam, who is nearest God, down to David, who is next to the hook; the bait, in fact, is no other than Jesus, the Saviour, attached to the Cross. And on an old sepulchral lamp, (Fig. 54,) from the Catacombs at Rome, Christ is represented with His net, the Church, catching men.

The clusters of grapes and the vine leaves are suggestive of Christ as the joy and gladness of His people—of those whom He captures and retains for His own.

One Simon, the Cyrenian, is mentioned in the Gospels, as compelled to bear the cross for Jesus on His way to crucifixion. Cyrene, answering to the modern Tripoli, North Africa, was originally founded by Greeks, and largely settled by Jews; and was once famous for its commerce, its poets, philosophers, and physicians. Jews of Cyrene were at Jerusalem, on the day of Pentecost, (Acts, ii.,) after Christ's resurrection, and Simon among the rest; Christian converts from Cyrene actively contributed to the formation of the first Christian church at Antioch among the Gentiles; (Acts, xi. 20;) and the Lucius of Cyrene mentioned in Acts, xiii. 1, is traditionally said to have been the first Christian bishop in his native district. Christianity, therefore, must have been introduced into Cyrene not long after our Lord's ascension, or at least, at a very early day. At any rate, we have monumental evidences of its existence there, as early as the fish was adopted, with the Good Shepherd, as an emblem of Christ.

In the interior of a grotto of the ancient necropolis of Cyrene, there is the faded fresco painting of the Good Shepherd bearing a lamb on His shoulders, with six other lambs at His feet, the usual two trees on either side; and all but one lamb are looking up into the young Shepherd's face with eager attention. He is clad in a tunic tucked up at the waist, as in the Roman Catacombs; but His head is here crowned with leaves, an unusual treatment. Above the Shepherd and His flock of seven sheep, seven fishes are ranged in a semi-circle, some of which look like dolphins. Baptized and folded at once, as the fishes and sheep were, this fresco is a curious and significant blending of the two ideas of Christ as Shepherd and Fisherman, of Baptism and the Church. In another grotto at Aphrodisias, we see the vine and its clusters as symbolical of Christ and His disciples, mingled with other devices of geometrical ornaments and Greek crosses, with the fish encircled.[1] Didron is of the opinion that these paintings probably date from the earliest epoch of Christianity.[2]

[1] See Garrucci's *Storia della Arte Cristiana*, pl. 105.

[2] *Icon. Chrét.* p. 353, note.

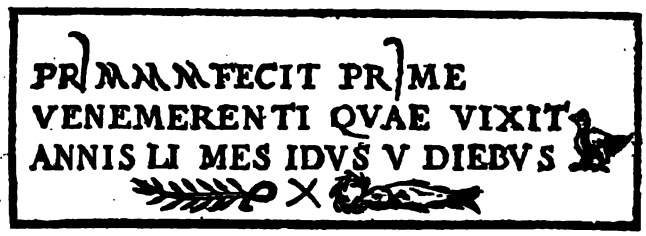



FIG. 55.—Fish with Crown, &c.

And when we see, as in Bosio's great work,[1] on a marble slab a fish with a crown in its mouth, a dove near it, and a palm branch in a line with the fish, with X between them, there can be no doubt that the fish is meant to represent Christ giving the crown of rejoicing to the well-deserving Prima whose inscription the slab bears. An inscription bearing the date of A. D. 234, of a child 10 years and 8 days old, accompanied with a fish and anchor, in Bosio and in De Rossi's *Dated Inscriptions*,[2] makes us believe in that early, and even earlier, use of the fish as a sign of Christ in His office of Saviour and Redeemer. Even the Gnostics adopted this conception of Christ as the author of all spiritual and eternal life, illustrating the fish-born life, or baptismal efficacy, by emblems of natural reproduction. A cone found at Aleppo has the bust of Christ upon it, with the Greek legend, ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, and the fish under the bust. The whole subject is illustrated by Lajard in his *Recherches sur la Culte de Venus*; and by Dr. Inman, in his *Ancient Faiths*. It would lead me too far out of the way to explain these emblems of the cone and the fish; and the initiated will understand them on the mere mention. Those who wish to be initiated must go to the sources of information just indicated.

De Rossi has an able and exhaustive treatise on this whole subject of the Fish as applicable to Christ; and he also partly treats it in his *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*. The Abbé Martigny, also, under *Poisson*, in his *Dictionnaire Des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, treats the matter learnedly and with candour, but of course with a Romish bias. Lucian's Dialogues of Sea-deities, and especially the one of Neptune and the Dolphins, may be consulted with advantage.

The sarcophagus, illustrating this subject, (Fig. 50,) represents Christ as a Fisherman, as well as Peter, together with the Great Fish which swallowed and disgorged Jonah, or Jonah's Preserver in Hades.

### *The Vine.*

The true key-note of Christianity was struck by the Master's hand at Cana of Galilee, when He turned the insipid water of the earth into the sweet wine of

[1] *Rom. Sott.* p. 505. [2] P. 10, vol. I.

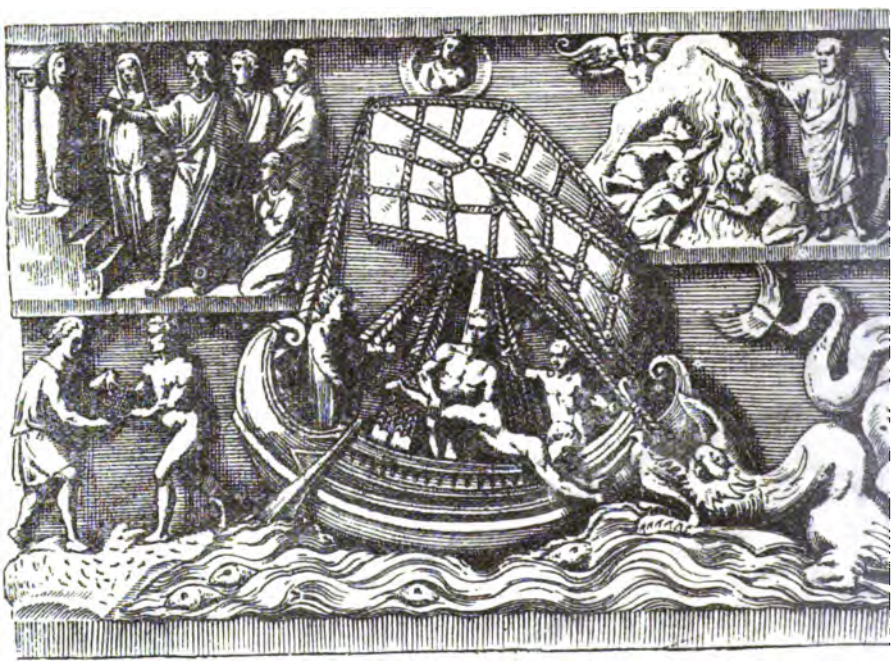


Fig. 10.—The Fisherman Peter.

Peter. Jonah and Hades. The Fisherman Christ.

Fig. 56.—The Vine and its Branches.

heaven. Many a harsh and discordant note has been sounded since that time to mar the harmony and good cheer of the feast; and much sour fanaticism and pharisaical severity have poured their sharp acids into the wine of Christ's grace and goodness to make it distasteful and unwholesome to very many of humankind. Nevertheless, it was a marriage feast, graced by the presence and provided for by the generosity of the Son of God, that inaugurated His public ministry on earth, as a type of the happiness which He had come to give; and it was a Passover supper, supplemented by the distribution of bread and wine among His sorrowing disciples, as memorials and types of Himself, that closed His earthly ministry. As wine makes glad the heart of man, so from first to last the Christian Religion is designed to make men truly happy. As the vine drinks in the dews of heaven and sucks up the earth's moisture, and transforms these by the aid of the sun's light and heat into purple clusters of luscious fruit that can be pressed into nourishing wine; so the Divine Logos or Son of God through His Incarnation absorbs, transforms, and re-

creates all human and earthly things, turning our sorrow into joy—our discord into harmony—our strife into peace—our sin into holiness—our world itself into heaven. It is this quality of the vine, doubtless, that prompted the similitude of Christ, when He said to His disciples: "I am the vine, ye are the branches." (St. Jno. xv. 5.)

It has been said by one who has paid special attention to the subject, and who has written much and well upon it, that "The vine has been regarded in all ages as the natural emblem of wisdom; *sophia*, the Greek word for wisdom, meaning originally the juice of the grape; hence, the fruit of the vine represents intellectual fruit—the practical results of the understanding."[1] It is ever the quality and prerogative of wisdom to turn everything to the best account, to use everything for the accomplishment of the best object, to make everything conduce to the best ends. And Christ is the wisdom of God unto salvation; as self-existent and self-sustained in the bosom of the Father, before ever the earth was, His best type is the palm-tree; but as incarnate for our redemption, and as Son of man, He is the vine clinging round the Father's neck for support. In this sense, He is the true or real vine of God's planting, yielding fruit to His glory; our poor, imperfect humanity is not like that true vine; it yields only sour grapes, and must be grafted into the true vine to be improved. It is, therefore, in this double sense of Divine Wisdom and perfect humanity that Christ is likened to the vine by St. John; and it is precisely in this double sense that early Christian art used the vine as a figure of our Lord and Saviour.

Fig. 57.—The Vine and the Good Shepherd.

It is a fact, challenging our special attention, that St. John's Gospel is the only one in which Christ is compared with the vine; from this Gos-

[1] The Rev. Hugh Macmillan's *True Vine*, p. 191. London, 1872.

pel alone, then, must the authority have been derived to represent Christ the Son of God and Son of man, under the figure of a vine, in the early art and monuments of Christianity. Look at this picture of the Good Shepherd and the vine, dating back to the second century, according to the best authority.[1] It is copied from Bosio.[2] (Fig. 57.)

Encircled as usual to denote His Divine generation in the eternity and immensity of God the Father, the Good Shepherd has returned to the fold with our lost humanity on His shoulders; and the whole flock of the Jewish and Gentile church is, perhaps, represented by the two sheep looking up in His face. The vine is full of rich clusters, upon which the happy immortals are feeding, as represented by the eight little naked genii. Here obviously the Vine and the Good Shepherd are identical in their application to Christ. He has recovered and restored the lost sheep; they are in the Paradise of God; the new wine of the Heavenly Father's Kingdom is theirs to drink. Just such little naked new-born children as flutter among these vine leaves, do we see on the dolphins and with the Nereids crossing the sea to the happy islands; and even their smiling faces look forth from the rippling waters, as if just born in them by a fresh baptism to the new and endless life of blessedness. These same naked genii can be seen carved upon the lintel and sides of the great door of the temple of the sun at Baalbec, sporting among the vines and flowers; many of which, alas! have been knocked off by inconsiderate and selfish travellers. Christian art has from the first adopted them from Paganism as expressive of her belief in a pure, fresh, and blessed immortality after death.

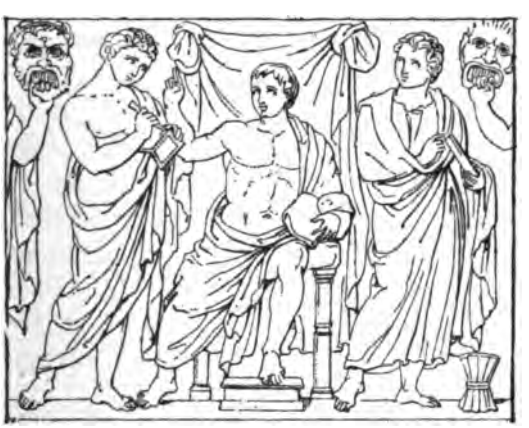


FIG. 58.—Apollo among the Muses.

As an illustration of our Lord's discourse about the vine and its branches, look at the preceding plate from Bosio, (Fig. 56,) and see His very youthful face and figure—a mere boy, in fact; His disciples grouped round Him in attentive attitudes, and the vine, spread out all around them, loaded with its rich clusters, which the little naked children are gathering and upon which the doves are feeding. What a commentary! This young face is meant to express the idea of Divinity that never grows old, just as in the repre-

[1] Agincourt's *Painting*, pt. I. pl. 6.

[2] *Rom. Sott.* p. 311.

sentation of Apollo seated among the Muses, part of which is here given from Millin. (Fig. 58.)

There is so striking a resemblance between the two young faces, the attitudes, the right hands extended, the rolls in the left hands, and in the whole treatment of both, that one looks very much like a copy of the other; or as Piper says, "Apollo was known as a type of Christ."[1] The Christian artist who painted this fresco of Christ and the vine in the cemetery chapel of St. Callixtus, must have had this Pagan artistic model of Apollo before him, or in his mind, in order to produce so close a likeness. But the artist also had St. John's Gospel before him, or its substance, or he could not have painted so faithful a counterpart of its fifteenth chapter. The art might be the Pagan ideal of the sun-god, but the truth was the Christian conception of the real Sun of Righteousness.

In one of the oldest cemeteries yet discovered, viz., that which is known by the name of St. Domatilla, and sometimes called after Sts. Nereus and Achilles, on the *Via Ardeatina*, about a mile and a half from Rome, we have some traces left of the Good Shepherd; the Love-feast or Agape; one fishing; Daniel in the den of lions; and over the whole vaulted ceiling a vine spreading its branches everywhere in the most natural and graceful manner, filled with birds and winged genii; and showing a higher order of art than the more stiff geometrical figures of the vine, in the next and succeeding centuries. It is almost a certainty that this cemetery belongs to the first century; for Domatilla was the wife of Flavius Clemens, the martyred consul, during the reign of Domitian, A. D. 81–93; she was related to the Emperor, and Nereus and Achilles were her chamberlains. Her mother's name was also Flavia Domatilla, the sister of Domitian. The Flavian family had given to the empire, Vespasian and his son Titus, joint emperors; and some of its members were very early converted to Christianity, among whom was Flavius Clemens, the husband of Domatilla. Dio Cassius tells us, (67, 13,) that "Domitian put to death several persons, and amongst them Flavius Clemens, the consul, although he was his nephew, and although he had Flavia Domatilla for his wife, who was also a relation of the Emperor. The charge of atheism was brought against them both, on which charge many others had been condemned, going after the manners and customs of the Jews; and some of them were put to death, and others had their goods confiscated; but Domatilla was only banished to Pandatereia," an island midway between Ponza and Ischia, now known by the name of *Sta. Maria.* The atheism and Judaism of Flavius Clemens and his wife were nothing else than the profession of Christianity. If we may rely on the Acts of the Martyrs, Sts. Nereus and Achilles were beheaded

[1] *Mythologie der Christlichen Kunst*, pp. 94–105. 8vo. Weimar, 1847.

on account of their faith, and buried in a cemetery about a mile and a half from Rome, on a farm belonging to their mistress, on the Via Ardeatina. Among the inscriptions there found is this, *Ex indulgentia Flaviæ Domatillæ, neptis Vespasiani, i. e.*, that the ground and cemetery were "By the favour of Flavia Domatilla, the niece of Vespasian." And curiously enough there is also extant this inscription of the time of Domitian, *Flavia Domatilla Filia Flaviæ Domatillæ Imp. Cæsaris. . . . Ani Neptis Fecit Glyceræ, I. et Libertis, Libertabusqu. Posterisque, Eorum, Curante .T Flavio. Onesimo. Conjugi, Benemer.*[1] Both Gruter and Orellius give this inscription; and Gruter says it is at the Church of St. Clement, Rome. It is simply another testimony that "Flavia Domatilla, daughter of Flavia Domatilla, niece of imperial Cæsar, Vespasian made a tomb for Glycera, and her freed men and freed women, and their children, by the care or interest of her well-deserving husband, Titus Flavius Onesimus." Has it anything to do with the other inscription? Was it borne to the Basilica of St. Clement with the remains of the other Flavius? And who was this other Flavia Domatilla, wife of T. Flavius Onesimus? Or, if the same, had she married another husband after the martyrdom of the first?

However all this may be, we have in this oldest of all Christian monuments—this cemetery of Domatilla with its inscriptions, vine, Good Shepherd, &c., evidence of the existence of St. John's Gospel, in some form, during the latter years of the first century. De Rossi is of the opinion that this cemetery first received the remains of Flavius Clemens, and that they were afterwards transferred to the Church that bears his name at Rome, the oldest church there.[2] Other antiquarians who have examined it are of the same opinion, that it is the oldest of all the yet discovered remains of Christian antiquity. It becomes, therefore, the first and foremost of all Christian monuments in favour of our Lord's Divinity, and proof that this doctrine was held from the very beginning of the Christian Church and society at Rome.

Some of the Christian fathers were fond of tracing a resemblance between the patriarch Noah and our Lord touching the vine;—a resemblance which to modern ideas and modes of thought seems fanciful enough, but which was made in all seriousness. Thus St. Cyprian has it: "When Christ says I am the true vine; the blood of Christ is surely not water, but wine; neither can His blood by which we are redeemed and quickened appear to be in the cup, when there is no wine in the cup whereby the blood of Christ is shown forth, which is declared by the Sacrament and testimony of all the Scriptures. For we find in Genesis, also, with respect to

[1] Gruter's *Insc.* p. 245, No. 5, Orelli *Insc.* I. p. 187.

[2] See also Northcote's *Rom. Sott.*, pp. 70–74. London, 1869.

the Sacrament in Noe, this same thing was to them a precursor and figure of the Lord's passion; that he drank wine; that he was drunken; that he was made naked in his household; and that Noe, setting forth a type of the future truth, did not drink water, but wine; and thus expressed the figure of the Lord's passion."[1]

St. Clement of Alexandria says that "The sacred Vine produced the prophetic cluster, and was a sign to the Hebrews respecting the Great Cluster, the Word, bruised for us. For the blood of the grape, that is, the Word, desired to be mixed with water, as his blood is mingled with salvation."[2] The reference here is to the mixed chalice of those early times signifying the mingled blood and water that flowed from our Lord's side when pierced by the spear. "And," he continues, "the blood of the Lord is twofold. For there is the blood of His flesh, by which we are redeemed from corruption; and the spiritual, that by which we are anointed. And to drink the blood of Jesus, is to become partaker of the Lord's immortality; the Spirit being the energetic principle of the Word, as blood is of the flesh. Accordingly, as wine is blended with water, so is the Spirit with man. And the one, the mixture of wine and water, nourishes to faith; while the other, the Spirit, conducts to immortality. And the mixture of both—of the water and of the Word—is called *Eucharist*, renowned and glorious grace; and they who by faith partake of it are satisfied both in body and soul."

St. Augustine thrice refers to Noah's intoxication as a type of our Lord's passion or suffering on the cross. Thus, in the *City of God*, he says: "It is Christ Himself who planted the vine of which the prophet says, 'The vine of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel;' and He drinks of its wine, whether we thus understand that cup of which he says, 'Can ye drink of the cup that I shall drink of?' and, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me,' by which He obviously means His passion; for the passion of Christ was signified by Noah's nakedness. Or, as wine is the fruit of the vine, we may prefer to understand that from this vine, that is to say, from the race of Israel, He assumed flesh and blood that He might suffer; and 'he was drunken,' that is, He suffered; and 'was naked,' that is, His weakness appeared in His suffering, as the apostle says, 'though He was crucified through weakness.' Wherefore the same apostle says, 'the weakness of God is stronger than men, and the foolishness of God is wiser than men.' And when to the expression 'he was naked,' Scripture adds 'in his house,' it well intimates that Jesus was to suffer the cross and death at the hands of His own household, His own kith and kin, the Jews."[3]

Again, in his *Reply to Faustus, the Manichæan*, St. Augustine says, "The suffer-

[1] *Epist. ad Caecil.* 63 [2] *Paed., Lib.* ii. c. 2. [3] *De Civ. Dei.* lib. xvi. c. 2.

ings of Christ from His own nation are evidently denoted by Noah's being drunk with the wine of the vineyard he planted, and his being uncovered in his tent. For the mortality of Christ's flesh was uncovered, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, both Shem and Japhet, the power of God and the wisdom of God. Moreover, the two sons, the eldest and the youngest, carrying the garment backwards, are a figure of the two peoples, and the sacrament of the past and completed passion of the Lord. They do not see the nakedness of their father, because they do not consent to Christ's death; and yet they honour it with a covering, as knowing whence they were born. The middle son is the Jewish people, for they neither held the first place with the Apostles, nor believed afterwards with the Gentiles. They saw the nakedness of their father, because they consented to Christ's death; and they told it to their brethren outside, for what was hidden in the prophets was disclosed by the Jews. And thus they are the servants of their brethren. For what else is this nation now but a desk for the Christians, bearing the law and the prophets, and testifying to the doctrine of the Church, so that we honour in the sacraments what they disclose in the letter?"[1]

Now, we are told expressly that it was for the joy set before Him, that Jesus endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God; (Heb. xii. 2;) that He was called a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners; (St. Luke, vii. 34;) and that He would drink new wine with His disciples in His Father's Kingdom, as emblematic of the joy to be had there forever. (St. Matt. xxvi. 29.) No wonder, then, the primitive Church, in the days of her oppression and sadness, rejoiced in the weekly celebration of the Agape and the Eucharist, and painted and carved the vine in her places of worship. The wine of Christ's blood was medicine to her soul, which made her forget her poverty, and remember her misery no more. (Prov. xxxi 4–8.) Christ her Lord had been trodden in the wine-press of wrath, like the newly-gathered clusters of the vintage, in order that His love might fill the cup of salvation for her and our dry and parched lips. Every time the Sacramental cup is tasted we remember the words, "I am the vine, ye are the branches; I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman;" as not only a reminder, but also the pledge of all future joy and gladness, when earth shall be exchanged for heaven, and all its waters turned into wine: and when the whole Church redeemed out of mankind as the Bride of Christ shall lift up her "beaming chalice brimming over with bliss," and say to the Bridegroom, "Thou hast kept the good wine until now."[2] (St. Jno. ii. 11.)

[1] Lib. xii. c. 23.

[2] See Macmillan's *True Vine*, pp. 67–70.

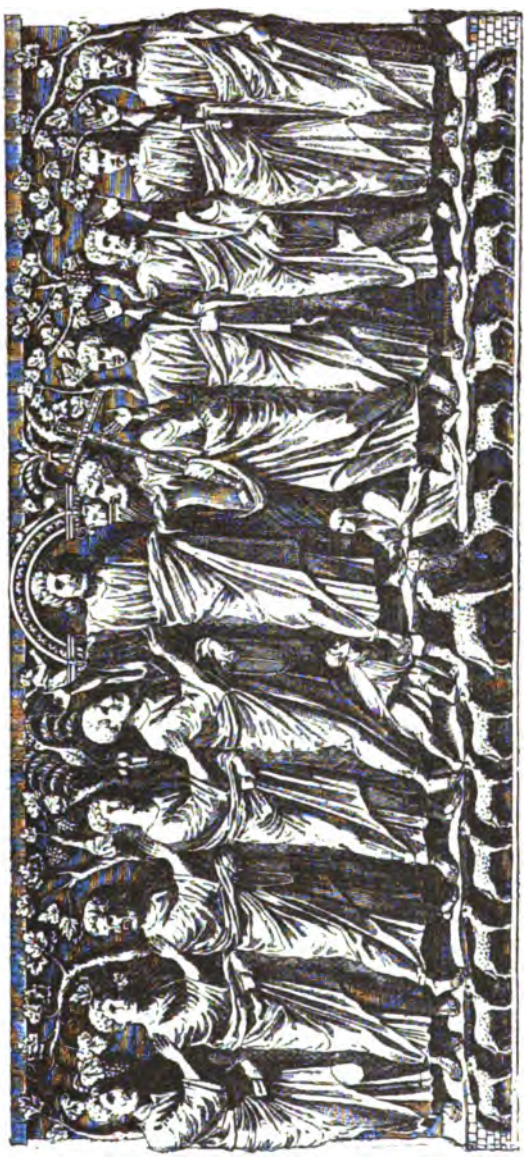


FIG. 59.—The Vine and its Branches.

The illustration of this whole perfect humanity of Christ, or His Incarnation as a means and source of joy to mankind, is given in the annexed plate. It is copied from Bosio, as usual. (p. 75.) It is Christ, not now seated as a youthful Divinity among His disciples, as we have just seen in the fresco painting of St. Callixtus; but a noble, majestic, bearded man, standing on the mystic mount of the four holy Gospels, with His Apostles grouped on either side, Peter and Paul as usual next Him, who are all holding up their hands in adoration. The Great Vine is Christ Himself, with a branch rising up behind each Apostle to denote his close union with Him and with one another. The sheep below, and the one Great Sheep, are still Christ and His Apostles, as Lambs among wolves. The kneeling figures are types of all suffering and sorrowful ones seeking peace and joy. Christ is pointing to the Dove or Pigeon as if assuring His disciples of the coming Paraclete or Comforter. He has completed the earthly part of His work of salvation, and is about to ascend up on high to prepare places in His Father's House for all troubled souls that love Him. The little kneeling cherubs at the base of the arch over Christ's head may indicate this. It is Christ, our Elder Brother, touched with a feeling of our infirmity, having been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin, going away with

our nature to His home and kindred in Heaven to make ready the way for our approach—to prepare the Marriage feast that we may drink with Him the new wine of His and our Father's Kingdom.

"Now as he walked by the sea of Galilee, He saw Simon, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after Me, and I will make you to become fishers of men."

*St. Mark*, i. 16, 17.

"I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit, for without Me ye can do nothing."

*St. John*, xv. 5.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

*The Pagan and Christian Good Shepherd.—Hebrew Types, Isaac, Moses, David and Daniel.—Pagan Types, Krishna, Mithra, Horus, Apollo, and Orpheus.—Christ, the only Antitype.*

"HE shall feed his flock like a shepherd; the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them," was a Jewish prophecy of the Messiah, who is also called the Shiloh, the desire of all nations, fairer than the children of men. When the incarnate Son of God applied to Himself the epithet of Shepherd in that remarkable utterance, "I am the good Shepherd: the good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep," (St. Jno. x. 11,) He is to be understood as summing up in Himself all Jewish and Pagan types and prophecies respecting His divine office of gathering together into one fold all the scattered members of His flock. King David was actually such a shepherd to the Jews, and type of the Messiah; but what was Krishna to the Hindus, Horus to the Egyptians, Apollo and Orpheus to the Greeks and Romans, but some ideal and anticipated leader and guide to the people? how is it that this shepherd idea so much pervades the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, as well as the literature of ancient India and Greece? Who was Krishna? Apollo? Orpheus?

Maurice's plate shows us Krishna charming the beasts with his lute; just as the frontispiece of this work, from the cemetery of St. Callixtus, shows us Orpheus charming them with his lyre. The idea is the same. The sun-like rays round his head are indicative of his divine nature; and the pointed helmet of divine power and royalty. His influence goes to the four quarters of the world, as indicated by his four arms and hands, just as Apollo is represented riding the heavens in a chariot drawn by four horses; or the reference may be to the four winds or the four elements of nature over which he presides; two of his hands hold the *Chank* and the *Chakra*, or the shell and discus, here made to look like crosses and indica-

FIG. 60.—Krishna with his Lute, Chank and Chakra.

tive of sacrifice and safety; while with the other two hands he makes music for his enraptured flock. Notice how the fingers which hold the symbols of his power and goodness are disposed after the manner of the Papal benediction.

The three marks on his forehead, of which the central one is always red, and the other two white and yellow, denote the mysterious womb of nature from which all things proceed, and are much used by the devotees of Vishnu. In this case, this *Triumanna*, as it is called, signifies that Krishna is an incarnation of Vishnu.[1]

Just as the story of Krishna does not occur in the Vedas, so there is no account of Orpheus in the works of Homer or Hesiod. And yet, if we may believe so good an authority as Edward Moor, both the name of Krishna, and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, as very certain things, and probably extend to the time of Homer, nearly 900 years B. C., or more than a hundred years before Isaiah lived and prophesied; that same Edward Moor, who deprecates "the attempts at bending so many of the events of Krishna's life to tally with those, real or typical, of Jesus Christ;"[2] and yet has nothing to say of such events as do bear a striking resemblance to our Lord's life. Krishna's childhood and absurd miracles may be, as some affirm with Sir Wm. Jones, interpolations from the Apocryphal Gospels into the original story; but the fact remains of the Eighth Incarnation of Vishnu in the Hindu religion and literature long before the Apocryphal or genuine Gospels were written.

From that candid and cautious Bampton Lecturer of 1809, the Rev. J. B. S. Carwithen, also the author of an excellent history of the Church of England, I cite the following passages on this subject, viz.: "From some passages in the Puranas, which are thought to be of modern insertion, and especially from a similarity which has been discovered in the Bhàgavat Puràna, between the life of Krishna the Indian Apollo, and the life of Christ, a similarity which has caused a modern infidel to draw an impious parallel between them, it has been conjectured, not without some appearance of probability, that the Apocryphal Gospels, which abounded in the first ages of the Christian Church, might have found their way into India; and that the Hindus had engrafted the wildest part of them on the adventures of their own divinities. Any coincidence, therefore, which may be discovered between the Sanscrit records, and the Mosaical or Evangelical histories, is more likely to proceed from a communication through this channel, than from ancient and universal tradition."

"On this opinion (*sic*) it may be remarked that both the name of Krishna and the general outline of his story are long anterior to the birth of our Saviour; and

[1] Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, plate II. Nos. 12, 16, pp. 405 and 384–5.

[2] *Id.*, pp. 200–444.

this we know, not on the presumed antiquity of the Hindu records alone. Both Arrian and Strabo assert that the God Krishna was anciently worshipped at Mathura on the river Jumna, where he is worshipped at this day. But the emblems and attributes essential to this deity are also transplanted into the mythology of the west." (pp. 98–99.) Hence the similarity between Krishna and Apollo and Orpheus.

As the *Bhagavat-Gita*, translated by Charles Wilkins first, and afterwards by Thompson, gives us the most full and complete account of Krishna, its *certain date*, and no mere opinion or supposition about it, is most desirable. It is a divine song or episode given in the form of a discourse between the god *Krishna* and his pupil *Arjuna*, held in the midst of an undecided battle; a most full and curious exposition of the pantheism of the Brahmins, and a general view of the whole mystic theology of the Hindus. A. W. Schlegel calls it the most beautiful, and perhaps the only truly philosophical poem, that the whole range of known literature has produced. Dean Milman observes that it reads like a noble fragment of Empedocles or Lucretius, introduced into the midst of an Homeric epic. In point of poetical conception, there is something singularly striking and magnificent in the introduction of this solemn discussion on the nature of the godhead and the destiny of man, in the midst of the fury and tumult of the civil war in which it occurs. This episode, Adelung remarks, is said to be an interpolation of later date than the giant epic of which it forms a part; and if so, it is allied with great address to the main subject of the poem. "On the whole, the *Bhagavat-Gita* is certainly one of the most curious and the most characteristic works we have received from the East. As a record of religious and philosophical opinion it is invaluable; and if the progress of Sanscrit criticism should hereafter be able to fix, with any certainty, the date of this episode, it would throw light on the whole history of Indian civilization."[1]

Archdeacon Hardwick ventures this opinion respecting Krishna as a hero, and Krishna as a divinity, viz., "This, at least, may be regarded as extremely probable that the splendid episode (the *Bhagavat-Gita*) which made us first acquainted with his claims to superhuman power and dignity, which first identified his being with that of the Supreme, and first brought out distinctly the idea of sympathy with the human species, and of periodic births in order to promote their welfare, was composed as late as the third century of the Christian era. It may be inferred, accordingly, that all our certain knowledge respecting Krishna, in the times preceding the diffusion of the Gospel, is confined to a very few particulars. He was, first of all, a man possessed of more than ordinary virtue and intelligence; and secondly,

[1] Adelung's *Sanscrit Literature*, pp. 93–4.

a hero acting as the leader of the shepherd-chieftains, in his own immediate neighbourhood; and thirdly, a demi-god, or emanation, it may be, especially connected with Vishnu, and zealous for the purity and permanence of physical creation."

After speaking of the matter of the spurious *Gospel of the Infancy*, or the *Gospel of St. Thomas*, probably circulated on the coast of Malabar, and giving colour to the story of Krishna, this Christian advocate goes on to say, "Leaving all these questions, as we must do, in comparative obscurity, it is important to observe that Krishnaism, when purged from all the lewd and Bacchanalian adjuncts which disfigure and debase it, comes indefinitely short of Christianity. Regarded in its brighter aspect, it will prove that man is far from satisfied with the prevailing forms of nature worship, and is struggling to become more conscious of the personality of God, and panting for more complete union with Him. It recognizes the idea of God descending to the level of the fallen creature, and becoming man. It welcomes Krishna as one realization of this great idea, as the hero who was sent to lighten many a burden of pain and misery under which the universe was groaning, as the teacher who alone could save mankind by pointing out a method of escape. These yearnings after something higher, purer, and more heavenly, are discernable at intervals amid the very sternest forms of pantheism; they bear witness, notwithstanding all the flagrant contradictions in the system with which they are connected, to a consciousness of moral guilt, as well as to a sense of physical evil; they give rise to the anticipation, that mankind will ultimately burst the trammels of their adversary, and be reconciled to God." [1]

The *Vishnu Purana* informs us that "The divine Vishnu himself, the root of the vast universal tree, inscrutable by the understandings of all gods, demons, sages, and men, past, present, or to come, adored by Brahma and all the deities, he who is without beginning, middle, or end, being moved to relieve the earth of her load, descended into the womb of Devaki, and was born as her son Vasudeva. Yoganidra, proud to execute his orders, removed the embryo to Yasoda, the wife of Nunda, the cowherd. At his birth the earth was relieved from all iniquity; the sun, moon, and planets, shone with unclouded splendour; all fear of calamitous portents was dispelled, and universal happiness prevailed. From the moment he appeared, all mankind were led into the righteous path in him."

And again, it says, "On the day of his birth the quarters of the horizon were irradiate with joy, as if moonlight was diffused over the whole earth. The virtuous experienced new delight, the strong winds were hushed, and the rivers glided tranquilly. The seas with their own melodious murmurings made the music, whilst the

[1] *Christ and Other Masters*, vol. I. pp. 289-292.

spirits and the nymphs of heaven danced and sang; the gods, walking the sky, showered down flowers upon the earth, and the holy fires glowed with a mild and gentle flame."

Krishna thus born, had the complexion of the lotus, four arms, and the mystic mark Srivatsa on his breast; and his mother Devaki, afraid that Kansa would kill the child, exclaimed, "God of gods, who art all things, who comprisest all the regions of the world in thy person, and who by thine illusion hast assumed the condition of an infant, have compassion upon us, and forego this thy four-armed shape, nor let Kansa, the impious son of Diti, know of thy descent."[1]

Now, here is, in one sense, as clear a prediction of a Divine Incarnation as that of Job or Isaiah, and perhaps belongs to a period as early as that of Job and Balaam; but in another sense, it is so vague and pantheistic, so illusory, that we can hardly think it a reality. It is a half-truth derived from patriarchal times, clad in mystic garb of error. And this half-truth is the one singular fact which challenged the attention of Sir W. Jones, and caused him to remark, "that the name of Krishna, and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of Homer, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, *Bhagavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a most extraordinary kind, but strangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations; the incarnate deity of the Sanscrit romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *herdsmen*, but it adds, that he was educated among them, and passed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all new-born males to be slain, yet this wonderful babe was preserved by biting the breast, instead of sucking the poisoned nipple of a nurse commissioned to kill him; he performed amazing but ridiculous miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of seven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger; he saved multitudes partly by his arms, and partly by his miraculous powers; he raised the dead by descending for that purpose to the lowest regions, and returned to Vaicontha, the proper paradise of Vishnu: he was the meekest and best-tempered of beings, washed the feet of the Brahmins, and preached very nobly indeed, and sublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaste in reality, but exhibited an appearance of excessive libertinism, and had wives and mistresses too numerous to be counted; lastly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fomented and conducted a terrible war. This motley story must induce an opinion that the spurious gospels, which abounded in the first age of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest part of them repeated to the

[1] Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 440 and 502. London, 1840.

Hindus, who engrafted them on the old fable of *Kesava*, the Grecian Apollo."

And again he says, "The sect of Hindus who adored Krishna with enthusiastic and almost exclusive devotion, have broached the doctrine, that he was distinct from all the *Avatars*, who had only an *ansa* or part of his divinity; while Krishna was the person of Vishnu himself in human form; hence they consider the third Rama, his elder brother, as the eighth avatar invested with an emanation of his divine radiance; and, in the principal Sanscrit dictionary, compiled about *two thousand years ago*, *Krishna*, *Vasadeva*, *Govinda*, and other names of the *Shepherd-God*, are intermixed with epithets of *Narayana*, or the *Divine Spirit*. All the avatars are painted with gemmed Ethiopian or Parthian coronets, with rays encircling their heads," &c.[1]

Krishna, then, is an incarnate god and a shepherd-god, long anterior to Christianity. He is exposed like Moses to the fury of a tyrant; like Moses he lived among cattle and flocks, and their keepers; or like David he rises from a low condition among his father's sheep to be a king; or like David's Lord, he becomes the shepherd of his people, feeding them in a green pasture, and leading them forth beside the waters of comfort. Certainly, these two ideas of a complete Divine Incarnation, and the shepherd-god or provider, among the Hindus, must be a part of the same ancient prophecy that existed among the Patriarchs of the elder world, like Abraham and Job, both of whom saw Christ's day, and were glad. "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God," is not the prophetic utterance of Judaism nor Hinduism respecting the God Incarnate coming to earth as Redeemer, but of a wealthy Emir or Prince of Idumea, who lived before the time of Moses. God could not be seen by mortal vision, except as He became Incarnate. If Melchisedek were not Christ in person and in human form, as some able theologians think he was, he was at least the most remarkable type of Christ that has ever appeared in this world.

In the Benedictine edition of St. Jerome's Bible, the passage just cited from Job is thus rendered, viz.:

> "Scio enim quod Redemptor meus vivit
> & in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum:
> Et rursus circumdabor pelle mea,
> & in carne mea videbo Deum."

In Miles Coverdale's Bible this passage is thus rendered: "I am sure that my

[1] *Works, On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, vol. III. pp. 375, 393, &c.

Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day: that I shall be clothed again with this skin, and see God in my flesh." In other words, the whole redemption of man in soul and body at the final Resurrection is the sole work of the God Incarnate, whom we shall then see clad in our flesh, when we also shall be like Him, and shall see Him as He is.

Now, in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, (c. xl.,) we have this account of the child Jesus, "that one day he went out into the street, and seeing some boys at play, he followed them; but the boys hid themselves from him. When the Lord Jesus came to the door of a certain house, and saw the women who stood there, he asked them whither the boys had gone. And when they told him that nobody was there, the Lord Jesus said again, What are these whom ye see in the vault? They answered that they were kids of three years old. And the Lord Jesus cried aloud and said, Come out here, O kids, to your shepherd! Then the boys came out, having the form of kids, and began to skip about him. When they saw it, the women greatly wondered, and, being seized with fear, they adored the Lord Jesus, saying, O our Lord Jesus! Son of Mary! thou art indeed the Good Shepherd of Israel; have pity on thy handmaids . . . . and restore these boys to their former condition. The Lord Jesus therefore said, Come, boys, let us go and play! and immediately, while the women stood there, the kids were changed into boys."[1]

Parallel with this is said to be the story of Krishna's creating new calves and new cow-boys. "Brahma, in order to test the divinity of Krishna, stole the calves and the boys of his herd all away, and hid them in an inaccessible cave of the mountain. Krishna, discovering the crafty trick of Brahma, immediately created other calves and boys, in all respects like the others, and brought them to their accustomed place, and at night he led them home as usual; . . . and by the way he began to play on his flute, when men, and birds, and beasts, and Devatas, were ravished with pleasure."[2] The plate 60 illustrates this.

But the epithet of Good Shepherd as applicable to Christ is not alone from the Gospel of the Infancy: it is also from the Gospel of St. John. And the idea of Krishna as a shepherd, I take to be older than either, and prophetic of Christ.

So, too, the account of Krishna's adventure with the dreadful serpent *Kalinaga*, which obstructed and poisoned the waters of the river Jumna, so that the boys who went to bathe, and the cattle to drink, fell down dead as soon as they touched the water; and how he crushed the monster's head with his foot, is surely something more in its profound meaning as part of the original revelation recorded in Genesis,

[1] Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus*, &c., pp. 115–16. Lip. 1832. Cowper's *Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 205–6. Lond. 1870.

[2] Maurice's *Anc. Hist. Hindustan*, vol. 2, pp. 332–4. Lond. 1795.

than the seemingly parallel passage in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, (c. xlii.,) where it is told of a boy bitten by a serpent, that the Lord Jesus made the serpent suck out its own poison from the wound, and then cursed it, whereupon it was instantly rent asunder. Maurice gives a plate representing Krishna crushing the head of the serpent, or treading it under foot, which is here reproduced, with a crucifixion of Krishna described further on. I have also placed on the same page (159) two similar examples from the monuments of Egypt; and they challenge inquiry as to their origin and meaning so long anterior to Christianity.

FIG. 61.—Krishna crucified.

FIG. 62.—Krishna crushing the Serpent.

The Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil, of which the *venomous* serpent was the type. The seed of the woman, spoken of in Genesis, was to bruise the serpent's head: *ipse*, as the genuine Vulgate of St. Jerome reads it, and not *ipsa*, as the Romish Church has it in the interest of the Virgin Mary; *ipse*, too, most emphatically as these ancient monuments testify. Not alone on the obelisk that stands before the Lateran Basilica, brought there by Constantine, does this cruciform image appear treading down the great serpent of evil; but we also see the same thing in other Egyptian monuments. The younger

Horus was the avenger of his father's death on Typho, and aided his mother Isis in thwarting the evil intentions of this monster.

Sir G. Wilkinson says, "It was probably in consequence of his victories over the enemy of mankind, that Horus was so often identified with Apollo; the story of whose combat with the serpent Pytho is evidently derived from the Egyptian mythology; and, indeed, the evil genius of his adversary is frequently figured under the form of a snake, whose head Horus is seen piercing with a spear. But this is not confined to Egyptian and Greek mythology. The same fable occurs in the religion of India, where the malignant serpent Kaliya is slain by Vishnu, in his avatar of Krishna; and the Scandinavian deity Thor, was said to have bruised the head of the Great Serpent with his cruciform mace. The origin of this may be readily traced to the Bible history. The serpent pierced by the spear of Horus is evidently the Aphophis alluded to by Plutarch, which, from the signification it bears in the Egyptian language, "the Giant," appears to have been the origin of the fable of the wars of the Gods and Giants. Horus generally stands in a boat accompanied by other deities while piercing the evil being in the water, who is sometimes represented under the form of a man, though generally as a long serpent; calling to mind "the dragon in the sea," mentioned by Isaiah." (xxvii. 1.)[1]

And again, he remarks, "In the mysterious subjects on the walls of the Memnonium snakes perform a distinguished part; some are guarding the doors of certain mansions of Amenti; and the killing of "the Great Serpent," (the emblem of sin,) the binding of the wicked, and their punishment in fire, are introduced."[2]

Whether this killing of the serpent, the emblem of sin, was derived from the Bible or not, or from a common original revelation given alike to all mankind, is of no great consequence; for here it is as a common possession in the remotest antiquity, under the names of Krishna, Horus, Apollo, Thor, &c. So that these figures all agree in the one fact of some God-man coming to earth to destroy its evil.[3]

But why the cruciform attitude and the crucifix? Justin Martyr explains it in the case of Moses stretching out his arms in the form of a cross during the battle of Israel with Amalek, as "a mystic sign, by which some out of all nations have been turned from idols to God; and by whose power the enemies of God and unbelievers have been destroyed; but more especially was the cross a type and a sign erected by Moses to counteract the serpents which bit Israel, and intended for the salvation of those who believe that death was declared to come thereafter on the serpent through Him that would be crucified, but salvation to them bitten of him,

[1] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2d Series, vol. I. pp. 395–6, and pl. 42.

[2] *The Egyptians in the Time of the Pharoahs*, p. 132. [3] J. Bosii, *De Triumphanti Cruce*, p. 476.

FIG. 63.—Egyptian Orante treading upon the Serpent.

who had betaken themselves to Him that sent His Son into the world to be crucified. For the Spirit of prophecy by Moses did not teach us to believe in the serpent; since it shows us that he was cursed of God from the beginning; and tells us in Isaiah that he shall be put to death as an enemy by the mighty sword, which is Christ."[1] The cross, then, is the sign of life to all that is good, and of death to all that is bad. And the Son of God was crucified to take away sin and death, and give eternal life to all that follow Him.

Was Krishna ever crucified? Look at Fig. 61 and see. It is indeed an ancient Irish bronze relic, originally brought to the island from the East by some of the Phœnicians. It is unlike any Christian crucifix ever made. It has no nail marks in the hands or feet; there is no wood; no inscription; no crown of thorns, but the turreted coronet of the Ephesian Diana; no attendants; the ankles are tied together by a cord; and

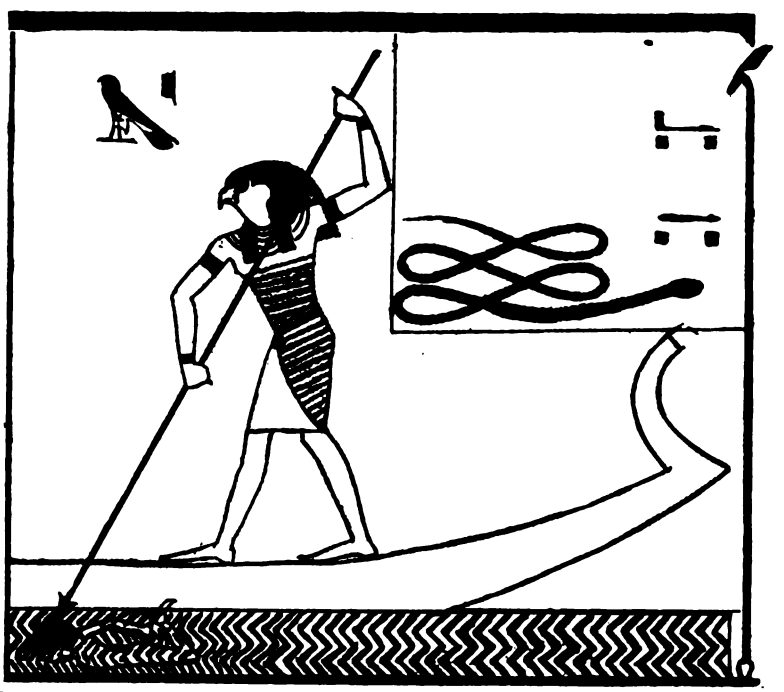


FIG. 64.—Horus piercing the head of Typho, sometimes seen as Aphophis, or the Giant; and sometimes as the Serpent, shown above.

[1] *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 91.

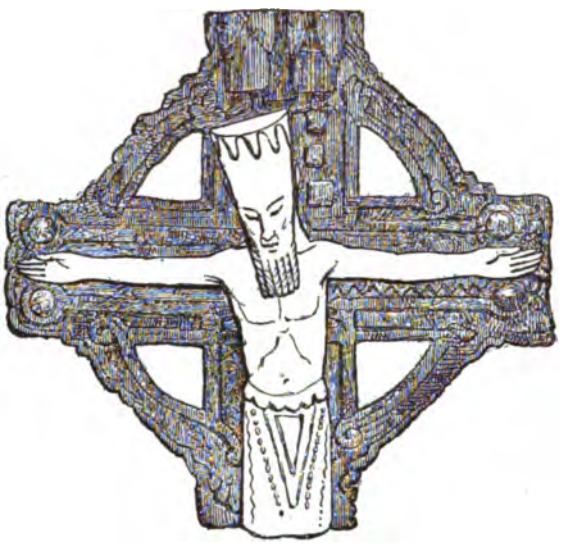


FIG. 65.—Irish Crucifix.

the dress about the loins is like Krishna's. It is simply a modification of Krishna as crucified. Henry O'Brien thinks it is meant for Buddha.[1] But another most accomplished Oriental scholar says it is Krishna crucified: "One remarkable tradition avers the fact of Krishna dying on the fatal cross, (a tree,) to which he was pierced by the stroke of an arrow, and from the top of which he foretold the evils that were coming on the earth, which came to pass from thirty to forty years afterwards, when the age of crimes and miseries began; or about the same length of time as intervened between our Lord's crucifixion and the destruction of Jerusalem, an age of bitter calamities and crimes. Another tradition says that Krishna, or the body of the man-god, was changed into the trunk of the *Tchandana*, or sandal tree; and that after having been planted in Yamonna, near Mathura, it passed from there to the holy waters of the Ganges, which bore it to the shore of Orica: it is also adored at Djagannatha, or Jagrenat, a place famous for its pilgrimages, as the symbol of reproduction and of life."[2]

FIG. 66.—Egyptian Crucifix.

Here are two crucifixes, one with the wood, and the other without it. Fig. 65 is the old Irish cross at Tuam, erected before Christian times, and is obviously Asiatic; Fig. 66 is from an old Nubian temple at Kalabche, long

[1] *Round Towers*, pp. 296-8.

[2] *Religions de L'Antiquité*, Creuzer's Symbolik, par J. D. Guigniaut. tom. I. pp. 208–9.

anterior to the Christian era, and like the figure on the Egyptian obelisk of the Lateran Basilica. (Fig. 63.)

The *Puranas* simply state that Krishna was pierced in the foot by an arrow shot by a hunter in a wood, who thought he was a deer: and thus he passed away from his earthly career. The hunter having implored his pardon for the fatal mistake, Krishna forgives him, bidding him not to fear; and says, like Christ on the cross to the penitent thief, "Go, hunter, through my favour, to heaven, the abode of the gods. As soon as he had thus spoken, a celestial car appeared, and the hunter ascending it, forthwith proceeded to heaven. Then the illustrious Krishna, having united himself with his own pure, spiritual, inexhaustible, inconceivable, unborn, undecaying, imperishable, and universal spirit, which is one with Vasudeva, abandoned his mortal body, and the condition of the threefold qualities, *i. e.*, he became Nirguna, devoid of all qualities."[1]

This forgiveness of his murderer, and this sending him to heaven, certainly look like the affecting scene between our Lord on the cross and the dying malefactor, and His forgiveness of His murderers; but the absence from the body, and the utter absorption of his spirit into the soul of the world, on the part of Krishna, so as to be without personal qualities, is as unlike the New Testament account of Christ's ascension and mediation at the right hand of God, as anything can possibly be conceived. For my own part, I am free to say that I have no great faith in Sir Wm. Jones' opinion that the story of Krishna is interpolated at all, either from the spurious or genuine Gospels; nor can I see much resemblance between the passages cited by Maurice; but the story of Krishna, so pantheistic, strange, and contradictory, must be an original product of the Hindu mind, working upon the old Patriarchal prophecies respecting the Christ, as they were contained in the one universal and primeval Revelation. Nor can I think, on the other hand, that such plain and simple narratives as the Four Gospels have been copied or imitated; but are the original products of Palestine Jews, whose minds and hearts were informed by the One Great Mind and Heart of all, God in Christ, not as the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles.

A learned Pundit, discoursing on the history of Jesus Christ, observed to Edward Moor, that the English were a new people, and hitherto, perhaps, had in their confined records a history of but one Avatara; whereas the Hindus, from their antiquity, and from the profoundity of their sacred historical books, had an account of a great many that took place in remote parts, as well as in India; and that very likely, if the Puranas were closely examined, the Incarnation of our Saviour would

[1] Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 612.

be found recorded in them.[1] The Brahmin readily admits all the truth of Christianity as to the Incarnation, &c., and asks why the Incarnations of his religion are not admitted on the same grounds of prophecies and of miracles, maintaining that God has appeared for the salvation of His creatures in many parts of this and all worlds, and that all worship of Him is acceptable, if it be sincere. And so he goes his way satisfied with the partial truth foreshadowed in Brahma, Vishnu, and Seeva, Krishna being the chief incarnation: and the Christian missionary strives in vain to make him accept the whole truth as it is in Jesus. He goes to the Ganges or to his circle of cow-dung for purification, rather than to Christian baptism.[2]

And just here I cannot refrain from citing a weighty and significant remark of Sir Wm. Jones, touching this matter of Christian missions in India, Turkey, &c. It is this: "As to the general extension of our pure faith in Hindustan, there are at present many sad obstacles to it. The Mussulmans are already a sort of heterodox Christians; they are Christians if Locke reasons justly, because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the MESSIAH; but they are heterodox, in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes they entertain and express the most awful ideas; while they consider our doctrine as perfect blasphemy, and insist that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by Jews and Christians. It will be inexpressibly difficult to undeceive them, and scarce possible to diminish their veneration for MOHAMMED and ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second, a man of unexceptionable morals; the KORAN shines, indeed, with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the Mussulmans will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The Hindus, on the other hand, would readily admit the truth of the Gospel; but they contend, that it is perfectly consistent with their *Sastras;* the Deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they say, the same God, to whom our several worships, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance. We may assure ourselves that neither Mussulmans nor Hindus will ever be converted by any mission from the church of Rome, or from any other church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of causing so great a revolution, will be to translate into Sanscrit and Persian such chapters of the prophets, particularly of Isaiah, as are indisputably Evangelical, together with one

[1] *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 402, note.

[2] This I have been told by an East India chaplain. See also Higgins' *Anacalypsis*, II. p. 341.

of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse containing full evidence of the very distant ages, in which the predictions themselves, and the Divine Person predicted, were severally made public; and then quietly disperse the work among the well-educated natives, with whom, if in due time it failed of producing very salutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the strength of prejudice, and the weakness of unassisted reason."[1]

Since this remark was made, three-quarters of a century ago, Christian missions have been more or less acting upon its wise advice, and some progress has been made; but why the Gospel is not now received among educated Pagans as it was in Apostolic times, is perhaps due to the unhappy divisions of Christendom. The remark as to the Koran and Mohammedanism is specially commended to the notice of such men as Dr. Draper, who, in his "Conflict between Religion and Science," holds up Mohammedanism as having been of greater service to the happiness and improvement of mankind that Christianity; when all its real good is the result of light and influence borrowed from the Gospel of the Son of God, and is of the past alone. The fair way, one would think, would be to consider what Mohammedanism is now doing for the good of mankind in comparison with Christianity, and whether Mohammedan nations and communities are superior to the Christian in any respect. Who does not know that the symbol of the Mohammedan power is the Crescent or the *Yoni*,—symbol of the female principle, in all the East, from time immemorial, in every religious system, most corrupting and debasing? Constantinople under the Turks, therefore, is more truly the mother of harlots than Rome itself, under cover of whose persecutions of science, Dr. Draper aims his impotent blows at Christianity itself.

I have reproduced from Lajard's *Mithraic Researches*, (Fig. 67,) an inedited marble *bas-relief* in the court of the Belvedere, at the Vatican, which represents another phase of the doctrine of Divine Incarnation as held by Paganism.[2] It is part of that strange mixture of the worship of the elements, Fire especially, and the dualistic principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman, or Good and Evil, with Mithra as Mediator, as practiced by the ancient Persians. This Mithraic cult was introduced into Rome, according to the testimony of Plutarch, about seventy years B. C., and lingered until the time of Julian, the apostate. The plate shows us a Mithraic cavern as the symbol of the world, and all its hidden powers and dark mysteries, with the sun-god Mithra sacrificing a bull. A dog, sacred to Mithra, is licking the blood of the victim. A serpent, symbol of Ahriman, or the Evil One, lies dead or harmless at the feet of Mithra. A crow or blackbird, also sacred to Mithra, is closely watch-

[1] Works, *The Gods of Greece*, &c., III. pp. 395–7.

[2] Plate 78, No. 2.

FIG. 67.—Mithra, the Invincible Sun-God.

ing the sacrifice. On one side of the cavern the sun, represented by a male youth with rays round his head, is rising; and on the other side, the new moon, represented by a young female, whose arms are the horns of the moon holding two crosses, is seen riding the heavens in growing fullness, if we may judge from the position of the head, and expression of the face.

In Porphyry's *Cave of the Nymphs* to which I have already referred in the first chapter, we are informed that Zoroaster was the first to consecrate a natural cavern to Mithra, because it bore a resemblance to the world, of which Mithra was the maker, and the father of all things; and that he adorned this cavern with symbols of the elements, &c. "Caves, therefore, in the most remote periods of antiquity, were consecrated to the Gods, before temples were erected to them. Hence the Curetes in Crete, dedicated a cavern to Jupiter; in Arcadia, a cave was sacred to the moon, and to Lycean Pan; and in Naxus to Bacchus. But wherever Mithra was known, they propitiated the God in a cavern."[1] The sacrifice of the bull must, therefore, be the one chief act of propitiation.

[1] Taylor's *Porphyry*, pp. 175, 185, &c.

But this cave was adorned with the signs of the Zodiac, Cancer and Capricorn. The summer and winter solstices were chiefly conspicuous, as the gates of souls descending into this life, or passing out of it in their ascent to the Gods; Cancer being the gate of descent, and Capricorn of ascent. These are the two avenues of the immortals passing up and down from earth to heaven, and from heaven to earth. "The Romans celebrate their Saturnalia when the sun is in Capricorn; and during this festivity, slaves wear the shoes of those that are free, and all things are distributed among them in common; the legislator obscurely signifying by this ceremony that through this gate of the heavens, those who are now born slaves will be liberated through the Saturnian festival, when they live again, and return to the fountain of life. And so Capricorn gives to the month of January its name, because the sun begins to turn again to the north through this *janua* or gate."[1]

Now, it was exactly at the beginning of the year, that Mithra, the Mediator, entered his dark cavern, on the bull, and began his contest with *physical* evil, such as the cold and storm of the season, by immolating the animal, *i. e.*, overcoming the sombre winter and giving promise of the more cheerful spring-time. Or, as teaching a higher *moral* truth, Mithra, partaking of the nature of God and man, light and darkness, passion and suffering, purity and impurity, as Mediator, at last triumphs in virtue of the good principle. When the times are accomplished, Mithra, as Mediator, will put an end to the contest between light and darkness, and will reconcile Ormuzd and Ahriman, good and evil; and as a consequence, he must be a unit anterior to this duality, the Cause of the world, the Zarvana-Akarana, *the Eternal I Am.*[2] Ahriman, the serpent, is overcome; the new and better life begins in the regions above, as symbolized by the sun and moon, the male and female principles of life; and also suggested by the two crosses as an endless and happy life, reminding us of Isaiah's glowing description of Zion's glory, "Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended." (lx. 20.)

It is Plutarch who gives us this information, when he says that Zoroaster the Magian called only the good principle God, and the evil principle the Demon or Devil, *Oromazes* and *Arimanius*, the first of which greatly resembled light, and the latter, darkness. Between these is another intermediate being called *Mithra* or *Mediator*. Plants and animals were offered in sacrifice to one or the other of these; and dogs, birds, &c., were favourites of the Good Principle, but water-rats of the Evil One.[3]

[1] Taylor's Porphyry. p. 189.
[2] *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 46.
[3] Guigniaut's *Religions*, &c., I. pp. 352–3. Lajard, pp. 36, 683.

Porphyry tells us that the Magians believed in the transmigration of souls; and in their Mysteries intimate that we have something in common with animals. "Males who participate in the Mysteries are called lions, females lionesses; *and the ministrants of the rites, crows.* Their fathers are called eagles and hawks; and all this has reference to the transmigration of souls, which have bodies of all kinds of birds and animals. The Persians called Diana a she-wolf; the sun is called a bull, a lion, a dragon, and a hawk."[1]

And thus we have the full explanation of the Mithraic monument depicted above. The crow and the dog are souls transmigrated, and returned to participate in the sacrifice for a higher flight and a better life, perhaps, or at least as sharers in the present joy of the new and brighter day.

FIG. 68.—Phrygian Copper Helmet, found at Herculaneum, marked with four Swasticas. From Count Caylus, who copied it from the original in the cabinet of the King of The Two Sicilies.—*Recueil*, Vol. III. pl. 33, No. 2, p. 128.

"Atimetus has dedicated the monument to Mithra, the Invincible sun-god," whether Domitia's paramour, or a celebrated physician of that name, is unknown. (See Fig. 67.) But on comparing the figures of Mithra and Krishna, we see the same young face, and the like use of the cross; the power over the serpent is similar; and the head-dress, though pointed in each case, yet dissimilar, indicates Divine royalty in both. When Krishna is the shepherd-king charming the cow-herds and flocks of Mathura, he wears a triple and pointed tiara or helmet; when he crushes the serpent, he wears a three-pointed Parthian coronet adorned with feathers; and both these would seem to have some reference to the Triad of which Krishna formed

[1] *Animal Food*, c. 4, p. 154.

so conspicuous a part. Mithra, however, wears the Phrygian cap or bonnet, just as Orpheus does; and just as the Magi do who come to worship the Infant Jesus; and, according to an old interpretation of its meaning, this pointed cap or bonnet denotes a genius and an inspiration of Divine origin.[1] It is the cap of the Goddess of Liberty still in use. On Mithra it denotes the Divine power that overcomes all evil, physical and moral. On the Goddess of Liberty it denotes only political freedom. On Orpheus and the Magi, it denotes freedom from ignorance, passion, prejudice, and vice. And so it is the badge of the highest nobility and royalty, born of the King of kings. (See Fig. 68.)

We have already seen that at the birth of Krishna the earth was relieved from all iniquity; the sun, moon, and planets shone with unclouded splendour; and universal happiness prevailed. Inasmuch as the Sun and Fire worship of India was brought into Persia by the originators of the Dualistic heresy,[2] we expect to see something of it in Mithraism. And so at the sacrifice of the bull and the suppression of evil, the triumph of Mithra's mediatorship, both the sun and moon, and in other monuments, the planets, also, are all risen together to shed unwonted light on the world, and make a new day of joy and gladness.

For let it be borne in mind that it was precisely at the season of this sacrifice, near the beginning of the new year, that the birth of Mithra was celebrated over all Persia and the world, in temple-caves, on the night of the 24th of December, *the night of light*. Even the British Druids celebrated it, and called the next day, the 25th of December, *Nollagh* or *Noel, the day of regeneration*, celebrating it with great fires on the tops of their mountains. In fact, all nations, as if by common consent, at the first moment after midnight of the 24th of December, celebrated the birth of the sun-god, type among the Gentiles of Christ, the Incarnate Son of God, as the Desire of all nations and the Saviour of the world. Just as at Rome during the Saturnalia, so in Persia, December was the festive and joyous month, when merry-making was the universal occupation; when the nobles carried the burdens of the common people; and when rustic labourers and landlords sat down together to eat their Christmas dinner with the King; and when the 25th day especially of that month was observed as a festival of deliverence from evil spirits, on which the whole people ate roast meats dressed with herbs, and especially onions—a festival somewhat like that which the Israelites commemorated on the eve of the Passover, when they rose up and quitted Egyptian bondage forever.[3]

How strangely it sounds in Christian ears unaccustomed to Pagan prophecies

[1] So the Sophist of Lemnos explains it, as cited by Bottari, t. II. p. 30. Also Martigny's *Dic. Ant. Chrét.*

[2] See Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. p. 217, and Essay V. new Ed. Lond. 1862.

[3] Hyde's *Hist. Per*, c. xix. pp. 252–3. Oxon, 1760.

and anticipations of Christ, to hear it said of the immolation of the bull by Mithra, that it was a sacrifice of the animal nature, in which all the passions originate, offered to Ormuzd as an act of redemption by the god-mediator and saviour.[1] And how equally strange it is to be told that Zoroaster, generally allowed to have been a cotemporary of the prophet Daniel, and the teacher of the Magi, instructed them to expect some mighty Deliverer of man from the tyranny of evil and the bondage of corruption, represented by the serpent or Ahriman; and left a command that when He appeared, they should go and offer Him their gifts. So runs the Zoroastrian prophecy: "In the latter times a Virgin shall conceive a child without intercourse with a man; and when He is born a star shall appear shining in the daytime, in the midst of which the form of the Virgin-maid shall be seen. But ye, O my sons, before all nations shall see the rising star. When, therefore, ye behold it, go the way it shall lead you; worship the new-born Child, and offer Him your gifts. He is the Word who established the heavens."[2] And so Licinius writes to Cæsar, after the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem, that "Oriental Persians had come into his kingdom, and offered gifts to a boy, who had been born in the region of Judea." Mithra, therefore, was not this Divine Child, but only His imperfect type. And Zoroastrianism is not Christianity, any more than Judaism; for Christianity teaches no Dualistic doctrine; her Mediator is indeed the God-man, but not the man-god—the Persian mixture of good and bad as in Mithra; and her one great Sacrifice is the offering of a pure nature to God the Father for the redemption of mankind, not only from physical and moral evil, but from all iniquity—all sin and impurity.

Dupuis tells us that Mithra was put to death by crucifixion, and rose again on the 25th of March. In the Persian Mysteries the body of a young man, apparently dead, was exhibited, which was feigned to be restored to life. By his sufferings he was believed to have worked their salvation, and on this account he was called their Saviour. His priests watched his tomb to the midnight of the vigil of the 25th of March, with loud cries, and in darkness; when all at once the light burst forth from all parts, the priest cried, Rejoice, O sacred initiated, your God is risen. His death, his pains, and sufferings, have worked your salvation.[3] Has the picture on the next page any possible connection with Mithra's crucifixion and resurrection?

This Persepolitan monument was first published to the world in Mons. de Thevenot's Travels, from the English version of which I cite this passage descriptive of it, viz.: "You are to go straight to the hill which fronts to the west, and there you see a kind of Frontispiece of a Temple cut in the rock, and two stories high. Four

[1] Lajard's *Recherches*, pp. 60 and 683. [2] Hyde's *Hist. Per.*, c. xxxi., p. 390. Faber's *Pag. Idol.* ii., pp. 98–102.
[3] *Sur tous les Cultes*, ii. p. 194; iii. pp. 41, 51, 62, 84. *Anacalypsis*, I. pp. 99–101. Hyde, pp. 355 and 293. Append., 537.

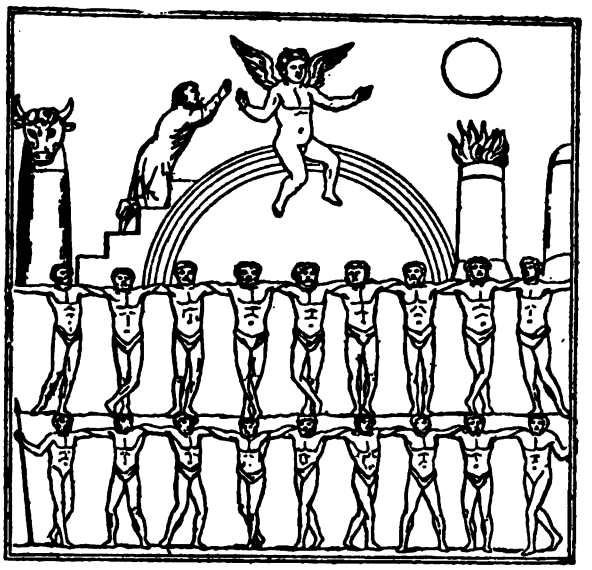


FIG. 69.—Persian Ark of the Covenant.

pillars reach from the ground to the top of this first Frontispiece, their capitals on each side being the head and neck of an ox. Between the second and third pillars there is an oblong square door, about a fathom high and three foot wide, though it only opens a third part, the rest being counterfeit carving on the Rock; these Pillars support an architrave much resembling the Doric Order, and at several distances there are Lions all along it. Over this first part of the Frontispiece there is a second, a fathom and a half high and of the same breadth, made up of pretty odd architecture; for below, there are two stories of arches, made up of the figures of men, about two foot high each, holding their arms upon one another's shoulders; in the middle above, there is an idol of a winged man, in the posture that we have already represented, (a man with wings, his body through a ring, and sitting upon an arch,) upon five steps on the right hand, there is another man praying to him; and on the left there is a pedestal, on which nothing is to be seen but a globe on the top; at the two extremities there is a piece of round very smooth pillar, which carries the head of a Bull; two of the men in the lower range, at each extremity, carry a spear."[1]

Jacob Bryant twice reproduces this monument in his learned work on *Ancient Mythology*, and says of it, "That among the ancient entablatures of Persia, it is above the rest curious. In this is described Mithras Bovinus, with the head and horns of a bull, similar to the figures of Isis in Egypt. There is also the celestial bow, and over all this the child Eros, or Maneros, winged, and sitting upon the bow; also a person ascending some steps to adore the sacred phenomenon. It is a remarkable piece of sculpture,[2] &c."

Sir Wm. Ouseley, who publishes a monument of like kind, speaks of the upper compartment as having an object, which in his opinion, "Kæmpfer has described.

[1] Lovell's *Trans.* Part ii. Persia, pp. 144–5. Lond. 1687.

[2] *Ancient Mythology*, I. p. 232, II. pp. 423–5. Lond. 1775.

better than any other traveller; for it resembles a kind of stage in form not unlike the Israelitish "Ark of the Covenant." This stage or ark, in reference to any human figure of moderate natural proportions, would be about twelve feet long, and seven or eight high; on it is placed a fire-altar, two feet eight or ten inches in height. Within a few feet of this blazing altar are three low steps, forming a low platform; and on this stands the figure of some king or illustrious personage, who holds up his right hand as if in admiration, or about to lay it on his breast as an expression of profound respect. In his left hand he grasps a bow. Between the king and the fire-altar, a figure, which we must consider merely symbolical, is seen hovering in the air; and near it a globe, supposed by some to be the solar orb, or the moon, whilst the winged circle might express to the ancient votaries of Mithra, not only the sun, but the Divinity himself. Yet that mysterious human figure, which from its middle upwards seems to rise out of the winged circle, affords much matter for inquiry. Chardin thought it the soul of some hero ascending to heaven on the cloud of sacrificial smoke; De Sacy recognizes in it the guardian deity of the monarch called *Feroüer;* while Bryant and D'Hancarville regard the figure as an emblem of the Deity.

This symbol of the Persian Triad has been shown in the first chapter of this work; and Sir Wm. Ouseley is disposed to think that some misrepresentation of it has been given in the plate of the winged person sitting on the bow, as in Fig. 69; and as "engraved from a very inaccurate description."[1] However this may be as to the particular form of the figure sitting on the rainbow, the fact remains of some divinity there who is adored. None of the descriptions above given speak of the human figures as crucifixes; Sir R. K. Porter simply calls them *caryatides.*[2] But these two rows of figures are men, not women; and there is here no entablature to support, as in other like monuments, where also unicorns appear. And so I am disposed to think with Keane, that the plate represents the figure of Baal-berith, or Lord of the covenant—with the crucified persons underneath—and implies that God then unfolded to Noah the *great covenant* in Christ, the resurrection-man, whereby the remnant of a ruined world was saved, but saved through death, the like figure whereunto baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. (I. Pet. iii. 21.) The ancient Persians had learned of this covenant of God with mankind, and had incorporated it with their false Dualistic notions, in this *Ark of the Covenant*, which so graphically represents the bow of promise and

[1] Travels in the *East;* more particularly *Persia*, vol. II. pp. 266-70, and note, pl. xli. 16, 19, 20. Lond. 1821.
[2] *Travels*, &c., I. p. 518. and pl. 17.

its newly-risen Divinity over a world of death, and death by crucifixion, instead of drowning.[1]

And in this particular I can also agree with Hislop in saying that the figure on the bow is Mithra as Mediator and head of the covenant of life, the Baal-berith of Judges viii. 33: "In this character he is represented in Persian monuments as seated on the rain-bow, the well-known symbol of the covenant. In India, under the name of Vishnu, the Preserver or Saviour of men, though a god, he was worshipped as the great "Victim-Man," who before the worlds were made, because there was nothing else to offer, offered *himself* as a sacrifice. The Hindu sacred writings teach that this mysterious offering before all creation is the foundation of all the sacrifices that have ever been offered since. Do any marvel at such a statement being found in the sacred books of a Pagan mythology? Why should they? Since sin entered the world there has been only one way of salvation, and that through the blood of the everlasting covenant—a way that all mankind once knew, from the days of righteous Abel downwards. If Abel knew of "the blood of the Lamb," the *Ichor* of the Greeks, why should Hindus not have known of it?"[2]

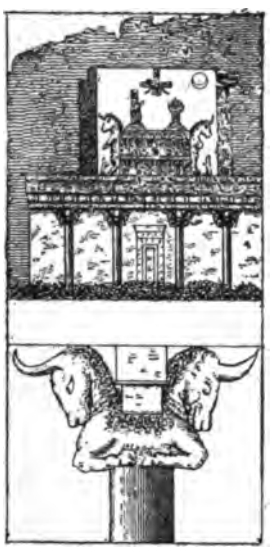


FIG. 70.—Ark of the Covenant and Unicorns.

And inasmuch as the Persian Fire-worship and the main part of the Persian religion were derived from India, the sacrifice, death, and Resurrection of Mithra become but counterparts of Vishnu's incarnation, sacrifice, &c., in Krishna. Death and resurrection, therefore, are depicted in our Persian monument.

On one of the Persian monuments near Persepolis, as given by R. K. Porter in a beautiful and full engraving, we see this Ark of the Covenant with the usual two

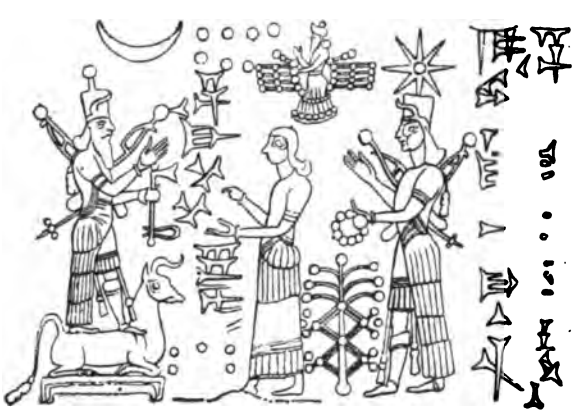


FIG. 71.—Babylonian Priest—Victim and Unicorn.

[1] *The Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland*, pp. 170-1.

[2] *The Two Babylons*, pp. 114-15, 5th Ed. Lond., 1873.

rows of men—crucifixes more like the caryatides of Greek art supporting entablatures, while figures of unicorns are at each side, and unicorn heads with projecting horns form the capitals of the lower columns.[1] (Fig. 70.) And in another like it we have a row of twelve unicorns, and another of lions, with two forms of the Triad, and the Monarch sitting in state, all supported by two rows of men-crucifixes or caryatides.[2] I have reproduced a Babylonian and Persian monument on the preceding page, because their ideas seem to be identical. The same kind of worship; the same hovering and floating symbol of the Triad; the same unicorns, are in both. The Babylonian one is a cylinder of white agate of good workmanship, but the cuneiform inscription is much defaced. The hieroglyphics are, the sun, moon, five planets, and the *amchaspand* or seven balls, indicative of the seven celestial powers or intelligences, always attendant upon the Chaldean and Persian Great Deity. The figure below the eight-pointed star or combination crosses, holds a crown or wreath, formed of globules, in his left hand, just like one of the Magi does as an offering to the Child of the Manger; and he also carries a bow, a sword, and an helmet. Before him is the sacred tree, or tree of life. This may be the king. The other figure under the floating symbol may be a priest; and both of them seem to be addressing or worshipping the Superior Being who stands on the back of a couchant unicorn, holding a sacrificial axe, and wearing a helmet, sword, and bow. He is doubtless the *Victim-Priest* of the Hindus, the Mediator and Saviour; and as such he reminds us of the prophetic description given in the 45th Psalm of the Saviour King, whose sword is girded on his thigh; who rides in meekness, truth, and righteousness; and whose arrows are sharp for the conquest of the people. This gracious King and Saviour seems to be receiving into favour the worshippers before him.[3] The star is that of prophecy and of the Magi, guiding to the Incarnate God. (Fig. 71.)

It is to these unicorns and their one long projecting horn that I desire to call special attention, as meaning precisely the same thing as the men-crucifixes. This horn of the unicorn symbolizes *the horn of salvation* spoken of by St. Luke; (i. 69;) and as thus explained by Justin Martyr in his comment on the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxiii. 13–17, of "Him that dwelt in the bush, the God of light and of fire that did not consume," "Let him be glorified among his brethren; his beauty is like the firstling of a bullock; his horns the horns of an unicorn; with these shall he push the nations from one end of the earth to the other." Now, no one could say or prove that the horns of an unicorn represent any other fact or figure than the type which portrays the Cross. For the one beam is placed upright,

[1] *Travels*, &c., plate 17, vol. I. p. 517. [2] *Id.*, plate 50, vol. I. p. 665. Also Sir W. Ouseley's *Travels*.
[3] R. K. Porter's *Travels*, vol. II. pp. 423–4, and pl. 80.

from which the highest extremity is raised up into a horn, when the other beam is fitted on to it, and the ends appear on both sides as horns joined on to the one horn. *And the part which is fixed in the centre, on which are suspended those who are crucified, also stands out like a horn;* and it also looks like a horn conjoined and fixed with the other horns. And the expression, "With these shall he push as with horns the nations from one end of the earth to the other," is indicative of what is now the fact among all nations. For some out of all the nations, through the power of this mystery, having been so pushed, *i. e.*, pricked in their hearts, have turned from vain idols and demons to serve God."[1]

Where did the Persians get their notion of this prophecy as thus interpreted respecting Christ, and His saving mercy and love displayed on the cross? Both by symbol and actual crucifix we see it on all their monuments. If it came from India, how did it get there, except from the one common and original centre of all primitive and pure religion? There is a most extraordinary plate, illustrative of the whole subject, which representation I believe to be anterior to Christianity. (See Fig. 72.) It is copied from Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, not as a curiosity, but as a most singular monument of the crucifixion. I do not venture to give it a name, other than that of a *crucifixion in space*. It looks like a Christian crucifix in many respects, and in some others it does not. The drawing, the attitude, and the nail-marks in hands and feet, indicate a Christian origin; while the Parthian coronet of seven points, the absence of the wood and of the usual inscription, and the rays of glory above, would seem to point to some other than a Christian origin. Can it be the Victim-Man, or the Priest and Victim both in one, of the Hindu mythology, who offered himself a sacrifice before the worlds were? Can it be Plato's second God who impressed himself on the universe in the form of the cross? Or is it his divine man who would be scourged, tormented, fettered, have his eyes burnt out; and lastly, having suffered all manner of evils, *would be crucified?*[2] Plato learned his theology in Egypt and the East, and must have known of the crucifixion of Krishna, Buddha, Mithra, &c. At any rate, the religion of India had its mythical crucified victim long anterior to Christianity, as a type of the real one, and I am inclined to think that we have it in this remarkable plate. I am disposed to believe this to be the victim described in the Vedas themselves, as Colebrooke renders the passage: "That victim who was wove with threads on every side, and *stretched* by the labours of a hundred and one gods, the fathers who wove and framed and placed the warf and woof, do worship. The first male *spreads* and encompasses this web, and displays it in this world and in heaven; these rays of the Creator assembled at the altar, and prepared

[1] *Diag. cum Trypho*, cxci. p. 214.

[2] *Republic*, c. II. p. 52. Spens' Trans.

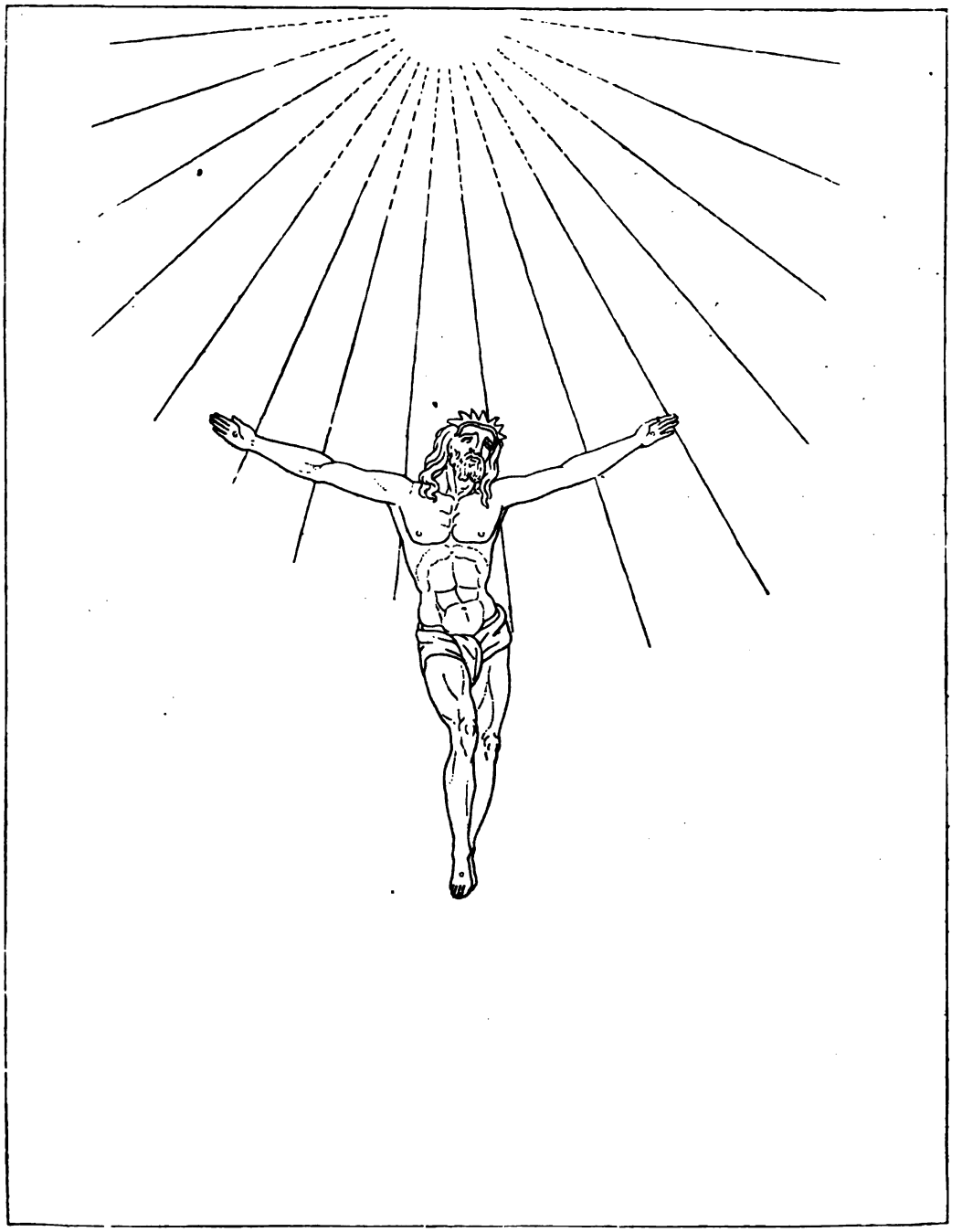


FIG. 72.—Crucifixion in Space.

the holy strains, and the threads of the warp. What was the size of that divine victim whom all the gods sacrificed? What his form? what the motive? the fence? the metre? the oblation? and the prayer? First was produced the *Gâyatrî* joined with fire; next the sun; then the moon and planets; *Jagatî* followed all the gods; and by that universal sacrifice sages and men were formed."

"When that ancient sacrifice was completed, sages, and men, and our progenitors, were by him formed. Viewing with an observant mind this oblation, which primeval saints offered, I venerate. The seven inspired sages, with prayers and thanksgivings, follow the path of these primeval saints, and wisely practice the performance of sacrifices."[1]

This looks like the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and whom all the angels of God worship.

Edward Moor thus speaks of this crucifix: "A man, who was in the habit of bringing me Hindu deities, pictures, &c., once brought me two images exactly alike: one of them is engraved in Plate 98, and the subject of it will be at once seen by the most transient glance. Affecting indifference, I inquired of my Pundit what *Deva* it was; he examined it attentively, and after turning it about for some time, returned it to me, professing his ignorance of what *Avatara* it could immediately relate to; but supposed, by the hole in the foot, that it might be *Wittoba*, adding that it was impossible to recollect the almost innumerable *Avataras* described in the *Puranas*. The subject is evidently the Crucifixion; and by the style of workmanship, is clearly of European origin, as is proved also by its being in duplicate. These crucifixes have been introduced into India, I suppose by Christian missionaries, and are, perhaps, used in Popish churches and societies; the two in question were obtained in the interior of the peninsula, but I could not learn exactly where; they are well executed, and in respect to anatomical accuracy and expression, superior to any I have seen of Hindu workmanship. They are about the size of the picture; and although but small, I have chosen to give it in a plate by itself, lest the pious might be hurt at seeing such a subject mixed with the apparent grossness of Hindu idolatry."[2]

The annexed plate (Fig. 72) is an exact fac-simile of Moor's. Wittoba is one of the incarnations of Vishnu, with holes in his feet, of which Moor gives several examples. And if so scrupulous about this plate, he should have taken the advice of his friend, and not have given it at all.

If it is right to learn from an enemy, let us hear what Godfrey Higgins has to say about it: "Mr. Moor endeavours to prove that this crucifix cannot be Hindu,

[1] *Essays*, I. pp. 34–5.

[2] *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 419–20.

because there are duplicates of it from the same mould, and he contends that the Hindus can only make one cast from one mould, the mould being made of clay. Nothing could be more easy for the Hindus than to make casts from the brass figure, as well as clay moulds from one of wax. Duplicates of brass idols, or copies so near as to make it very difficult to distinguish them, are to be seen at the museum of the India House, and also in that of the Asiatic Society. I think, therefore, it must remain a Wittoba, especially when Montfaucon says, that of thousands of medals, we never can find two struck with the same die, though the impression and inscription be the same. The crucified body without the wood reminds me that some of the ancient sects of heretics held Jesus to have been crucified in the clouds, and that they obtained their notion of it from this Avatar or Wittoba." [1]

Now this Wittoba or incarnation of Vishnu is Krishna, whose story, in Maurice's opinion, contains a great deal of the ancient mystic theology of Hindustan, especially as to his crushing the head of the serpent, and the serpent biting his foot, as one of the monuments represents it.[2] For the print of a foot on his breast illustrates the story of his being kicked by *Bhrigu*, while he lay asleep; and how he generously forgave Bhrigu and rubbed his foot, saying that his breast was hard, and the foot must be hurt and in pain. And so, too, the hole in the foot must refer to the fatal shot of the hunter's arrow as Krishna was meditating in the forest, and whom he forgave; but the hands also have holes, and these must refer to the crucifixion of Krishna, as spoken of above.

In a Christian crucifix the glory always comes from the sacred head; here it is from above and beyond. And the forgiving character attributed to Krishna, his mildness and magnanimity, his generosity and good-nature, remind Mr. Moor of the advice given by superior authority, of *turning the unsmote cheek to an assailant.* The Pundit's Wittoba, then, given to Moor, would seem to be the crucified Krishna, the shepherd-god of Mathura, and kindred to Mithra in being a Saviour—the Lord of the covenant, as well as Lord of heaven and earth—pure and impure, light and dark, good and bad, peaceful and warlike, amiable and wrathful, mild and turbulent, forgiving and vindictive, God and a strange mixture of man, but not the Christ of the Gospels.

From the annexed figures of the Persian and Greek sun-gods, it is obvious that the latter is a derivation from and modification of, the former; and that in early Christian art, the Son of God ascending into heaven under the type and figure of Elijah, is just such a representation of a quadriga and the same youthful figure,

[1] *Anacalypsis*, I. pp. 145–6. [2] *Anc. Hist. Hindu*, II. p. 251. Lond. 1795.

[3] Maurice's *Anc. Hist.* 2d Ed. pp. 73–4, and 89. Lond. 1819. Moor's *Hind. Pan.* pp. 418–19, notes.

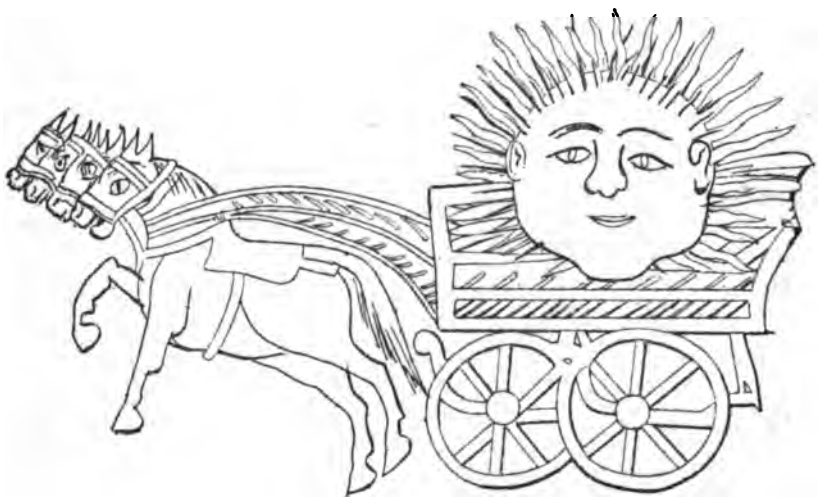


FIG. 73.—Persian Sun-God.

but without the Pagan nimbus. And I introduce Apollo here, because he is the artistic type of the Divinity that never grows old, the Generator and Regenerator and Purifier of men and things, and the Pagan image or figure of all that Divine Power and manifestation made and exercised for human welfare. The four horses, like the four arms of Krishna, may have reference to the four elements, or four seasons, or four corners of the world, as influenced by the sun; the Hindu sun-god proper has seven horses to his car, no doubt as referring to the seven prismatic rays of light. Is there no bright Sun of Righteousness—no personal and loving Son of God, of whom the material sun has been the type or symbol, in all ages and among all nations? What power is it that comes from the sun to give light and heat to all created things? If the symbolical sun leads such a great earthly and heavenly flock, what must be said of the true and only-begotten Son of God? If Apollo was adopted by early Christian art as a type of the Good Shepherd of the New Testament, then this interpretation of the sun-god among all nations must be the solution of the universal mythos, or what other solution can it have? To what other

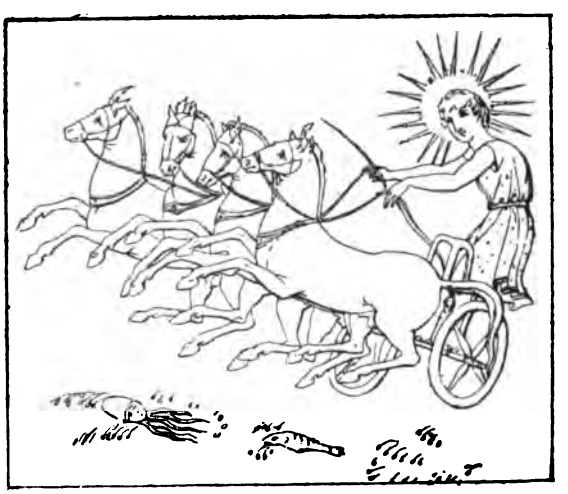


FIG. 74.—Greek Sun-God or Apollo.

FIG. 75.—Apollo as Aristeus or the Good Shepherd.

historical personage but Christ can it apply? If the mythos has no spiritual meaning, then all religion becomes mere idolatry, or the worship of material things. But we have seen symbols of Oriental Pagan religions which indicate a supreme Power and Intelligence above matter; and also how early Christianity abhorred idolatry. Apollo as the mythical type, and the Good Shepherd as the reality, then, must mean something more than mere material light and guidance.

And so let us institute a comparison between the Pagan and the Christian ideas of Apollo and the Good Shepherd. Fig. 76 is the Christian representation of the Good Shepherd, encircled as he usually is within the symbol of the Divine unity and eternity, and standing between two trees, viz., of life and knowledge. Bosio copied this from a fresco as the chief figure in the vaulted roof of the fifth cubiculum of the Cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian way. (p. 547.) The Doves with palm-branches in the four corners may indicate the victory of faith in all the four quarters of the world through the Holy Ghost. The Pigeons and Peacocks serve to show the constancy and immortality of the saints; the Peacock especially, being, like the Iris, a sign of the covenant of grace and life. The Good Shepherd is young, and cares for the goats of the flock, as well as the sheep, as Lord of all.

Fig. 75 is the Pagan representation as copied by Bartholi, from the painted ceiling of the tomb of the Nasoes. It is one of four subjects occupying the four corners, and representing the four seasons of the year, which is also done in some of the Christian cemeteries, as the following shows. (See Fig. 77.)

The tomb of the Nasoes is most elaborately frescoed in Pagan subjects, the Pegasus occupying the post of honour in the centre of the ceiling. Hunting scenes and the seasons are grouped round it; and the one given of Aristeus and the Nymph represents the Spring, also figured in the Christian monument (77) by a youth, plucking flowers from a bush, and marked IIII. This youth is almost en-

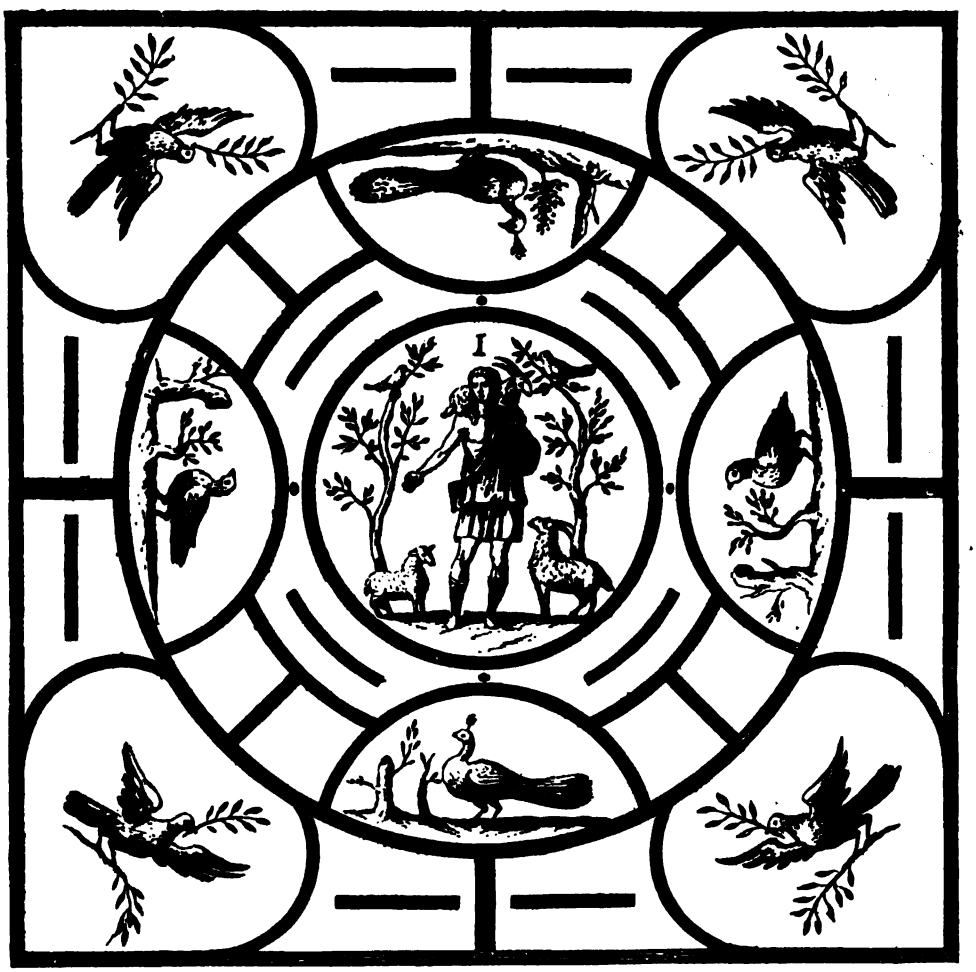



FIG. 76.—The Christian Good Shepherd.

tirely nude, as in the Pagan monument he is quite so. Aristeus has a goat on his shoulders, and is in a dancing attitude. His pastoral staff is in his hand, showing him to be a shepherd. Sometimes the Good Shepherd of the Roman Catacombs is in a dancing attitude. Here he is grave, coming from afar with his staff, and his

FIG. 77.—The Good Shepherd as Lord of the Seasons.

lost sheep. No. III. is Summer, otherwise represented in the tomb of the Nasoes by the youthful Aristeus presenting a basket of summer fruit to the nymph. He is there clad with a mantle, floating from his shoulders. No. II. is Autumn, with a cornucopia of fruit in one hand, and a bunch of grapes in the other, as significant of abundance, otherwise represented in the tomb of the Nasoes by Aristeus bringing two baskets of grapes to the Nymph, who is placing a bunch of grapes in a basket. No. I. is Winter, or an old tired labourer with a spade on his shoulder quitting work, and retiring to the rest and comfort of a warm fire blazing near him, but not without casting a look of regret behind him, or of faith and hope toward the Good Shepherd. In the tomb of the Nasoes, winter is also represented by an old, grave, sad, bearded man, muffled up and fully clad, bearing a duck in one hand, and a bunch of swamp flags in the other; while the Nymph also holds a duck with both hands in her bosom.[1] The fresco of the Good Shepherd as Lord of the seasons is copied from the Cemetery of St. Callixtus; and I have no doubt but that it is either cotemporary with the frescoes

[1] Bartholi, *Picturæ Antiquæ* &c., pp. 149–155. Rom. 1738. Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* p. 223.

of the tomb of the Nasoes, or painted not long afterwards, *i. e.*, during the long reign of the Antonines from A. D. 138 to 177.[1]

Fig. 78—Apollo-Nomios.

While the ideas in both are substantially the same, the details are very different. There is but one Lord of the seasons in the Christian monument, and Aristeus is four times present in the Pagan one. There are no nymphs in the Christian work, as there are in the Pagan. The difference is too great in the treatment of the whole, and forbids the suggestion of a copy. But the Shepherd idea is prominent in both. Aristeus or Aristæos was only another name for Apollo in his capacity of a shepherd. Keightley seems to think he was an original deity, under the various Pindaric names of Zeus-Aristæos, or Aristos, or Apollo-Agreus, or Nomios. He was a rural god, presiding over cattle and game, the culture of the vine and olive, and especially the management of bees.[2] As such he is sometimes represented in Pagan art seated on a rock, with a harp in one hand like Orpheus, and a shepherd's crook in the other.[3] (See Fig. 78.) Callimachus sings his praises thus:

"To powerful Phœbus numerous arts belong;
He strings the lyre and tunes the poet's song;
Guides from the twanging bow the feather'd darts,
And truths prophetic to the seer imparts;
Taught by his skill divine, physicians learn
Death to delay, and mock the greedy urn.
Since by the love of young Admetus led,
His flock Apollo by Amphrysus fed;
The Nomian God, great shepherd, we address,
Our pastures to enrich and flocks to bless;
And fertile flocks and pastures needs must prove,
On which Apollo shines with fruitful love;
No barren womb or udder there is found,
But every dam twins sportive play around."[4]

[1] *Religions de L'Antiquité*, tom. IV. plates 159, 160, Nos. 910 and 913.
[2] *Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy*, p. 331. Lond. 1838. [3] *Religions de L'Antiquité*, plate 73, No. 283.
[4] *Hym. in Apol.*, 42–55, I. pp. 52–3. Dodd's *Trans.* pp. 36–38.

This reminds one of the 144th Psalm, in which the pious petition goes up to God, "That our garners may be full and plenteous with all manner of store: that our sheep may bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets; that our oxen may be strong to labour; that there be no decay, &c." Or it is like the true Shepherd of the Canticles, whose spouse, the Church, is like a flock of sheep, every one of which bears twins, and none is barren among them. (i. 7 and 8, iv. 2.) Macrobius distinctly informs us that Apollo was called Nomian, not because he fed the cattle of Admetus, but because the sun feeds all things. But Callimachus above says differently. It matters not, so long as Apollo was the Shepherd of all living creatures, and the Pagan type of Christ. Look at this Pagan representation of him from a *bas-relief* on a sarcophagus of the end of the second century, with the Platonic cross on his breast. (Fig. 79.)

Fig. 79.—Aristeus.

It is barely possible that this Aristeus may be the Good Shepherd of Christian art, though by no means probable; but the other figure (80) of a sacrificing priest, as indicated by the knife in his belt, and carrying a ram like the other, is some very ancient symbol of Apollo, possibly Etruscan; at least it suggests the sacrifice made in every department of nature of life for life—of death ministering to life—of substitution and atonement,—one of the simplest and most obvious principles of nature, and embodied in all religions.

Pausanias tells us that at Tanagra, one of the temples of Mercury is called *Criophoros*, or the *ram-bearer*, because this god freed the place from a pestilence, by carrying a ram round the walls; and that on this account Calamis made a statue of Mercury for the Tanagraeans, carrying a ram on his shoulders, (ἔχων ἄρνα ἐπὶ ὤμων,) which Kuhnius translates, "*arietem humeris portantem.*" He who surpasses in beauty all the other youths, on the festival of Mercury, carries a ram on his shoulders round the walls.[1]

Fig. 80.—Sacrificing Priest.

Lord Lindsay, in speaking of the matter, says, "The subject of the Good Shepherd, I am sorry to add, is not of Roman but Greek origin, and was adapted from a statue of Mercury carrying a *goat*, at Tanagra. The Christian composition approximates to its original more nearly in the few instances, where our Saviour

[1] *Graec. Descrip.* ed. Kuhnii, p. 752. Lipsiae, 1696. Taylor's *Trans.* iii. pp. 42–3. c. 22. Book 9.

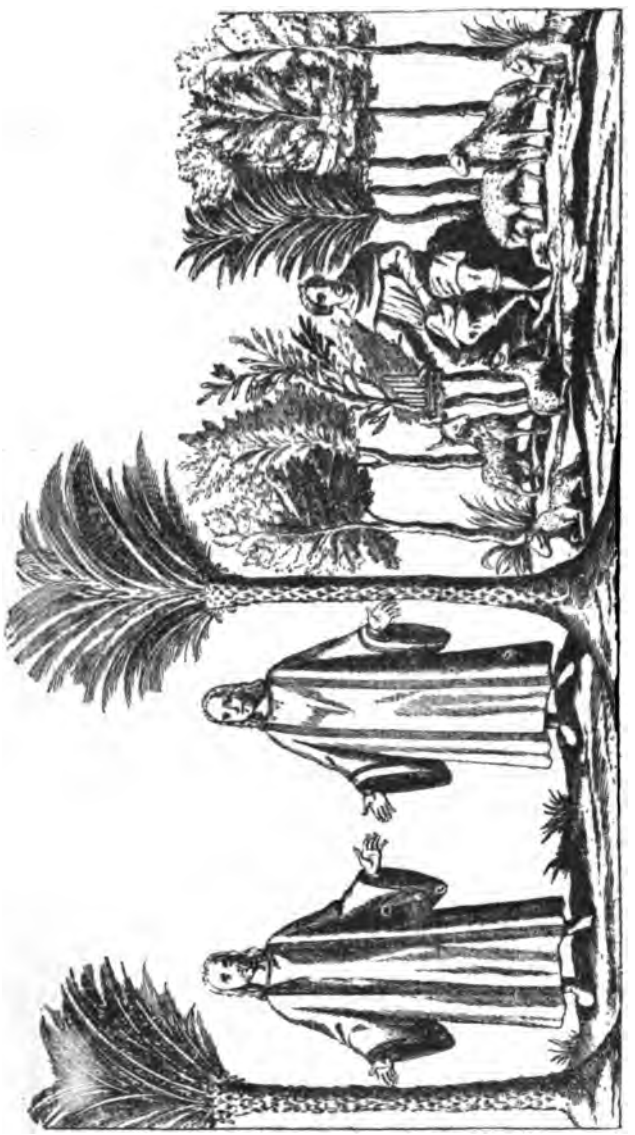


FIG. 81.—The Good Shepherd and his Flock: Orantes.

is represented carrying a goat, emblematical of the scapegoat in the wilderness. A small statue and a fresco, representing the more usual composition, may still be seen in the *Museum Christianum*. Singularly enough, though of Greek parentage, and recommended to the Byzantines by Constantine, who erected a statue of the Good Shepherd in the forum of Constantinople, the subject did not become popular among them; they seem, at least, to have tacitly abandoned it to Rome."[1]

Now, the goat carried by the Good Shepherd, as in Fig. 76, or by Apollo as in Fig. 75, may be intended to designate the scapegoat as the typical bearer away of sin, disease, and death, as well as the ram borne by Mercury; but sometimes the goat is seen as a member of the Good Shepherd's flock, as in Fig. 81: and also in another very similar fresco in the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter, as given by Bosio, (p. 343,) where the Good Shepherd is seen in a dancing attitude, his legs crossed, and very young, having a goat on his shoulders, and *two* others at his feet, one of which is looking up into his face attentively, while the other seems to be

[1] *Christian Art*, I. pp. 11–2. Lond. 1847.

meditating. And not to multiply examples of this subject unnecessarily, I give one, on the preceding page, where the Good Shepherd is seated with his flock, in the shade, with a Pan-pipe in his hand, and a goat near him. The two females standing between the palm trees, represent the Church as the Spouse of Christ under the two dispensations of the Law and the Gospel, as will afterwards appear. Certainly goats and sheep composed Christ's earthly flock in the days of his sojourn here; for there was a treacherous Judas, a skeptical Thomas, and a Peter who thrice denied him. With his Gospel of truth and mercy represented by the Pan-pipes, he tames even their hard natures and makes good sheep of them, except poor Judas, who hanged himself in bitter remorse. Perhaps the two Orantes, or praying women under the majestic and everlasting palm trees, denote the Church in glory, after her deliverance from earthly bondage and corruption, celebrating her eternal victory in heaven. The copy is from Bosio, who took it from the cemetery of St. Callixtus.[1]

The dancing Good Shepherd and the Good Shepherd seated, are simply artistic representations suggested by Pagan art in its compositions of Krishna, Apollo, and Mercury; and I do not know why any body should be sorry about it, as Lord Lindsay seems to be.

Winckelmann maintains that there is no instance of a god of mature age with his legs crossed; Krishna, Apollo, and Bacchus are the only deities thus represented; —the first two personify frolicsome youth; the last, effeminacy. Only a few instances, however, of this kind occur. The Capitoline Apollo, and a few figures of him in the Villa Medici, and one in the palace Farnese, stand in this position; the last surpasses all others in the beauty of its form and of its head. In one of the paintings from Herculaneum, his attitude is the same. Apollo, the Lizard Killer, is represented with his one foot awkwardly placed behind the other, to indicate his occupation as a shepherd to King Admetus.[2]

Montfaucon publishes several examples of Apollo with his legs crossed or in a dancing attitude; and says of him that he is always represented without a beard in the monuments, and that although Bacchus is sometimes seen with a beard, Apollo never is, which is a mistake, as will soon appear. One of these examples is that of Pan, seated and his legs crossed, teaching the young Apollo how to use the pastoral pipe, or *Syrinx*,[3] just such a one as we see in the hands of the Good Shepherd of Christian art. There is also a representation of a young god, either Apollo or Mercury, seated with his left foot on the back of a ram, and holding out a rod in his left hand.[4]

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 269. [2] *Antiquity Explained*, I., p. 62, pl. 25. [4] *Id.*, pl. 26. (4.)
[3] *Histoire de L'Art des Grecs*, II. liv. iv. c. 3., pp. 96–8, and *Monumens Inedits*. I. c. 27, p. 208, plate 40.

FIG. 82.—The Good Shepherd as Deliverer.

But Lucian says that in some countries Apollo was represented with a beard; and C. O. Müller cites several examples of bearded Apollos, as (1) on a vase of Tarquinii; (2) on coins of Alaesa; (3) and three examples in Gerhard's work.[1] And so the Good Shepherd of Christian art, though for the most part young and beardless, is also sometimes represented as middle-aged and bearded. As young and beardless, he is the Divinity that never grows old; as the grave bearded man, he is partaker of our own nature, and touched with a feeling of our infirmity. Look at this representation of the Good Shepherd, (Fig. 82,) and see how the idea of sacrifice and deliverance are carried out, as in the case of Mercury and the ram at Tanagra. It is from Bosio.[2] The cloak is here an additional vestment, and has its full significance. It is the sacrificial vestment of the ancients. The cross on his breast is unusual, and is like that of Aristeus. The lamb on his shoulders typifies the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, and slain from the foundation of the world. The other two sheep are types of Jew and Gentile as composing his one great flock. The trees are those of knowledge and of life. The goats are in the four corners of the scene, now separated from the Shepherd and gone into the wilderness bearing away the reproach and sin of the flock, *i. e.*, the scapegoats in every part of the world. No. II. is Noah in the ark receiving the returning Dove. No. III. is Christ raising the dead to life, perhaps Lazarus. No. V. is Abraham about to offer his son Isaac in sacrifice. And No. IV. is Daniel in the den of lions. And all of these are types and antitypes of man's deliverance from sin and death through the power and goodness of God in Christ. The

[1] *Ancient Art*, p. 443.

[2] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 339.

young Isaac is His Hebrew type, bending under the wood as Christ fainted under the weight of the Cross; Daniel is His type, stripped of all earthly fame and greatness and cast naked into the deepest danger, shame, and humiliation; but by the Divine power of the Cross even thus overcoming man's two strong and lion-like enemies, viz.: sin or death, and the grave—the man-crucifix of the everlasting covenant. And Noah is His type in saving men from utter destruction and bringing them across the sea of death to a new world and a new life, of which the Dove is the harbinger and ministering Spirit; all of which is more plainly told in the resurrection of Lazarus. The Good Shepherd as the Deliverer and the Lamb for sacrifice which he carries, would here, therefore, seem to be identical. The doves in the corners of the inner square, and the crowns on the sides, represent the souls of the faithful returned like doves to their windows in the home eternal, and the rewards awaiting the righteous in the kingdom to come when they are crowned as victors, and are made kings and priests to God forever. The eternal circle encloses them all, and embraces the whole plan and work of redemption in this fallen world.

The sun-god of the Persians and Greeks was the type of Christ, the true Sun of Righteousness, and the Deliverer of man from all evil. After Apollo was killed by Python, or the great serpent, his body was laid in a tomb at Delphi, where he was bewailed by women; and at Miletus, it is affirmed by Higgins, there was a crucified Apollo, who overcame the serpent, *i. e.*, the evil principle.[1] The crow was sacred to him as it was to Mithra, according to Callimachus;[2] just as the Dove is sacred to Christ, and a symbol of the Holy Ghost.

——"Apollo's eyes endure
None but the good, the perfect, and the pure.
And honours well Apollo can command,
For high in power he sits at Jove's right hand.
On his soft cheeks no tender down hath sprung,
A God, forever fair, forever young.
What time thy golden arrows plenteous flew,
And the fell Python, dreadful serpent, slew;
Swift from thy bow they pierced the monster's heart,
While still the people cry'd, 'Elance the dart;'
Each shaft with acclamations they attend,
'Io, send forth, another arrow send;
'Thee thy blest mother bore, and pleas'd assign'd
'*The willing* SAVIOUR *of distrest mankind.*'"[3]

If early Christian art made her Great Antitype Christ the Deliverer and Saviour, thus young and beardless, thus seated at God's right hand, and thus victorious over

[1] *Anacalypsis*, II., pp. 102–3, and 180. [2] *Hymn to Apollo*, p. 49, Dodd's *Trans.* [3] *Id.*

evil, like Apollo, it was because Apollo was His type in the Pagan world, just as Isaac was among the Hebrews. Surely the God and Father of all has not withheld a knowledge of the way of life and salvation from His Pagan children, and revealed it only to Israel, before the Incarnation and Advent of His Son. In this respect, too, He is not a God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles.

### *Orpheus.*

I now pass to the consideration of Orpheus as that more special Pagan type of Christ, more than once used in the Christian Catacombs at Rome. On comparing the Pagan composition, (Fig. 83,) herewith presented, with the frontispiece of this work, it will be seen how closely the Christian artist has copied and improved a Pagan original.

FIG. 83.—Egyptian Orpheus.

I call this an Egyptian Orpheus, on the authority of Count Caylus, from whose collection of Antiquities I copy it.[1] He tells us that a cast of it was sent him from Egypt, where he believes the original was engraved, though it bears the traces of Greek art. Some of the animals in this composition, as the elephant, the lion, and the monkey, are not found in Greece, but in Africa and Asia. And in another example given by Caylus of the same subject, we see the ibis, the cynocephalus, and the kangaroo, or what looks very much like it, and monkeys, the lion and hippopotamus, all of which are Asiatic and African, mingled with the horse, ibex, goat, &c.[2] The art is still Grecian, but of Egyptian origin as to subject. Orpheus is seated as usual, playing upon his lyre, the animals and birds are grouped round him in a circle, some lying down at his feet, as the lion; and some standing still as if entranced. But he is there without his cap. The face is young and beardless as usual, and the hair is somewhat long and curls over the ears nearly to the neck. And in speaking of these two compositions of Orpheus charming the wild beasts, Caylus refers to an Egyptian intaglio of black agate, the subject of

[1] *Recueil*, &c., tom. iii., pl. xiii., No. 1, p. 51.

[2] *Recueil*, tom. iv., pl. 48, No. 1, pp. 137-8.

which is Harpocrates with a globe on his head, and a whip over his shoulder, like the priests of Osiris, and his right hand index finger pointed,—in a half-sitting attitude upon what seems to be a torch or fulmen, with various creatures round him such as birds, (the hawk,) crabs, goats, or the bull Apis, hippopotami, and crocodiles.[1] From the similarity of grouping and the animals, Caylus infers that the two examples of Orpheus, though of Greek art, are strongly influenced by the Egyptian mythology and had their origin there.

In the treatment of the subject by Christian art, we have another example in the cemetery of St. Callixtus, besides the frontispiece, where we see two dromedaries, a cow, two lions, a peacock, and doves or pigeons on two trees, between which sits Orpheus holding his lyre with his left hand, while his right is pointing the index finger like Harpocrates, as if speaking impressively and with authority. He wears his pointed cap, and is young and beardless. His position, between the two trees filled with birds, is in the manner of the Good Shepherd with his flock.[2] Only in the example of the Egyptian Orpheus, above given, is there any tree; the other examples given by Caylus are without any trees. But in a Pagan example given both by Millin and Guigniaut, Orpheus is seated upon a lion at the foot of a tree with three branches, holding the lyre in his left hand and gesticulating with his right, the various animals being grouped in compartments round the circle in which Orpheus sits. Again he is without his cap, but crowned with laurel.[3] Neither in Pagan nor Christian art is Orpheus ever without his lyre; it is his one powerful instrument to produce peace and harmony amid the tumultuous passions of the soul itself, as well as among men of turbulent and savage natures, clashing interests, rival ambitions, and differences of opinion religious and political. It is not the music of the lyre simply that does this, but that which the lyre symbolizes, the love of God and of our neighbour—the purity and goodness of heart which still its pride and lust,—the kindness and benevolence which do no wrong, practice no injustice, and make music and gladness along the world's great highway of nations.

This is the meaning of the Frontispiece. The Octagon, and not the circle, is used in this instance, with a special motive, as I conceive, which is to convey the idea of the Son of God—the Divine Wisdom and the Gift to man of the Divine Love, having come to earth to produce spiritual harmony and fellowship—to make peace and reconciliation between God and man—to unite heaven and earth, the Divine and the human in bonds of amity and concord; and to make one great brotherhood of all the various tribes, families and nations of mankind in His eter-

[1] *Recueil*, tom. iii., pl. 10, No. 2, pp. 44–5.
[2] Bosio's *Rom. Sott.*, p. 255.
[3] *Religions de L'Antiquité*, pl. 172, No. 645. *Galerie Mythologique*, pl. 107, No. 423.

nal and glorious Kingdom, simply and only by the one powerful principle that binds all things together in one, the love of God and of our neighbour. It is this that has made civilization all the world over, and not a materialistic science looking only to physical comfort and abundance. Out of this love of God all poetry, art, and philosophy have arisen. Religion always and everywhere, in its purity and integrity, has been the best source of all real good to mankind. And Orpheus was the name by which ancient Paganism understood the celestial origin of her poetry, her theology, her philosophy, her arts, and her religious rites and mysteries; for the Divine Orpheus was reputed to have originated them all.

This octagon figure in which the Callixtine Orpheus sits, as the symbol of the union of heaven and earth, the Divine and the human in peace and harmony, is simply formed by drawing a line from point to point of the combination of the two kinds of crosses, the heavenly and the earthly, as already noticed in the first chapter, or the Platonic cross formed by the great circles of the heavens, like the Greek *X*, and the square cross formed by the earthly meridians and parallels, thus +; the combination making this figure *, sometimes called the Star of Venus; and often seen in the monuments of all ancient Pagan nations. This combination means about the same thing as that of the two triangles, viz., the active and passive powers of life in conjunction. The Incarnation of the Son of God was the union of heaven and earth, the Divine and the human; it was the mystic Ladder of Jacob's vision: "Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." (St. Jno. i. 51.)

Orpheus is seated in kingly majesty, his cap, as the symbol of Divine origin and royalty, on his head, playing his lyre with both hands, in a shady bower of trees. The lion, the bear, the horse, sheep, the serpent, as in the composition of Krishna and Mithra, the peacock, and other birds, are all charmed into peace and concord; while in the eight compartments are scenes of nature and of grace which equally demand our notice. Four of these scenes represent the civilizing process of subduing nature to human uses; for they are pastoral scenes where cattle and sheep suggest abundance and contentment. The other four are scenes of grace and redemption. No. 1 is Daniel in the lion's den, as a type of Christ delivering his and our humanity from death and the grave—there are never but two lions in this oft-repeated subject; No. 2 is the resurrection of Lazarus as the proof of Christ Himself being the resurrection and the life to all other dead men; No. 3 is David with his sling going forth to meet and slay Goliath, as a type of Christ in His contest with evil, and victory over it; and No. 4 is Moses striking the rock in the wilderness for water, which Rock is Christ in the grace of Baptism. And all is of God through His Son, as indicated by the great circle which encloses both the kingdom

of nature and of grace. The doves in the corners outside the circle, with olive branches in their claws, may signify the holy and all-pervading spirit of God, giving life and peace to men in every part of the world; and as sent forth of the Father by the Son for this purpose. The vases with palm-branches indicate victory over all the ills of life and over death itself.

There is an example of the Good Shepherd in an octagon like this of Orpheus, clad in his tunic and *penula*, or sacrificial cloak, with the Syrinx in his right hand, and holding the lamb over his shoulders with his left; but the examples are rare, too rare to serve the mere purpose of variety.[1] The octagon, therefore, must have some reference to the Incarnation of the Son of God as a joining of heaven and earth, grace and nature, God and man together.

Both Bryant and Dr. Von Döllinger express the opinion that Orpheus was only a name, applied to a school of priests who brought the new cult of Dionysos into Greece. Vossius doubts, with good reason, whether any such person as Orpheus ever existed, citing Aristotle and Suidas to this effect. One ancient Greek writer admits that such a man existed, but denies the story, calling it a fable. Under the name of Orpheus, then, is to be understood Cadmus and the Cadmeans, one of whose cities was called Orpheus in Thrace; and hence the name. Ur of Chaldea was called Urphi and Orphi, and it was the seat of the ancient Magi; and Pausanius tells us that "Orpheus was great in all the mysteries of the Magi." This explains the origin of the Magian cap on the head of Orpheus. Like Osiris, Orpheus descended into Hades for the recovery of his lost Eurydice stung to death by a serpent, and arose to life and earth again. His mysterious death was celebrated with the same frantic acts of grief by the women of Thrace, the Mænades, as the Oriental women practised for Thammuz and Baal. Orpheus was a title under which the Deity was worshipped; and he was the same as Horus of Egypt, and Apollo of Greece.[2]

As connected with both Apollo and Dionysos, one the sun of heaven, and the other of earth, Orpheus is indeed a mediator like Mithra; and Epimenides, his oldest priest, may well be called a minister of atonement, who was sent for to Crete to come to Athens, and deliver the city and state from a plague, in consequence of the bloodshed of Cylon, B. C. 612.[3] In fact, there seems to be a very close resemblance between Orpheus, Zoroaster, and Hermes, all of whom were revealers of Divine knowledge to men, the palm-branch being their mysterious tree of life on which the events of time were recorded; the emanations of Divinity; the bright

[1] Bosio's *Rom. Sott.* p. 351. See Fig. 82.
[2] Von Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile*, vol. I. pp. 138–163.
[3] *Ancient Mythology*, II. pp. 124–136.

luminaries of the way of life; who came from heaven with the Word of Life—(the Zend-Avesta, the harp, &c.) who descended into hell; and rose again to the beatific mount and vision of God.'

In later Greece Orpheus seems to have been disconnected from the sun, according to Cox. Pinder makes him simply a harper, and the father of song. In Æschylus he leads everything after him by the gladness with which his strain inspires them. In Euripides he is the harper who compels the rocks to follow him, while in speaking of him as the originator of sacred mysteries, the poet transfers to him the idea which represents Hermes as obtaining mysterious wisdom. The ship Argo, that could not be moved by the heroes of the Golden Fleece, glides from its moorings at the sound of his lyre; through rocks and dangers it passes on to its destination by the same sweet influence; the very sirens are overcome by the witchery of his music, and cast themselves into the sea, where they are changed into rocks; and the whole Argonautic expedition is successful only because of the presence of Orpheus and his lyre;[2] which expedition undoubtedly has some deeper meaning than the mere commercial search after earthly wealth.

But let us now turn to see why Orpheus was adopted as a type of Christ, according to the testimony of the fathers of the Primitive Church. Eusebius says, "Our common Saviour proved Himself the benefactor and preserver of all, displaying His wisdom through the instrumentality of His human nature, even as a musician uses the lyre to evince his skill. The Grecian fable tells us that Orpheus had power to charm ferocious beasts, and tame their savage spirit, by striking the chords of his instrument with a master hand: and this celebrated story is generally believed by the Greeks, that an unconscious instrument could subdue the untamed brute, and draw the trees of the forest from their places, in obedience to its melodious power. But He who is the Author of perfect harmony, the all-wise Word of God, desiring to apply every remedy to the manifold diseases of the souls of men, employed that human nature which is the workmanship of His own wisdom, as an instrument, by the melodious strains of which, He soothed, not only the brute creation, but savages endued with reason; healing each furious temper, each fierce and angry passion of the soul, both in civilized and barbarous nations, by the remedial power of His Divine doctrine. He showed to men, God in human form. Whatever he touches with Divine power must of necessity become endued with the intelligence of light and life."[3]

This confirms the view already advanced as to Orpheus being a type of Christ

[1] Creuzer, I. p. 317. Lajard, p. 16. [2] Cox's *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. II. pp. 239–49.
[3] *Oratio in Laud. Const.* c. 14, pp. 359-61.

in His Divine Incarnation, and explains the Octagon figure in which he sits. This Incarnation is the real harmony of all things in heaven and earth. Apollo, the glory of heaven, and Dionysos, the joy and gladness of earth, represented by the Vine and its rich clusters, are joined in one in Orpheus, who thus becomes the type of the Incarnate Son of God.

The earlier testimony of Clement of Alexandria is this: "It is the new harmony which bears God's name—the new, the Levitical Song—of God's mercy and goodness—soother of pain, calmer of wrath, producing forgetfulness of all ills; the sweet and true charm of persuasion in the Gospel of the Son of God; it alone has tamed men, the most intractable of animals,—the frivolous among them answering to the fowls of the air—deceivers being reptiles,—the irascible, lions,—the voluptuous, swine,— the rapacious, wolves; the silly are stocks and stones, and still more senseless than stones is the man who is steeped in ignorance. This deathless strain —the support of the whole and the harmony of all,—reaching from the centre to the circumference—has harmonized this universal frame of things, not according to the Thracian music, which is like that invented by Jubal, but according to the Paternal counsel of God which fired the zeal of David. And He who is of David and yet before him, the Word of God, having tuned by the Holy Spirit the universe, and especially man, who, composed of body and soul, is a universe in miniature,—makes melody to God on this instrument of many tones; and to this instrument, I mean man, He sings accordant. 'For thou art my harp, and pipe, and temple,—a harp for harmony, and a pipe by reason of the Spirit—a temple because of the Word; so that the first may sound, the second breathe, the third contain the Lord. . . . . And He Himself also, surely, who is the supernatural Wisdom, the Celestial Word, is the all-harmonious, melodious, holy Instrument of God! What, then, does this Instrument, the Word of God, the Lord, the New Song, desire? To open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf, and lead the erring or the lame to righteousness, to exhibit God to the foolish, to put a stop to corruption, to conquer death, to reconcile disobedient children to their Father. The Instrument of God loves mankind. The Lord pities, instructs, exhorts, admonishes, saves, shields, and His bounty promises us the Kingdom of Heaven as a reward for learning; and the only advantage is, that we are saved.'"[1] Here we have the same idea expressed of the Incarnation of the Son of God, together with our own purified nature, as instruments of the Divine Power and Goodness.

But Clement again says, that both Orpheus and Plato derived their knowledge

[1] *Cohort*, c. I., pp. 19–21.

of the one Living and True God from the Mosaic writings, and cites these lines from one of the Orphic hymns: "One is perfect in Himself, and all things are born of One; Him no one of mortals has seen, but He sees all."[1]

And still more, speaking of the Thracian Orpheus as poet and theologian, *to whom with others, certain scintillations of the Divine Word were given, and by whom some utterances of truth were made*, Clement cites these remarkable verses from an Orphic hymn, viz.:

> "Looking to the Divine Word, apply yourself to it,
> Keeping right the seat of intellect and feeling; and
> Walk well in the straight path, and to the
> Immortal King of the universe alone
> Direct your gaze. He is One, self-proceeding;
> And from Him alone all things proceed;
> And in them He Himself exerts His activity: no
> Mortal beholds Him, but He beholds all."[2]

In Taylor's collection of Orphic hymns, occurs this expression as to the Word of God as *Phanes*, or the Epiphany of God in Christ, being addressed to *Protogonus*, or *the First-Begotten*:

> "O Mighty First-Begotten, hear my prayer,
> Twofold, egg-born, and wand'ring thro' the air;
> Creator, glorying in thy golden wings,
> From whom the race of gods and mortals springs.
> 'Tis thine from darksome mists to purge the sight,
> All-spreading Splendour, pure and holy Light;
> Hence, *Phanes*, call'd the glory of the sky,
> On waving pinions thro' the world you fly.
> Preserver, (*Priapus*,) Mystic Wisdom, Thee I sing,
> All-gracious, just, and ever-blessed king."[3]

I cite this most extraordinary hymn because Lactantius refers to it thus: "Orpheus, who is the most ancient of the poets, and coeval with the Gods themselves, speaks of the true and great God as the First-Begotten (πρωτόγονος), because nothing was produced before Him, but all things sprung from Him. He also calls Him *Phanes*, the Appearer, (Epiphany,) because when as yet there was nothing He first appeared and came forth from the Infinite. He also affirms that this Being is the Parent of all, and has provided for His children a common abode and habitation in framing the heavens; 'He built for immortals an imperishable home.' Thus

[1] *Mis.*, V. c. 12. [2] *Miscel.*, V. c. 14, vol. ii.

[3] *Mystical Hymns of Orpheus*, H. VI. 2nd Ed. Chiswick. 1824. I have taken the liberty of changing a word or two.

under the guidance of nature and reason, Orpheus understood that there was a power of surpassing greatness which made heaven and earth—the First-Begotten, to Whom He assigns and gives the first place." [1]

So also Lactantius cites this response of the oracle of Apollo at Colophon, to a question as to who or what God was :

> " Self-produced, untaught, without a mother, unshaken,
> A name not even to be comprised in a word, dwelling in fire,
> This is God; and we His messengers are a slight portion of God." [2]

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, second century, who first introduced the term Triad into Christian Theology, says that Orpheus wrote a poem of the three hundred and sixty-five gods, (one for every day in the year,) which he repudiated in the latter part of his life, maintaining that there is one only God.[3]

Justin Martyr, who ought to know, being a Platonic philosopher converted to Christianity, during the first half the second century, says, " Even Orpheus, who introduces three hundred and sixty gods, will bear witness in my favour, (as to one only God,) from a tract called *Diathecæ*, in which he appears to repent of his error by the following, addressed to his son Musæus:

> " The words I tell thee now are true indeed,
> And if thou former thoughts of mine hast seen,
> Let them not rob thee of the blessed life ;
> But rather turn the depths of thine own heart
> Unto that place where light and knowledge dwell.
> Take thou the Word Divine to guide thy steps ;
> And walking well in the straight certain path,
> Look to the One and Universal King,
> One, Self-Begotten, and the only One,
> Of whom all things, and we ourselves are sprung.
> All things are open to His piercing gaze,
> While He Himself is still invisible ;
> Present in all His works, though still unseen,
> He gives to mortals evil out of good,
> Sending both chilling wars and tearful griefs ;
> And other than the Great King there is none."

Twice does St. Justin cite this passage, which must be genuine, or he would not dare to do it, in confirmation of the Christian doctrine as to one God only, considering Orpheus to be as good an authority on this point as Moses.[4]

[1] *Divin. Inst.* I., cc. v and vi.
[2] *Autol.* lib. III. c. 2.
[3] Id. I. c. 7.
[4] *Cohort. ad Greek*, c. XV. *Mon. Dei.* c. II.

While St. Augustine, in later times, attaches minor importance to the writings of Orpheus as compared with the Old Testament prophets, he still admits that Orpheus prophesied of Christ; for he says to the Manichæan Faustus, "If any truth about God or the Son of God is taught or predicted in the Sibyls, or in Orpheus, or in Hermes, if there ever was such a person, or in any other heathen poets, theologians, or philosophers, it may be useful for the refutation of Pagan error, but cannot lead us to believe in those writers. For while they spoke, because they could not help it, of the God whom we worship, they either taught their fellow-countrymen to worship idols and demons, or allowed them to do so without daring to protest against it."[1]

If it is thus the concurrent testimony of the Christian fathers from the second to the fifth centuries, that Orpheus prophesied of the Only-Begotten Son of God as the Brightness of the Father's glory; and if Christian art did not thus early hesitate to adopt the Pagan mythos of Orpheus as typical of Christ, just as it adopted the Hebrew Isaac, and Elijah, and Daniel, and Jonah, then the conclusion is inevitable, that Christ was deemed the Antitype and Desire of all nations, come to earth; and that He was the Divine and Only-Begotten Son of God; that His divinity was no new doctrine; and that He is the only Being that has ever actually appeared in the world that at all answers the Jewish and Pagan prophecies and types; He alone of all our race having comprehensive charity enough to include all mankind in the one fold of which He is the Good Shepherd.

The painting of Orpheus, of which the frontispiece is a copy, is perhaps one of the oldest in the cemetery of St. Callixtus; and Boldetti claims for it the time of Nero, since the precise style of dress worn by Orpheus is exactly that which is described by Horace, Lucullus, and Ovid, as the habit of the musicians of the day; while the artistic merit of the painting itself is of a high order, and belongs to the earlier periods of Christianity, when art was still highly prized at Rome and her artists were well rewarded for their work. At any rate it is quite safe to fix the date of this painting before the time of Justin Martyr, since he would hardly have ventured to cite Orpheus at all, had he not been already in favour as a type or prophet of Christ among his fellow Christians. I doubt not that Justin saw this very painting of Orpheus during his sojourn at Rome, and therefore is disposed to use it as testimony in favour of the one God and of His Only-Begotten Son, the Divine Word or *Phanes* of God.

The whole idea of the grace and beauty of the youthful and Divine Good Shepherd, while artistically treated after Apollo, Orpheus, &c., is still the portrait-

[1] *Faust*, lib. xiii. 15.

ure of St. John, who, more than the other Evangelists, shows Him to be the true καλός, the One altogether lovely. It was precisely during the time that the "Shepherd of Hermas" was the most popular of books in the Christian community, *i. e.*, from the second to the fifth centuries, that the Good Shepherd of Christian art held such a conspicuous place in the Catacombs and early Basilicas and churches.

The law of love is the Divine harmony of the world, in heaven, earth, and hell. As Orpheus went with his lyre into Hades, so Christ went and preached to the spirits in prison. His Gospel has sounded everywhere throughout the whole wide universe; and it shall yet accomplish its blessed work of restoration, of bringing all things together in Christ, both in heaven and earth, and things under the earth. Meanwhile, it will soothe human sorrow; subdue human passion; restrain human lust and ambition: pacify and refine human grossness and turbulence; civilize the savage; charm the churlish; draw the sinful to virtue and holiness; set all this sad world dancing for joy; and be the one melodious strain of blessed peace and rest forevermore.

"I am the Good Shepherd: the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep."

*St. John*, x. 11.

FIG. 84.—The Nativity: Magi offering

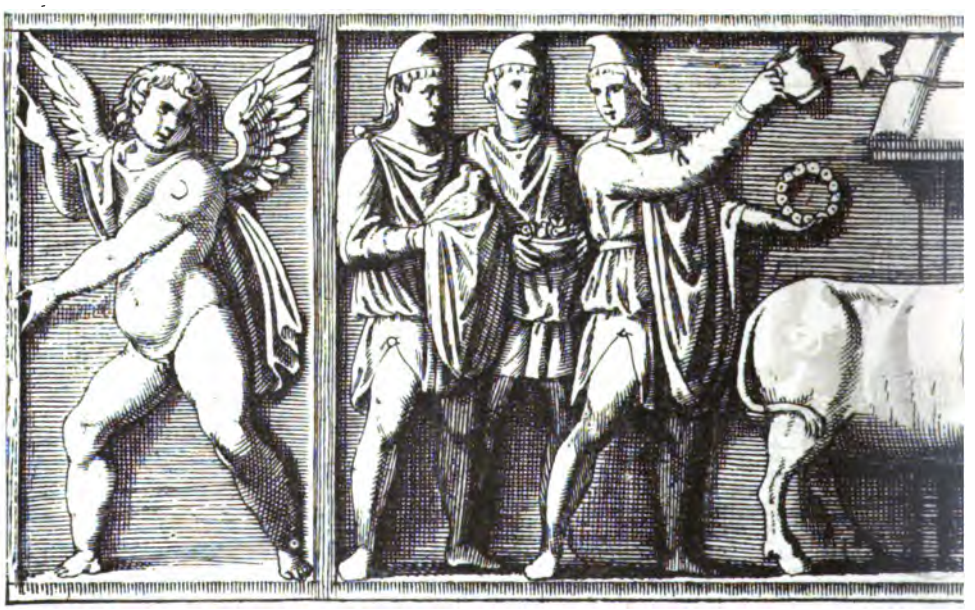
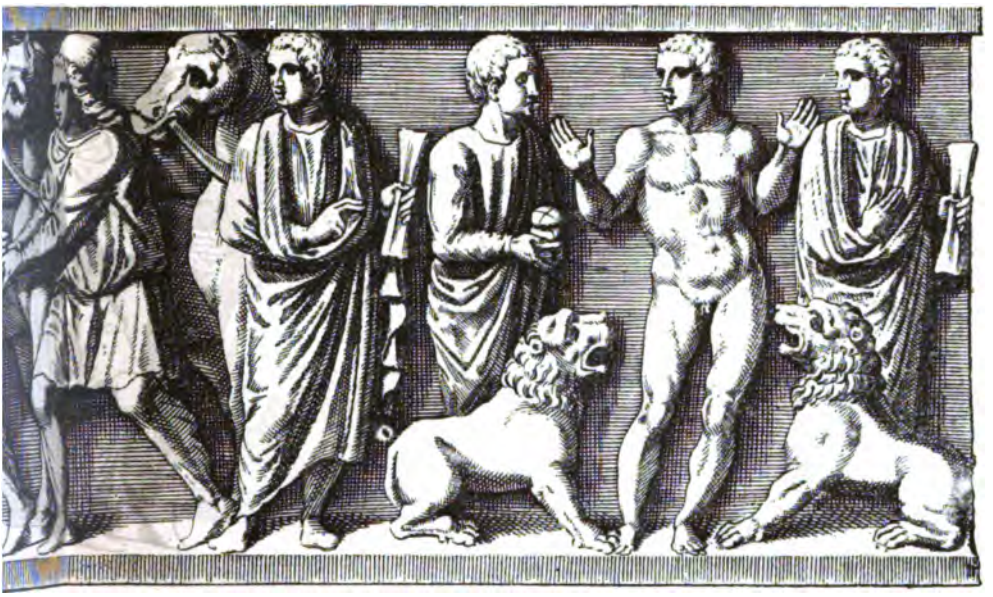


FIG. 85.—The Nativity of Jesus Christ: The Magi offer



gi offering their gifts. Daniel in the Lions' den.

agi offering their gifts. Sculptured Sarcophagi. 4th Century.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### JESUS CHRIST AS HUMAN.

*The Manhood of Christ, Who was Conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary.—Pagan and Christian Madonnas compared.—Isis and Horus.—Lakshmi-Narayana.—Juno-Lucina and Child.—Devaki and Krishna.—Mary rising from the Sea as Venus.—Androgynous Deities.—Coronation and Adoration of Mary and Bhavani.—Dr. J. H. Newman's Opinion.*

PARHELIA is the term which Archbishop Trench applies to all such gleams and anticipations and types of Divine truth in ancient Paganism as have been disclosed in the last chapter. And it is well that his wise observation respecting this important matter is receiving due attention, at least from a few thoughtful persons, in the controversy of Christianity with atheism and infidelity. His remark is this, viz.: "The heathen religions boasted of their virgin-born, as of Buddha and Zoroaster, as of Pythagoras and Plato. It much concerns us to determine in what relation and connection we will put their legend and our history; whether we will use the truth to show that the falsehood was not all falsehood, and for the detecting the golden grains of a true anticipation which lay concealed amid all its dross; or whether we will suffer the falsehoods to cast a slight and suspicion upon the truth, as though that was but the crowning falsehood of them all. In the present position of the controversy with infidelity we cannot let these parallels alone if we would,—even if we were willing to forego the precious witness for the glory and truth of the Christian Faith which they contain. We cannot ignore them; if they are not for us, they will be used against us. But they are for us, since we may justly ask,—and it is no playing with imperfect analogies, for the question may be transferred from the natural to the spiritual world,—Are the parhelia, however numerous, to be accepted as evidence that all is optical illusion, that there is no such true body of light as the sun after all; or rather, does not the very fact of their delusively painting the horizon, tell of and announce a sun, which is surely travelling up from

behind?"[1] It is in this sense that all such Pagan types and anticipations of Christ, as Agni, Krishna, Mithra, Horus, Apollo, and Orpheus, are to be understood. The true Sun must have been somewhere to produce such remarkable phenomena as these on all the ancient Pagan horizon.

The Incarnation or Humanity of the Son of God now claims our notice. And the remarkable eagerness with which the Pagans embraced Christianity when first preached to them is best explained by the fact that it was exactly that one grand truth which their religious systems imperfectly taught. It explained the mystery of their own creeds. The birth of a man-God was the common faith of humanity —the one great dogma, which, under forms more or less mysterious, and often grotesque and hideous, appears in the oldest modes of worship, and may be traced in the most ancient traditions and monuments. The Messiah, the Redeemer, promised to fallen man, had been announced uninterruptedly from age to age.[2] And when Christ appeared, it was not only in Judea, among the Hebrews, that he was looked for; He was expected also at Rome, among the Goths and Scandinavians, in China, in India, in High Asia especially, where almost all religious systems are founded on the dogma of a Divine Incarnation. Zoroaster had foretold it, as he learned it from the Brahmins of Upper India; and Zoroaster's disciples, the Persian Magi, following the brilliant star, of which he, like Balaam, spake as the precursor of "that Holy One who came from the womb of an Immaculate Virgin," and which should guide them to the place of His nativity, were the first to go and worship Him. And Confucius, lamenting in his writings the loss of the sacred Tripod, by which he probably meant the idea of the tri-une God, at the same time announces to the Hundred Families, *i. e.*, (the Chinese nation,) *Si Fam Yeu Xim Gim, i. e., The Holy One shall appear in the West.*[3] And after He appeared the Chinese government sent ambassadors to Rome to seek the friendship of Augustus, thinking perhaps that he was the great King and Holy One who was to deliver men from evil; but finding out their mistake, another embassy was sent, A. D. 65, which also failed of its object by being persuaded that Buddha was the Divinely Incarnate One; and so Buddhism became the national religion of China, however early Christianity was also preached there, as well as in India.[4]

In the two early Christian representations of the Nativity which precede this chapter, it will be noticed that there are three Magi proper with the pointed cap of Mithra on their heads, and wearing precisely such garments as Mithra and his priests are represented to have worn. There is no doubt, therefore,

[1] *Star of the Wise Men*, pp. 27–8. Phila., 1850. [2] Huc's *Christianity in China*, &c., I. pp. 1 and 2, &c.
[3] Maurice's *Hist. of Hindustan*, II. p. 276. Huc's *Christianity in China*, I. p. 4.
[4] Hyde's *Hist. Per.*, pp. 392. Huc. I., p. 10-30.

that these Magi were Persian priests come to do homage to One who, in their estimation, was the antitype of Mithra and the Holy One, foretold by Zoroaster Hyde thinks they were from Parthia. In one of the Sarcophagi, viz., the upper one, a fourth person stands by with a roll in his hand, differently clad, and without the Phrygian cap of Mithra. It has been explained as representing and personifying the ancient prophecy respecting the Nativity, perhaps Zoroaster's or Isaiah's, and as leading the magi to Christ. Observe, too, that in both these examples, out of many like them, the worship is directed to the Child exclusively, according to St. Matthew, ii.; and yet Aringhi can say this, in explanation of the obvious difficulty of the subject to a modern Romanist, viz., *Beata virgo impensum parvulo latriae cultum excipit, i. e., The blessed Virgin receives the superior worship of latria for the Child.*[1] But how is it that in all cases the Child either receives the worship or the gifts Himself? It is an admission that the Child is entitled to the highest worship, but it is also an assertion that it must be paid through the Virgin.

In the lower one of these sarcophagi, the Virgin sits quite apart, in a thoughtful mood, as if already forecasting the fate of her Son, while the cattle and the Magi join together in worship. And in the upper one, it is the Child who reaches forth His hands to receive the gifts. In every instance of early Christian art, the Child is the central figure and the sole object of supreme regard. If the intervention of the Blessed Virgin were necessary, it would have been indicated in some way, either by placing her between the suppliant and her Divine Child, or by her own previous reception of the gifts for Him. But of such treatment of the subject as this, there is not a single known example in ancient Christian art. It would have been considered blasphemous. The Virgin Mother is, indeed, a necessary accessory, and is always present in the scene of the Nativity; for how could the Son of God come into the world and become the Son of Man, enter the sphere of our own humanity, and become like one of us, without a mother? Therefore, of all human beings, she holds the first place; is entitled to the highest consideration; all nations call her blessed, and have types of her high and holy maternity; she was highly favoured; the Lord was with her; she was the blessed among women; and yet she was only a pure-minded, sweet, and modest Jewish maiden, chosen of God to become the channel of Christ's Incarnation. There is no evidence that early Christianity ever dreamed of her as a mediatress between us and her Son. Juno and other Pagan goddesses were sorry mediatresses; they were sometimes very termagants in the courts above; and they were not always chaste and pure.

The Primitive Church, while so deeply impressed with a sense of Christ's

[1] *Rom. Subt.* I. pp. 320–1.

essential Divinity as to make the very Child of the manger the recipient of Divine honours, is also just as explicit in manifesting her concern about His real and proper humanity; and therefore the Holy Mother is always present, looking like her who was deemed worthy by an early council of the Church to receive the title, since then greatly abused and perverted, *Theotokos*, *Mater Dei*, *Mother of God*. In an age of such intense faith as the first three or four centuries of the Christian era were, it is not to be wondered at, that art was called in to record and express in every possible variety of fresco, sculpture, mosaic, glass-enamel, intaglio, and cameo, the two great leading facts of Christ's Divinity and humanity. And the expression is very explicit. The Divinity and the humanity are never confounded. It is no Pagan mixture of the Divine and the human, the good and the bad, as in Krishna and Mithra; but it is simply the union in One Person of the Son of God, with our own nature in its purity and perfection. It is neither the deification of man, nor the humanizing of God; but the two natures coexist side by side in one and the same Person, as mind and matter do in ourselves, or as vital force exists in all external nature. And therefore it is, that the early Church has taken such pains to teach this doctrine by the oft-repeated subjects of the youthful Divinity, that never grows old, and the Nativity, or other records of Christ's true and proper manhood.

Although ancient Paganism had its conceptions and symbols of one only God existing as a Triad of persons, or rather of qualities and attributes; and although it had its Divine Incarnations and Good Shepherds; its sacrifices, victims, and crucifixions; yet they were all so philosophized upon, and the mystery involved in them so persistently tortured with rationalistic explanations, as soon to become pantheistical, and lose their true object and meaning. They became mere speculations and myths. And so God became the mere soul of the world, and every object in nature was infused with His essence. He became incarnate in almost everything, suffering with everything that could feel pain, and rejoicing with every alleviation of it. So, too, it came to pass that kings and emperors became divine; and that such men as Apollonious of Tyana, Pythagoras, Plato, &c., passed for incarnations of Deity.

But whence came the radically different and higher conception of Christ's Incarnation? Not a mere infusion of the Divine essence into men, animals, and plants, or the sun, moon, and stars; but a real union of all that is Divine with all that is human, without any change of the nature of either. This had hitherto been beyond the reach of Paganism, although Paganism had its imperfect conceptions, types, and symbols of it. If this union of the Divine with the human had been the sole idea and invention of Christian men, it is not easy to see why other

and more acute minds had not sooner conceived it. Nothing is so simple as a disclosed fact or principle, *after* its discovery. It is a perplexing thing *before* the discovery. And surely the Fishermen of Galilee and their poor disciples for three centuries afterwards, have not outwitted the Brahmins of India, the Priests of Persia, or the Philosophers of Greece and Rome, by inventing an Incarnation totally different from their own. And the record of early Christianity, in all her monuments, is one of simple faith in the disclosed fact of a real Divine Incarnation in Jesus Christ. In those primitive times belief was the first imperative necessity; to believe and confess the Incarnation of the Word, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; consequently, to stimulate faith was the task imposed on all the early monuments. Ancient sarcophagi, the frescoes in the catacombs, the mosaics in the Roman Basilicas, all speak the same language, and constantly present to our view the birth, actions, and resurrection of Christ, not as philosophical speculations and myths, but as facts. Life is constantly extracted from death, to show that at the Final Judgment the reanimated body shall quit the tomb; Jonah is rejected by the whale as a type of it; the Hebrew Children are spared by the fiery flames as types of those who shall not perish either in the fires of persecution or in the fires of the Last Day; and Jesus raises Lazarus to life. To believe was then indispensably necessary; for the object to be achieved was the substitution of one religion for another:—for what was typical, speculative, and mythical, the substitution of what was real and substantial, and matter-of-fact.[1] It was pre-eminently the reign of Faith, and as such it triumphed.

The Jews, in common with all other religious peoples, held the belief in the pre-existence of souls, as the story of the man born blind shows us, whom they thought punished for his sin in some previous state of existence, or that his parents had so sinned and transmitted the punishment to their blind son. Three times after death did every man's soul pass into other human bodies; Adam's soul passed into the body of King David; and King David's soul passed into the Messiah, or would do so, which mystery is contained in the three Hebrew letters א ד ם, *i. e., A D M*, Adam or man, A standing for Adam, D for David, and M for Messiah.[2]

Our Lord only denies, that, in this instance, blindness was to be considered as a punishment for sin committed in a previous state of existence, not contradicting, but rather implying the doctrine of pre-existence. Did He not say, Before Abraham was, I am? Our aspirations after immortality and the home eternal in the heavens may be the dim and almost obliterated recollections of both, as the Poet Wordsworth so beautifully expresses the belief in his poem on the "Intimations of

[1] Didron's *Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 490–1.

[2] Beckker's *Le Monde Enchant.*, I. p. 166.

Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood;" and as the matter is so well presented and argued by Capel Berrow on the "Pre-existent Lapse of Human Souls;" by an Impartial Inquirer after Truth, Anonymous, on "Pre-existence, Creation," &c.; and by Edward Beecher, in our own time and country, in his "Conflict of Ages."

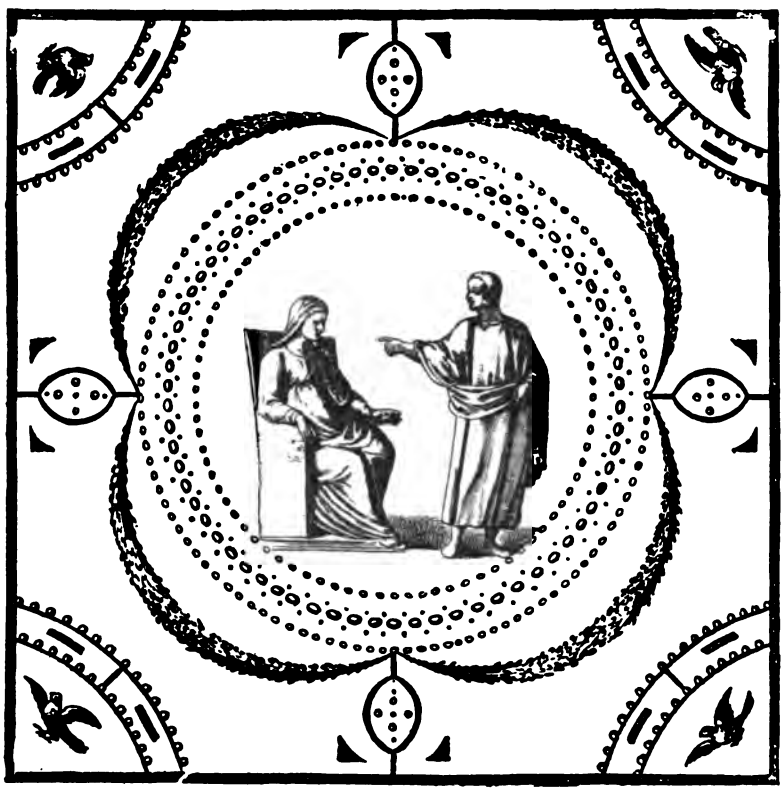


FIG. 86.—The Annunciation. Fresco. Second century.

If the Great Teacher of all seems to sanction the ancient belief in the pre-existence of souls, then it need not be thought a strange or impossible thing that the Son of God existed before He came into the world, or existed before the world itself was. It was no new doctrine either to Jews or Pagans; and therefore to all right-minded men of the times, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the Incarnate Son of God, was received as the Power and the Wisdom of God. Christian art begins its treatment of the subject with the Divine intimation or annunciation to the Virgin Mary as above represented. (Fig. 86.)

This is the oldest and simplest treatment of the subject yet discovered, and must go back to the times between the Flavians and the Antonines, *i. e.*, from the second half of the first century to the first part of the second. At least, this is De Rossi's opinion as expressed about another classical fresco in the same cemetery of Priscilla, from which this Annunciation is taken.[1] His judgment is based on the

[1] *Images de la T. S. Vierge*, pp. 14–17. Rome, 1863.

style and elegance of the painting, as belonging to the best period of art. The above copy is from Bosio; it is also given by Aringhi.[1] Look at it well; for it is too severely simple and classical to secure any notice except by the most cultivated taste. This young queen of maidenly purity, modesty, and innocence, holds no sceptre in her hand; there is no jewelled crown upon her head; the moon and the clouds of heaven are not under her feet, as in some of the representations of modern Christian art; but she sits, nevertheless, in a chair of royal state, with veiled head in token of modesty, and downcast eye and uplifted hand, as if in the very ecstacy of wonder, perplexity, and astonishment, at the announcement made her by the majestic youthful figure standing before her, emphasizing his message, and pointing her out with his hand, as saying, "Hail! Mary, highly-favoured! Fear not! thou hast found favour with God." He does not *kneel* to deliver his message as the angel does in Overbeck's treatment of the subject;[2] but stands up as her equal, and as a messenger of God should do when engaged in such work as this. The doves in the angles indicate the presence of the all-pervading and all-powerful Holy Spirit, as the Lord and Giver of life, and the Divine Agent in the generation of our Lord's humanity, not given by measure in His case as in ours, but in the complete fulness of grace and truth. It was this spiritual generation, and not the immaculate nature of the Virgin, that produced Christ's pure and perfect manhood.

I am aware that by some Christian archæologists the above picture is considered doubtful as to subject, and therefore it must speak for itself. But from the fact that it occurs in the cemetery of St. Priscilla with the scene of the Nativity itself, and is very difficult of explanation except as the scene of the Annunciation, other good authorities have regarded it as such. Its age is vouched for, not only by its classic art, simplicity, and elegance, but by its being in the cemetery of Priscilla, whom St. Paul mentions in his writings, and whose tomb was known to have been on the Salarian way.[3] And yet Agincourt is disposed to place it in the third century. Although winged angels were not altogether unknown to the first ages of the Church, yet the practice was not general of giving them wings. The angel Gabriel has no wings in this instance; and there is another, of the ninth century, in a Latin gospel of Louis le Debonnaire given to the Church at Soissons, in which the angel is without wings, but has the circular nimbus, and carries a cross in his left hand, while he points with the right to the Virgin seated in a chair, just as in the fresco of St. Priscilla. The first known examples of angels with

[1] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* p. 541. Aringhi, *Rom. Sub.* II. p. 137.

[2] *Darstellungen aus den Evangelien.* Düs. pl, I. [3] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* p. 479, and plate on p. 541.

wings in Christian art, are the diptyches of the Milan Cathedral, and the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, at Rome.[1] And for twelve centuries there is no example of an angel as kneeling before the Virgin to deliver his message. Fleury gives about twenty examples of the subject, from the Catacombs down to later pictures in manuscripts and Bibles, and in no instance is the angel kneeling, as in Overbeck's otherwise admirable representation.[2] This kneeling indicates adoration of some kind, and a change of doctrine respecting the Virgin, as we shall presently see. In earlier art the Virgin kneels, as Boldetti assures us in these words, viz.," In one of the chapels of the cemetery of St. Callixtus was discovered, a few years ago, a good and beautiful painting representing the Virgin kneeling down, (*inginocchiata*,) while the angel was announcing to her the mystery of the Incarnation of the Word." [3]

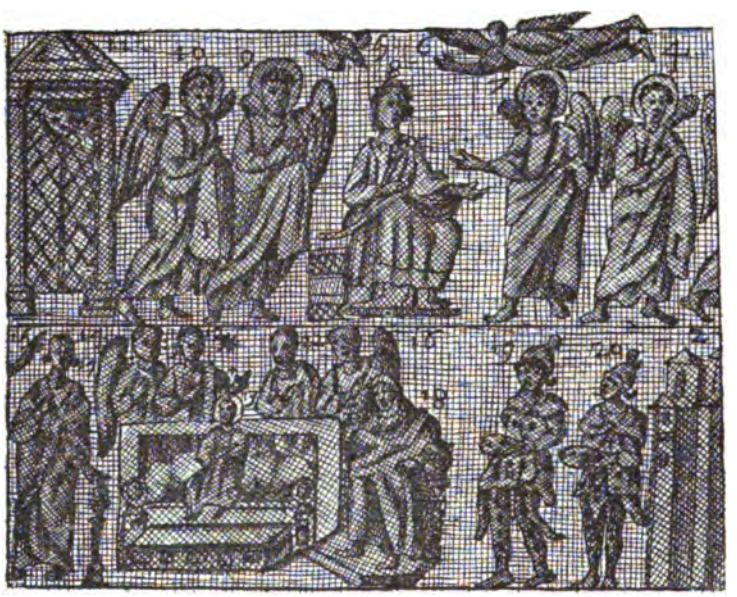


FIG. 87.—The Annunciation, &c. Mosaic, Fifth century.

I here reproduce, from Ciampini, another representation of the Annunciation, somewhat more explicit than the other of an earlier age. The Discipline of the Secret was now relaxed, and the great mystery of Godliness — God manifest in the flesh —might now be more clearly given, without incurring offence from the Pagans, and without danger to the Christian community. It is a mosaic of the fifth century, in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, at Rome. It consists of two parts, and is only a very small portion of the whole subject of the Nativity, which occupies the entire space over the whole great arch that opens into the sanctuary. The work was executed under the Pontificate of Xystus III., A. D. 443, whose name appears just

[1] Ch. Rohault de Fleury's *L'Evangile*, I. pp. 11 and 15, pl. VII.

[2] This work of Fleury's is the latest archæological *resumé* of the artistic treatment of our Lord's life. It was published at Tours, A. D. 1874, 2 vols. 4to.

[3] *Osservazioni*, lib. I. c. 5, p. 21.

above the apex of the arch, and over the Christian monogram with *A* and *Ω*, thus, XISTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI.

The upper part represents the annunciation; the lower, the adoration. More angels than Gabriel are interested in this great mystery, and are come with him, as if desirous of looking into it. (I. Pet. i. 12.) Gabriel is twice represented (6 and 7) as flying from heaven, and as alighted and *standing* before the Virgin, with the same gesture, and in the same attitude and vestments as the figure in the fresco of St. Priscilla. The Virgin, too, is the same modest young girl seated in the same way, with left hand raised as before; while the Dove is now seen flying towards her, emblematic of the Holy Ghost coming upon her. On the garments of two of the angels is the mystic letter I, the initial of Jesus, the new name of God.

In the lower part, the Divine Child is seated on a throne, the star above, while Mary, Joseph, the Magi, the shepherds and angels are all adoring Him.[1] This is in the spirit and style of the earlier works of the Catacombs, and especially of the lower sarcophagus of the preceding plate. *The star over the child's head has eight points, and signifies the union of Heaven and earth, God and man, in the Incarnation.*

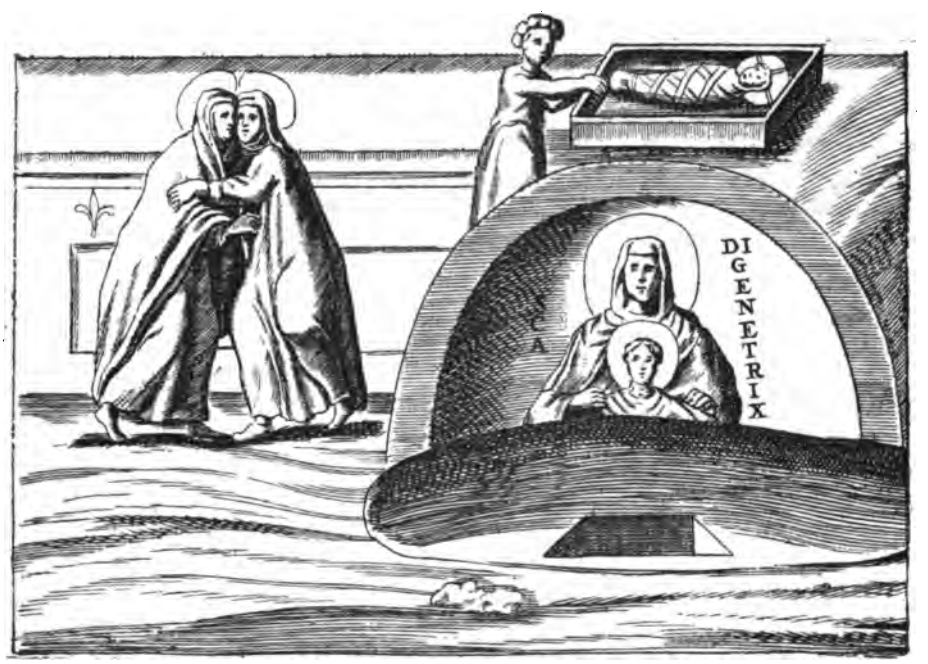



FIG. 88.—The Visitation. Madonna and Child. Fifth century.

[1] Ciampini. *Vet. Mon.*, Pars I., tab. 49, pp. 195-211, cap. v.

The next scene of the Nativity in order, is the visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, which is herewith presented from Bosio,[1] a later fresco from the cemetery of St. Valentinus, or Pope Julius. (See Fig. 88.)

I have omitted the painful scene of a supposed martyrdom, which accompanies this picture, said to be the only one in the Catacombs, but painted there after persecution had ceased, to remind the faithful what had been endured by their predecessors in the faith of Christ. From the inscription, it is evident that this production of Christian art dates after the council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, when the epithet Mother of God was applied to the Virgin Mary. And yet even here the Child is the prominent personage, and the foremost one, as appears from the salutation when the Babe danced in the womb of the Virgin; from the box in which He lies after delivery; and from the front place which He occupies in His mother's lap. The lily-cross is significant.

FIG. 89.—The Nativity. Fresco. Second century.

Later treatments of the subject, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, as cited and published by Fleury, are simple copies of this.

One of the very earliest representations of the Nativity itself is Fig. 89, from De Rossi.[2] The

[1] *Rom. Sott.* p. 579.

[2] *Images*, pp. 7 and 8. Plate I.

star to which the prophet points has the usual eight points, just as we so often see it in the Pagan monuments; and both here and there it is one and the same star of hope and promise to mankind of a Deliverer, coming from heaven to earth. Here it is over the Divine Child clinging to His mother's breast.

At first sight this would seem to be the Holy Family, very simply and naturally treated; but the roll in the left hand of the standing male figure, and the pointing with his right to the star, induce De Rossi and some other Christian antiquarians to think that it is the prophet Isaiah, foretelling the Nativity as recorded in the ninth and sixtieth chapters, and elsewhere, in his prophecy. The fresco is much defaced by the falling off of the plaster; but enough of it remains to determine the nature of the subject; and that it is treated in the same easy, graceful, and elegant style as its counterpart, the Annunciation, in the same cemetery. The Virgin is veiled in token of modesty; there is no thought as yet of a jewel, crown, or sceptre; she is no more than the pure, tender mother pressing her Divine Child to her bosom; and she is reverently regarding and laying to heart all that ancient prophecy is saying to her about this wonderful Child.

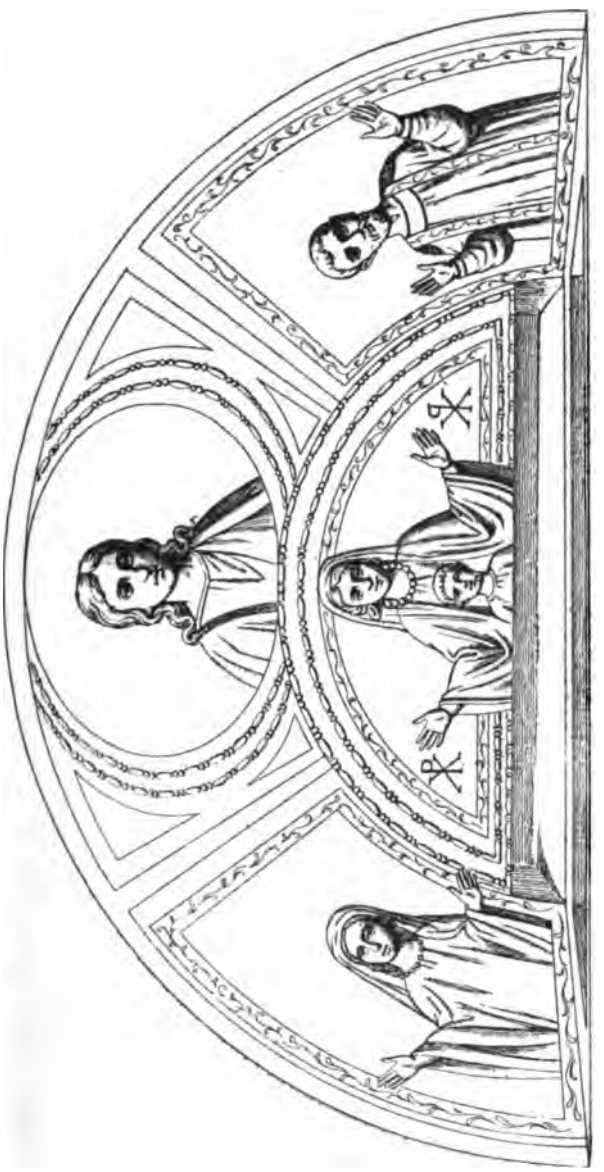


FIG. 90.—The jewelled Virgin and Child. Orantes. Fifth century.

But Fig. 90 is one of a

much later date from the cemetery of St. Agnes, later even, I am inclined to think, than the fourth century, where De Rossi places it;[1] because it is the Byzantine style, and the Virgin is jewelled. True, she is yet veiled; she is in the same praying attitude as the other two *Orantes;* the sacred monogram is on either side of her indicative of Christ; and the young face above may be a portrait of some member of the family buried there, but it may also be the young and Divine Christ Himself; yet this jewelled Virgin begins to look like a return to Paganism, from which Christianity had just escaped. Prophetical and typical Paganism is one thing; perverted and corrupt Paganism is another; and what jewels are doing on the neck of this poor and lowly maid, it is not easy to say, except that pride and wealth were now asserting their corrupting influence, and beginning to secularize and Paganize the holy simplicity of sacred things. The Church had now placed herself under the fostering care of the secular power, which was yet half-Pagan; what wonder is it that she degenerated with such frightful rapidity as to be almost overwhelmed by Mohammedanism, by reason of her dissensions, corruptions, and weakness. How absurd to trick out the Virgin Mary with a necklace, as if a little jewelry could add anything to her importance! And yet what must have been the state of things in the Church of that age, which must have required it, in order to secure her a becoming attention? Was the weakness borrowed from a distant Oriental Brahminism? or was it inherent in the Christian community itself. In either case, it was a departure from a former purity and simplicity. In plain terms, it was the first artistic attempt made to exalt the Christian Virgin into a Pagan goddess, after the council of Ephesus. Father Marchi's excessive antiquity of the subject is given up by Martigny, who says expressly that this St. Agnes Virgin is one of the first attempts of this type after the council of Ephesus.[2] No man has paid more attention to this subject of early and later Christian art as connected with doctrine than Charles Hemans, whose return to the Church of England is due to the careful study of the ancient Christian monuments; and he tells us, that "The definition of Ephesus respecting the Blessed Virgin was attended and followed by profound effects; in that city it was celebrated by illuminations, by exulting crowds, who, after the votes of the Council, led the fathers to their homes in triumph. Soon was added to the Angelic salutation (already, it seems, in devotional use,) the clause, 'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us,' remarkable inasmuch as it converts a simple memorial of the Annunciation into a prayer addressed to the highly-favoured one. In the range of Catacomb art, the figure of Mary in-

[1] *Images*, p. 20, plate vi.

[2] *Dic. des Ant. Chrét.* Art. *Vierge*, p. 659. Nous parait être un des premiers essais de ce type apres le concile d'Ephèse.

deed appears from an early date, but exclusively in relation to the Divine Child; as in two pictures of the Adoration of the Magi, where it may be referred to the second century, or, in one of them, to no later date than the beginning of the third, as published by De Rossi; and the earliest 'Madonna and Child,' apart from all historic grouping in the St. Agnes Catacombs, to which Marchi ascribes the highest antiquity, is regarded by Martigny as a first essay of that art-subject, raised into universal popularity through the decree of Ephesus, but later than that Council. Mary often appears herself in the act of prayer among these primitive representations; never with any attribute or circumstance that implies the directing of devotional regards towards herself." [1]

St. Ambrose, in his treatise on Virginity, simply holds up the Virgin as an example of maidenly piety; and St. Augustine says that the personal appearance of the Virgin Mary was not known, from whom He (Christ) was miraculously born without male intercourse, and without the corruption of child-birth. His language is in strict accord with that of the Gregorian Sacramentary, when it says in its collect for the festival of the Annunciation that she remained a pure, chaste virgin after conception and child-birth; but is not invoked as a mediatrix.[2] (*De Trin.* l. viii. c. 5.)

Two other frescoes published by De Rossi, of the second century, one from the cemetry of Domatilla, and the other from that of Peter and Marcellinus, represent the scene of the adoration of the Magi very simply, but in case of the former with *four* Magi, and in the latter only *two*, both of which are unusual, the number of Magi in all other cases being *three*. Who knows when the tradition as to these Magi originated? May not these two frescoes have been painted before that tradition? Or are they so made only for the symmetry of the picture?

[1] *A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy.* Pp. 202–3. London and Florence, 1866.

[2] Muratori, tom. II. p. 315. This is the collect as given in the *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, for the eighth kalends of April. "Veré dignum, &c., æterne Deus. Qui per beatæ Mariæ Virginis partum Ecclesiæ tuæ tribuisti celebrare mysterium, et inenarrabile sacramentum, in qua manet intacta castitas, pudor integer, firma constantia; quæ lætatur, quod Virgo concepit, quod Cæli Dominum castis portavit visceribus, quod Virgo edidit partum. O admirandam divinæ dispensationis operationem! Quæ virum non cognovit, et Mater est, et post filium Virgo est. Duobus enim gavisa est muneribus. Miratur, quod Virgo peperit, lætatur, quod Redemtorem Mundi edidit Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem, &c."

Here is positive statement as to the miraculous conception, &c., but not a trace of worship to the Virgin, or of invocation of her as mediatrix. But what is to be said of this modern collect of the *Missale Romanum*, for the festival of the Annunciation? "Deus, qui beátæ Mariæ Virginis utero verbum tuum, Angelo nuntiante, carnem suscipere voluisti; præsta supplicibus tuis; ut qui vere eam genetricem Dei credimus, ejus apud te intercessionibus adjuvemur. Per eumdem Dominum nostrum."

Here is a decided change, or rather addition, in the words of supplication for aid by the intercessions of the Virgin to God, through Jesus Christ.

Far away in the secluded valley of Argub, in Cappadocia, whither the persecuted Christians had retired to escape the violence of Diocletian, and excavated places of concealment in the mountain sides, the chapels and oratories counted by hundreds, contain pictures of Christian subjects; and among the rest there is one of the Virgin seated in a chair clad in blue, with veil and nimbus, holding the naked child in her lap, who has an open book in his little hand, and points with his right forefinger to some passage in it; while two angels hover over the bending figure of an aged man presenting a volume to the child. Another figure like a prophet stands behind the chair of the Virgin and Child, holding up his right forefinger towards heaven. It is published by Texier and Pullan, who say, "Until the end of the fifth century the figure of the Virgin was never represented except as accompanied by the infant Christ; and the iconography in the East is quite Egyptian." [1]

This agrees with what Bishop Münter says on the subject, in connexion with the portraiture of the Virgin, that no attempt was made at portraiture either of the Virgin or Child; but both were idealized. The traditionary portrait of St. Luke is unauthenticated. And besides, the artists of Christian antiquity may possibly have had Isis and Horus before them sometimes, in their representations of the Virgin and Child, without giving character to them.[2] R. Rochette confirms this view of the matter in his *Tableau des Catacombs.* (c. vi.) [3]

Now, Isis and Horus are always seated in a chair; and I have in my possession an antique little charm or amulet of this very subject, possibly to be worn round the neck, or to be hung up for worship; and the two look exactly like the Christian Mother and Child, even to the blue colour, still retained. It is about an inch and a half long, with a hole at the back of the neck for a string or chain. It is apparently of baked clay, and one of the cheap sort used by the common people of ancient Egypt. Fig. 91 is the fac-simile of an ancient bronze, in my possession, of the more usual style. The chair is gone.

On the head of Isis is the combined sun and moon, with a serpent's head issuing out of her forehead. Horus also has the serpent's head, emblematic of the Divine emanation or wisdom. These attributes of sun, and moon, and serpent, are never seen in early Christian art, in the treatment of the Mother and Child. They were essentially Pagan in a bad sense, and therefore excluded. In all other respects the treatment is the same, viz., that of holy maternity and the Incarnate God.

Count Caylus publishes, among other examples of Isis and Horus, this interesting variety, bearing obvious traces of Greek workmanship.[4]

[1] Byzantine Architecture, &c., pp. 41–2, pl. V.

[2] *Sinnbilder*, Zweit Heft. vi. 26–28.

[3] Paris, 1837.

[4] *Recueil*, &c., III. pl. ix. pp. 41–2.

FIG. 91.—Isis and Horus.

It is a beautiful intaglio of three-coloured agate, the peculiarities of which are the lotus flower on the head of the goddess and her divine son, instead of the usual serpent; and the termination of the chair in the form of the cross, or symbol of life. (See Fig. 92.) Is this Egyptian mother, too, meditating her son's conflict, suffering, and triumph, as she holds him before her, and gazes into his face? And is this cross meant to convey the idea of life through suffering, and conflict with Typho or Evil? It looks like it; and yet there is another Pagan type of Christ, of more marked significance and unusual clearness. (Fig. 93.)

It is an image of baked clay found at Babylon, and described by Sir R. K. Porter as three and a half inches high, bearing traces of glazing in colour.[1] But he does not say what kind of colour. It ought to be blue like the baked clay figures of Isis and Horus, and like the blue drapery which Christian art gives to the Virgin Mary. The Babylonians worshipped a goddess mother and a son, who was represented in pictures and in images as an infant in his mother's arms. Her name was Mylitta, the same as the Cyprian Venus. She was the mother of grace and mercy, the heavenly Dove, the hope of the world, the mediatrix; and hence called Aphrodite, or wrath-subduer,—she, who by her charms, could soothe the breast of angry Jove, and soften the most rugged spirits of gods or men. At Athens she was called Amarusia, or the mother of gracious acceptance; at Rome, Bona Dea, or the good goddess.

The Divine Son was Tammuz or Adonis, the same as Horus, and invested with all his father's attributes and glory, and identified with Him. This son, worshipped in his mother's arms, was a most complete type, both in name and character, of the promised Messiah. As Christ has the prophetic title of *Adonai*, or Lord, in the Old Testament, so was Tammuz called Adon or Adonis. He was

[1] *Travels in Persia*, &c., II. pl. 80, No. 3, p. 425.

FIG. 92.—Isis and Horus.

the same as Mithras, and worshipped as Mediator.[1] (Fig. 93.)

The Babylonian Mylitta was doubtless a derivation from the Hindu Lakshmi, the Lotus or blue-eyed Camala, the mother of the universe, goddess of prosperity and abundance, the consort or *sacti* of Vishnu, *i. e.*, the active energy of the preserving Power of the world. She is Ceres, Juno, Venus, all in one. Like Ceres she is the goddess of abundance; like Juno Lucina she presides over marriage, and is invoked for children; and like Venus she sprang from the foam of the sea, and became the consort of Vishnu.[2] She is represented in her husband's arms, of which there are many various examples. (Fig. 94.)

The Lotus is in one hand, and the other embraces her lord. Vishnu is the youthful god, like Apollo; he is here Narayana, and identified with the Spirit of God, holding in his hands the *Chank* and the *Chakra*, *i. e.*, the wreathed shell and the discus, the latter of which is aflame, and like the *fulmen* of Jupiter to hurl at the wicked. The *Chank* is the conch-shell once used as a trumpet in war. With his fore left hand he holds Lakshmi, and his right is giving a benediction.

Lakshmi is called prosperity, in the *Vishnu Purana;* and as Sri she is the sea-born goddess, the bride of Vishnu, the mother of the world, the eternal and imperishable; as Vishnu is all-pervading, so is she omnipresent. Vishnu is meaning; she is speech. Vishnu is understanding; she is intellect. He is righteousness; she is devotion. He is the creator; she is creation. . . . She, the mother of the world, is the creeping vine; and Vishnu is the tree round which she clings. She is the night; the

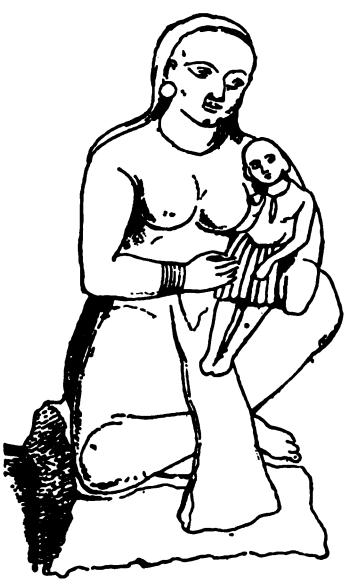


FIG. 93.—Mylitta and Tammuz.

[1] Hislop's *Two Babylons*, pp. 113–14, and 256–7. Fifth edition.

[2] Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 132–144, plate 11, No. 1.

FIG. 94.—Vishnu and Lakshmi, or Lakshmi-Narayana.

god who is armed with the mace and the discus is the day. He, the bestower of blessings, is the bridegroom; the lotus-throned goddess is the bride. Lakshmi is desire; Narayana, the master of the world, is covetousness. All that is male is Vishnu or Hari; Lakshmi is all that is female.

As a specimen of the devotion offered to this goddess throned in heaven, I give this from the *Vishnu Purana:* "I bow down to Sri, the mother of all beings, seated on her lotus throne, with eyes like full-blown lotuses, reclining on the breast of Vishnu. . . . The world is peopled by thee with pleasing or displeasing forms. Who else than thou, O goddess, is seated on that person of the god of gods, the wielder of the mace, *which is made up of sacrifice, and contemplated by holy ascetics?* From thy propitious gaze, O mighty goddess, men obtain wives, children, dwellings, friends, har-

vests, wealth. Health and strength, power, victory, happiness, are easy of attainment to those upon whom thou smilest. Thou art the mother of all beings, as the god of gods, Hari, is their father: and this world, whether animate or inanimate, is pervaded by thee and Vishnu. O thou who purifiest all things, forsake not our treasures, our granaries, our dwellings, our dependents, our persons, our wives; abandon not our children, our friends, our lineage, our jewels, O thou who abidest in the bosom of the god of gods. . . . The tongues of Brahma are unequal to celebrate thy excellence. Be propitious to me, O goddess, lotus-eyed, and never forsake me more."[1]

Colebrooke also gives a seven-fold invocation, which concludes thus: "I invoke the goddess who is endowed with the attributes of all the gods, who confers all happiness, who bestows abodes in all worlds for the sake of all people. I pray to that auspicious goddess for immortality and happiness."[2] Sir Wm. Jones in his hymn to Lakshmi says:

> "So name the Goddess from her Lotos blue,
> Or Camala, if more auspicious deem'd."[3]

And so a lotus-eyed goddess is a blue-eyed one.

This benignant Pagan mother of the world is the precise model of the Paganized Virgin Mary of the modern Latin Church; and the invocations addressed to both are much alike, as we shall soon see. And we shall also see this Virgin mother, this pure maid of Israel, this lowly spouse of the carpenter Joseph of Nazareth, rising like the goddess Lakshmi or Venus from the sea in her assumption, and seated on the same heavenly throne beside her Lord Christ, crowned a goddess and receiving the adoration of the saints and angels.

The proof of this will be given in its proper place, with another Hindu goddess sometimes identified with Lakshmi.

Meanwhile, let us trace this female cultus into Italy, and consider it under that form of worship specially paid to Juno Lucina, whose image is here reproduced from Count Caylus' collection.[4] Like the Babylonian Mylitta, it is of baked clay, and was found at Tarentum, A. D. 1774. (See Fig. 95.) Caylus suggests that it may be an *ex voto* offering to Juno Lucina, the goddess of marriage and childbirth, among the Greeks and Romans.

Dr. Von Döllinger tells us that, "Originally Juno was the female deity of nature in its widest extent, the deification of womanhood, woman in the sphere

[1] Wilson's *Trans.* pp. 54, and 78–9.
[2] *Works*, vol. xiii., p. 292.
[3] *Essays*, vol. I, pp. 179–80.
[4] *Recueil*, &c., III., plate lx., No. 1, p. 229.

FIG. 95.—Juno Lucina and Child.

of the divine, and therefore also her name of Juno was the appellative designation of a female genius or guardian spirit. Every wife had her own Juno, and the female slaves of Rome swore by the Juno of their mistresses; and as the genius of a man could be propitiated, so could also the Juno of a woman. The whole of a woman's life, in all its moments, from the cradle to the grave, was thus under the conduct and protection of this goddess, but especially her two chief destinations, marriage and maternity. Accordingly, the Roman women sacrificed to Juno Natalis on their birth-day, and observed in like manner the Matronalia in the temple of Juno Lucina, in commemoration of the institution of marriage by Romulus, and the fidelity of the ravished Sabine women. The goddess, as Fluonia, in common with Mena, presided over the purification of women, and was worshipped as Juga, Curitis, Domiduca, Unxia, Pronuba, or Cinxia, according to the several usages immediately concerning the bride, in the solemnization of marriage. As Ossipaga she compacted the bones of the child in its mother's womb; as Opigena she assisted mothers in labour; and as Lucina she brought the child into the light of day; and therefore when the time of birth approached, Lucina and Diana were invoked, and a table was spread with viands for the former."[1] As Matrona and Virginalis, too, Juno was the special protectress of females from the cradle to the grave. With Diana, she was the chaste and pure goddess. The month of June, originally called Junonius after her, was considered to be the most favorable period for marrying, and is still preferred by many. The sanctity and inviolability of marriage were especially dear to Juno, and all inchastity and inordinate love of sexual pleasures were hated by the goddess. A law of Numa ordained that no prostitute should touch the altar of Juno, or if she had done so, she must with dishevelled hair offer a female lamb to the goddess. In child-bed Juno Lucina was invoked to aid the labour of bringing the child to light, on which account she was like the Greek Artemis or Eileithyia, and sometimes identified with her. As Jupiter

[1] *Jew and Gentile*, II., pp. 48–9.

was king of heaven and of the gods, so Juno was queen of both, the wife and sister of Jupiter.

> Ast ego, quae Divum incido Regina, Jovisque
> Et soror et conjux, una cum gente tot annos
> Bella gero. Et quisquam numen Junonis adoret
> Præterea, aut supplex aris imponat honorem?[1]

As queen of heaven and the chaste or immaculate protectress of women, Juno was substituted by the Church of the middle ages for the historic and lowly Jewish maiden, the mother of Christ, as she is represented in the New Testament and in early Christian art. It was a shrewd device thus to gain the ascendancy in all social and political life by securing the fervour, affection, and constancy of the women, who even yet are the most enthusiastic devotees of the worship of the Virgin Mary as Juno Lucina, in all countries where the Latin Church is established. Dante twice alludes to this, as when he says in the *Purgatory:*

> "With weary steps and slow
> We pass'd; and I attentive to the shades,
> Whom piteously I heard lament and wail;
> And, midst the wailing, one before us heard
> Cry out, "O blessed Virgin!" as a dame
> In the sharp pangs of child-bed; and "How poor
> Thou wast," it added, "witness that low roof
> Where thou didst lay thy sacred burden down."[2]

And again, in the *Paradise*, the poet says:

> "In such composed and seemly fellowship,
> Such faithful and such fair equality,
> In so sweet household, Mary at my birth
> Bestow'd me, call'd on with loud cries."[3]

In Dante's day, then, it was customary to invoke the Virgin Mary in child-birth, just as Juno Lucina was invoked by the Pagan ancestors of the Italian people; so that Mary merely took the place of Juno. I doubt not that the custom still prevails.

Now, to Christianize Paganism is one thing, but thus to Paganize Christianity is to give up a fact for a fiction, and to exalt a mere mortal into the rank of the Divine. This deifying of mortals is the essence of all Paganism the world over. It is bald pantheism, a thing of error bitterly denounced by the Roman Pontiff in

[1] *Æneidos.* I., 46–50. [2] Canto XX. [3] Canto XV.

FIG. 96—Devaki and Krishna. The Hindu Madonna and Child.

his recent Syllabus, and yet essentially involved in the whole idea and cultus of the Virgin Mary as Mediatrix and Queen of heaven. For if she can hear and help every woman to a husband or in child-birth, she must, in some sense, have Divine qualities and attributes.

Besides, this exaltation of the human into the Divine destroys the whole mystery of the Incarnation. A goddess could bring forth a divine son; but how could a mere mortal do it? Therefore a goddess is the logical necessity of Pagan rationalism or pantheism; but a human mother—a pure virgin of our own race—is the higher and more consoling conception and mystery of the Christian Faith. And all the Madonnas of Pagan idolatry are alike in this respect,—all are goddesses;—none are human.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable examples of this pantheistic transformation of a woman into a goddess is that of Devaki, the mother of Krishna, exhibited in the annexed plate, (Fig. 96,) which I here reproduce from Moor's Hindu Pantheon, for the special study of such fastidious and delicate Christian females as either cannot or will not have children, or when they have them make little or no use of the natural means of nourishment, but resort to gutta percha and the bottle.[1] Major Moor says of it, that it is an exact outline of a beautiful and highly finished picture which easily reminds us of the representations by Papists of Mary and the infant Jesus. From the glory that encircles her head, which, as well as that of the infant, is green, edged with gold, Moor imagines very justly that she who is nursing KRISHNA is his mother, who is sometimes described as YESUDA, his foster-mother, to whose care VASUDEVA conveyed him to escape the cruelty of his uncle KANSA, the Herod or the Pharoah of Hindu mythology. The three trays of offerings, like the three Magi, convey the idea of Krishna's reign over the three great kingdoms of nature, viz., the vegetable, the animal, and the intellectual; the tray of dishes, bottles, and cubes, contains food, poison, and *Amrita* or ambrosia, symbolical of life, death, and immortality, the cubes specially signifying the Trinity in unity, of which Krishna forms an integral part. The tree behind the Mother and Child, consisting of three branches, is not without its significance, as we shall see when we come to consider Jonah and his gourd, or Buddha and his *nirwana* under a similar tree. The garden seen through the open window is a symbol of the Paradise which Krishna came to restore. The female worshipper typifies the Church of God in all lands and among all nations, offering adoration and homage to the incarnate God, but in this instance, to the mother also. Were she really divine as her nimbus intimates, the worship would be proper and right; but being only a mortal, it is

[1] Plate 59, and pp. 197–8.

idolatrous. The animals remind us of the presence of cattle in the manger scene of Christ's nativity.

Devaki was one of the eleven children of Devaka; and her husband was Vasudeva, who also married her other six sisters. On the birth of Vasudeva, the gods foresaw that the divine being would take a human form in his family, and thereupon they sounded with joy the drums of heaven. And when the portion of Vishnu had become incorporate upon earth in the womb of Devaki, the planetary bodies moved in brilliant order in the heavens, and the seasons were regular and genial. No person could bear to gaze upon Devaki, from the light that invested her; and those who contemplated her radiance felt their minds disturbed. The gods, invisible to mortals, celebrated her praises continually from the time that Vishnu was contained in her person. "Thou," said the divinities, "art that Prakriti, infinite, and subtile, which formerly bore Brahma in its womb; then wast thou the goddess of speech, the energy of the creator of the universe, and the parent of the Vedas. Thou, eternal being, comprising in thy substance the essence of all created things, wast identical with the creation; thou wast the parent of the triform sacrifice, becoming the germ of all things; thou art sacrifice, whence all fruit proceeds; *thou art the wood, whose attrition engenders fire.* Thou art light, whence day is begotten; thou art humility, the mother of the true wisdom; thou art kingly policy, the parent of order; thou art modesty, the progenitrix of affection; thou art desire, of whom love is born; thou art contentment, whence resignation is derived; thou art intelligence, the mother of knowledge; thou art patience, the parent of fortitude; thou art the heavens, and the stars are thy children; and from thee does all that exists proceed. Thou art wisdom, ambrosia, light, and heaven. Thou hast descended upon earth for the preservation of the world. Have compassion upon us, O goddess, and do good unto the world. Be proud to bear that deity by whom the universe is upheld."[1]

From this account of Devaki, and her qualities and attributes like those of Lakshmi, and the worship paid her, we see how the Hindu pantheism has exalted a mere mortal into a goddess, precisely as the modern Romish Church has exalted the Virgin Mary.

The *Apocryphal History of the Nativity of Mary and the Infant Saviour*, thus represents the Virgin when a vestal at the Temple of Jerusalem; "her face was shining as snow, and its brightness could hardly be borne; angels brought food to her; she was the most humble, pure, charitable, and perfect of all; was never angry, never uttered a slander; her words were full of grace, and the truth

[1] Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 436, and 500–3.

of God was ever on her lips; her only nourishment was angelic food; her conversation was with the angels; the sick were healed by a touch of her hand; and the poor were fed by her bounty." And this is the authority which certain Romish archæologists, such as Le Blant and Martigny, bring forward to establish as early a cultus of the Virgin Mary as possible. Le Blant expressly admits that although this story of Mary as a vestal virgin at the Temple is not found in the New Testament, yet it has been received as genuine by a great number of ecclesiastical writers, such as Nicephorus, Gregory of Nyssa, John Damascenus, Cedrenus, Gregory of Nicomedia, &c.[1]

Cardinal Bona admits that the precise date of the worship of the Virgin Mary cannot be shown; for he says, "That this *cultus* has always flourished in the Church, and the date of its origin cannot be fixed. By no Papal decree, or sanction of council, and by no custom can its introduction be ascertained; but the faithful have always, in every time and place, been accustomed to venerate the Queen of Heaven with the highest honour."[2] She is, in the hymn cited by Bona,

> "Virgo Regina polorum;
> Tu nostræ es gloria stirpis,
> Tu lux, tu vita, decusque,
> Hominum spes certa, tuumque,
> Observant omnia nutum, &c."

Now, a Virgin Queen of all heaven, with light and darkness, summer and winter, and all things at her disposal, the glory of our posterity, the light, life, splendour, and sure hope of mankind, whose nod all things observe, is something more than human; having the qualities of a Pagan goddess, a Pagan goddess she must be. Such, in fact, she has at last been decreed, on the eighth day of December, A. D. 1854, by the present aged Pontiff of Rome, Pius IX. The reaffirmation of this extraordinary decree, ten years later, is this, "In order that God may accede more easily to our and your prayers, and to those of all His faithful servants, let us employ in all confidence, as our Mediatrix with Him, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, who has 'destroyed all heresies throughout the world, and who, the most loving mother of us all, is very gracious, and full of mercy . . . . allows herself to be entreated by all, shows herself most clement towards all, and takes under her pitying care all our necessities with most ample affection,' (*St. Bernard Serm. de duodecim prærogativis,*

[1] *Inscrip. Chret. de la Gaule*, II. pp. 262–3. The story is also told in the *Protevangelion.*

[2] "Semper Deiparæ cultum in ecclesia viguisse, ut cætera desint argumenta, ex hoc potissimum conjicere licet, quod nullum ejus principium ostendi potest. Nam nec Pontificis alicujis decreto, aut concilii sanctione, nec consuetudine aliqua, cujus sciatur origo, introductus fuit, sed omni ætate, omni tempore semper fideles cœli Reginam summo honore prosequi, et venerari consueverunt."—*Div. Psal.* p. 471, c. 12, 3. *Opera Omnia*, Aut. 1735

B. V. M. &c.;) and, sitting as queen at the right hand of her only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in a golden vestment, clothed round with various adornments, there is nothing which she cannot obtain from Him." [1]

The late Romish archbishop of Baltimore, the Most Rev. Martin John Spalding, D.D., says of "our immaculate mother in heaven," that by the very fact of the incarnation of Christ, she became *our* mother also, just as Devaki, by the incarnation of Vishnu in Krishna, became the mother of all. "What a privilege," he says, "to have a mother in heaven; and so tender, so powerful, and so sweet a mother! Christ, who denied her nothing on earth, will surely deny her nothing in heaven! Whatever we ask through Mary, with earnest and persevering faith, we shall most certainly obtain, if it be conducive to our salvation. . . . Our faith and devotion should be stimulated by the fact that she is the chosen patroness of our beloved country, for the welfare and prosperity of which, both temporal and spiritual, she will not fail to raise her immaculate hands before the throne of her Divine Son." [2]

I cite some rhapsodies in praise of the Virgin, from Cardinal Bona, equal to any, and much like those of the Hindus in praise of Lakshmi and Devaki. Thus St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, says, in the exordium of one his sermons on the Virgin, "If you can hold the earth in the hollow of your hand, or circumscribe the ocean with a cord; if the heavens can be contained in a cubit, or the host of stars be numbered; if the drops of rain, or blades of grass, or sands of the earth, or the force of winds can be estimated, then it might be possible for us to handle this great argument."

The Abbot Arnoldus Bonævallis says, "Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, I should not be able to say aught that is worthy of the glory of the holy and always Virgin Mary, Mother of Christ, for there is no instrument qualified for sounding her praises, and dull is the finest sensibility."

In one of the homilies of St. Amedus on the Virgin, this passage occurs: "Every holy and reasonable mind, investigating the secret mysteries of heaven and distinguishing between the orders of superior spirits, finds that she, the blessed among women, is first after the Redeemer; that she is full of grace, who brought forth God without losing her virginity. This Blessed Virgin, brighter than all light, sweeter than all sweetness, higher than all might, illumines the whole world, and by the persuasiveness of her pre-eminent suavity, renews all things; she transcends

[1] *Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius IX.* Given at Rome Dec. 8th, 1864, on the tenth anniversary of the Dogmatic Definition of the Immaculate Conception of B. V. M. p. 33. Archbishop Spalding's trans. Baltimore, 1865.

[2] *Pastoral Letter*, p. 21. Baltimore, 1865.

in power and majesty the ranks of cherubim and seraphim. She is therefore second only to God, who has made her worthy to be honoured with praises, and who has exalted the lowly to so great a dignity, *than whom the omnipotence of God Himself cannot create a greater.* This is the woman promised of old in Paradise, who by Divine power should bruise the serpent's head. This illustrious, this blessed among women, was foretold before all others by the ancient fathers, and typified by the Fire and the Bush, the Rod and its blossom, the dew and the fleece. She is the mystic ark of the covenant, the Golden Mercy-seat, Jacob's Ladder, the Rod of Jesse, the Throne of Solomon, the Bow of the Covenant, the Gate of Paradise. She is the Fountain that waters the whole earth, the Dawn that precedes the True Sun. She is the health (salus) of all, the reconciler (conciliatrix) of the whole world, the inventress of grace, the generatrix of life, the mother of salvation. She is the Restorer of our first parents, the Renewer of their posterity, the true Mother of salvation, the true Mother of the living, the Solace of the despairing, the Comfort of the miserable, the Refuge of the afflicted, *the only hope of sinners.* In her is all the grace of the way and the truth; in her is all the hope of life and of virtue."

> "Sola fuit mulier, patuit quæ janua letho,
> Et qua vita redit, sola fuit mulier."
>
> "The woman who alone unfolded death's dark door,
> The woman who alone did life and light restore."

"Under her shade he may find rest who turns aside from the heat of the passions, shelter from the oppression of the times, and stillness from toil and tumult."

It is perplexing to one unaccustomed to Pagan theology, to understand the mysterious possibility of assigning to one poor lowly woman, saintly indeed, but finite, the whole care and charge of the entire universe, and all knowledge of past, present, and future events, as it is done in this extraordinary passage from one of St. Bernard's sermons, (*de Pentecost,*) as cited by Bona: "She as a most faithful Mediatrix in the court of Heaven attends to the business of all in every age, she who alone is capable of managing and ruling all ages, and who by her abilities transacts the business of all ages. . . . . All that are in heaven and hell, all that have lived before us, we who now live, and all that come after us to future generations, look to Mary as a Mediatrix, as the Ark of God, as the Cause of things, as the Negotiatrix of the ages. They who are in heaven, look to Her for refreshment; and they who are in hell, that they may be restored; the faithful Prophets who have gone before, that they may be found of Her; and they who come after, that they may be glorified. Thus all generations call thee Blessed, Mother of life, Mistress

of the world, Queen of Heaven. All generations, I say, for thou hast begotten the life and glory of all generations. In thee the angels find their joy, the righteous find grace, and sinners eternal pardon. Deservedly the eyes of every creature look to thee, for in thee, and through thee, and by thee, the kind hand of the Omnipotent has renewed whatever He has created."

And this is the pure milk drawn from the Virgin's breasts, rather than from the Word of God; for Bona distinctly asserts that it was St. Bernard's signal privilege to suck her breasts. ("Lac merum loquitur, quod ab uberibus Virginis insigni privilegio suxit." *Div. Psal.*, c. xii., 1 and 2.)

Rudolphus Ardens thus exhorts the votaries of Mary: "If, therefore, my brethren, any malignant spirit molests us, if the flesh restrains us, if the world opposes us, let us look to Mary, let us fly to Mary, let us cry to Mary. *She alone is our advocate with God*, the adjudicatress with Christ in the redemption of mankind, the height of our joy, the sweetness of believing souls, the hope and anchor of Christians. She is the ark of sanctification which contains the heavenly manna, its capacity holding Him whom nothing else can hold, the Heaven of Him who made heaven, the Receptacle of Divinity. She is the Fountain of light which enlightens every man, the rising of the sun which knows no setting, the well of ever-living water, the Good and the Joy of human kind, the source of purity and of piety, the door of penitence, the fountain marked with the sign of the whole Trinity, the destroyer of all heretical wickedness. She is the ship of the merchant bringing his goods from afar, the mother of clemency and virtue, the flower of the bush that has no thorn, the solace of the afflicted, the avenger of the oppressed, the friend of the destitute, who always embraces Christians in her arms. She is the light of the faithful, the nourisher of Him who feeds all, and the container of Him who holds all; the Bush burning yet not consumed; the restorer of Adam; the redemption of Eve; the mirror of chastity; the exemplar of virginity; the temple not made with hands, that is, not of this creation, by whom all things are reduced to unity and charity. She is the shield of all who fight against enemies, visible and invisible, by whose aid Christian princes have so often triumphed over barbarous nations. Be therefore our protectress, most Blessed Virgin; hear the prayers of thy servants who cry to thee day and night; deprecate *thy* only begotten Son for the transgressions of *thy* numerous children, so that through *thee* we may be accepted of Him who wast given to us. May thy integrity excuse before Him the fault of our corruption, and thy humility so pleasing to God procure the pardon of our pride and vanity. May thy abundant charity cover the multitude of our sins, and thy glorious abundance bestow upon us a multitude of merits. O our Queen, our Mediatrix, our Advocate, reconcile us to thy Son. Lo, I fall pros-

trate before thee, O Blessed One, revealer of grace, mother of salvation; most humbly do I prostrate myself before thee, that thou wouldst obtain for me the blotting out of my sins, that thou wouldst COMMAND the cleansing of the iniquity of my doings, that thou wouldst make me to love the glory of thy virtue above all things, and reveal to me the fulness of thy Son's delights; that thou wouldst grant me grace to confess and defend the true faith of thy Son; grant that I may cleave to God and to thyself, serve thy Son and thee, be made like my Lord and thee. To Him as my Maker, to thee as the Mother of my Maker; to Him as the Lord of Powers, to thee as the handmaid of the Lord of all; to Him as God, to thee as the Mother of God, I pray. Give ear, and by the grace which thou hast found and the prerogative which thou hast deserved, grant my petition, and disappoint not my hope. To thee I fly as the only comfort of my heart, that through thine intercession, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, may make me a partaker of His glory, who through thy agency wast made a partaker of human sorrow and infirmity."

And these are not Brahmins sounding the praises of Lakshmi or Devaki, and making invocations to them as mediatresses; nor are they Babylonian priests adoring Mylitta, or Egyptian ones worshipping Isis; nor yet Greek and Roman votaries of Ceres, or Juno, or Venus; but they are learned and so-called Christian men, who have thus exalted the Virgin Mary into a veritable goddess and queen of heaven like any one of these. The translation of the passages above given from Cardinal Bona, can be verified by the reader on consulting the original.[1]

And what is most lamentable about these essentially Pagan and pantheistic rhapsodies and blasphemies, is, that they are now imposed as articles of faith on all the members of the Latin Church, under the pains and penalties of eternal damnation, ever since the Pontifical decree of December 8th, 1854, and its reaffirmation in the Encyclical and Syllabus issued ten years afterwards. It is only a choice of errors, when men of sense and intelligence prefer scientific scepticism, or even materialistic atheism, to such pantheistic mysticism as underlies the whole doctrine of Mary as Mediatrix and Queen of Heaven, and of the Roman Pontiff as God's infallible representative or personated power on earth, in both Church and State.

The earliest and only Christian father who seems to give any hint of the subject of Mary as an advocate and mother of God, out of which modern ingenuity has made a mediatrix and a goddess, is Irenæus, who flourished in the latter half of the second century, who runs this parallel between Eve and Mary: "Just as Eve was led astray by the word of an angel, so that she fled from God when she had transgressed His word; so did Mary, by an angelic communication, receive the

[1] *Div. Psal.* c. XII. 3 and 4 of paragraph 2.

glad tidings that she should produce (*portaret*) God, being obedient to His word. And if the former did disobey God, yet the latter was persuaded to be obedient to God, in order that the Virgin Mary might become the patroness (*advocata*) of the Virgin Eve. And thus, as the human race fell into bondage to death by means of a virgin, so is it rescued by a virgin; virginal disobedience having been balanced in the opposite scale by virginal obedience."[1] He whom Mary was the instrument of bringing into the world was God in one sense, and man in another; and Mary was only Eve's advocate or helper, in the sense of making up her deficiency, both of them being finite and mortal women alike.

For Irenæus says in another place: "He, therefore, the Son of God, our Lord, being the Word of the Father, and the Son of man, since He had a generation as to His human nature from Mary—who was descended from mankind, and who was herself a human being—was made the Son of God."[2] This is emphatic and distinct enough as to Mary's advocacy and motherhood of God.

About the year of our Lord 390, St. Basil formed a small sect or society of female devotees for the special-worship of the Virgin Mary, who met on certain days, and made to her offerings of cakes called *collyrida*, *i. e.*, thin cakes well kneaded, of a triangular shape, as idolatrous Israel did in the time of Jeremiah, (vii. 18,) when the women kneaded their dough to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven; and this Christian female sect was hence called Collyridians. Their existence was short. The ceremonies practised at their meetings were considered idolatrous, and were reprimanded by the orthodox clergy.[3] Already was Mary beginning to be regarded as something more than human.

No wonder, then, that remonstrance was made. Anastasius, priest and friend of Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople, one day, in the year 428, or thereabouts, declared in a sermon, "Let no man call Mary the Mother of God, for she was a woman, and it is impossible that God should be born of a human creature." This utterance gave great offence, and produced a commotion among the orthodox both of the clergy and laity, who had always taught and believed that Jesus Christ was God, in no way separate as a man from Divinity; and that Jesus Christ, the God-man, was born of the Virgin Mary. Nestorius took sides with his priest against the people, a bold and unusual thing for a Bishop to do, in maintaining, as it is alleged, the two-fold personality as well as two-fold nature of Christ, instead of the orthodox belief in the two natures being joined together in but one person; and so he said that Mary should rather be called *Christotokos* than *Theotokos*. St.

[1] *Adv. Hæres*, V. c. 19, 1.

[2] *Adv. Hæres.* III. c. XIX. 3.

[3] Ducange, *Collyrida*. Texier and Pullan, p. 42.

Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, exposed and refuted the reputed mistake of Nestorius; and the council of Ephesus, summoned in A. D. 431, by the joint Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian III. with the concurrence and coöperation of the Bishop of Rome, Celestine I., condemned as a heresy the teaching of Nestorius, and he was banished, first to Antioch, and then to Africa. He was harshly and unfairly dealt with. His expressions were perhaps no more than exaggerations into which he may have been betrayed in the heat of controversy, rather than denials of the truths which they seemed to contradict. He steadily disavowed the more odious opinions which were imputed to him; he repeatedly professed his willingness to admit the term *Theotokos*, provided it were guarded against abuses. The controversy more than once seemed on the point of being settled, but pride of conquest, or unwillingness to concede, and personal animosities, on both sides, prevented. The court of Theodosius was against Nestorius, partly influenced by Cyril's money, partly by Pulcheria whom Nestorius had offended, and partly by dread of the monks and the populace.[1] The wrong done to Nestorius must be laid to the charge of the secular or lay power of the State, rather than to the clergy and the Council of Ephesus. The Council was chiefly concerned to maintain the orthodox faith, and declared that it was "the real and inseparable union of the two natures of Christ in One Person, and that the human nature which Christ took of the Holy Virgin, never subsisted separately from the Divine Person of the Son of God." And this still remains the orthodox faith of Christendom proper; or as Bishop Pearson says, "We must acknowledge that the Blessed Virgin was truly and properly the mother of our Saviour. And so she is frequently styled the Mother of Jesus in the language of the Evangelists, and by Elizabeth particularly, the *mother of her Lord*, as also by the general consent of the Church; because He that was so born of her was God, the *Deipara*, which being a compound title begun in the Greek Church, was resolved into its parts by the Latins; and so the Virgin was plainly named the *Mother of God*."[2]

But out of all this, or in spite of it, one can hardly say which, the cultus of the Virgin at length took possession of the whole Eastern Church in the eighth century; and in the Western Church we find a special office, consisting of seven canonical hours, and in a form which had hitherto been used for the worship of Almighty God alone, was instituted among the Benedictines, A. D. 1056, which was soon adopted by the regular clergy, and was made generally obligatory by the canons of the Council of Claremont, A. D. 1096. Pope Urban II. decreed that the

[1] Robertson's *Ch. Hist.*, I. pp. 450-57.

[2] *Exposition of the Creed*, I. p. 218. Oxford, 3d Ed. 1847.

hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary should be daily sung, and more solemnly observed on Sabbath days.[1]

Cardinal Bona claims for this office of the Virgin a far more ancient date than the above, *i. e.*, the time of Gregory II., A. D. 715.[2] And both Martene and Johnson assert that the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was established as early as A. D. 694, when the Council of Toledo fixed the date of its celebration on the eighth of December instead of the eighteenth. This of course implies an earlier celebration, although Martene says that St. Ildephonsus, Bishop of Toledo, was its reputed author.[3]

Sixtus IV., A. D. 1476 and 1483, issued two bulls to quiet the dissensions of the Church occasioned by the fierce controversy of the Franciscans and Dominicans on the subject of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, to the effect that the new office composed by Leonard de Negoralis in honour of the Virgin might be used; and indulgences were granted to all such as celebrated it or assisted at its celebration; and they who asserted that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was false or heretical, or that it was a sin to celebrate this office of the Virgin, were condemned: while all such as contended about it, one way or the other, were excommunicated, until the whole matter in controversy should be settled by the Church of Rome and the Apostolical See. The office of the Virgin spread into England and was used in the time of Anselm, A. D. 1102–8; and it became part of the Canon law in the time of Archbishop Mepham, A. D. 1328.[4] So, too, it spread into other countries, the Church of Lyons, Irenaeus' Church, using it as early as A. D. 1136, when it became part of the canon law.

The Council of Trent did not settle the long and fierce controversy in the Latin Church about the Immaculate Conception, but merely re-affirmed or renewed the decrees of Sixtus IV. Here is the declaration of that Council, as cited from the first Aldine edition of its acts: *Declaret tamen hæc sancta Synodus, non esse suæ intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto, ubi de peccato originali agitur, beatam et immaculatam virginem Mariam, Dei Genitricem; sed Xysti Papæ Quarti, sub pœnis in eis constitutionibus quas innovat.*[5]

And so it has been reserved for this nineteenth century of boasted enlightenment and pusillanimous Churchmanship to witness the shameful and blasphemous spectacle of the Roman Pontiff declaring and defining this Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, in boldest effrontery, and in the face of centuries of opposition,

[1] Martene *De Ant. Monach Rit.*, II. c. XII. tom. IV, p. 82.
[2] *Div. Psal.*, c. 12, 2, 2.
[3] Johnson's *Canons*, II., p. 346.
[4] *De Rit*, IV., c. 2, 15, tom. iv. *Canons*, II., p. 347. Oxford, 1851.
[5] *Canones*, &c., Aldus, Romæ, MDLXIV.

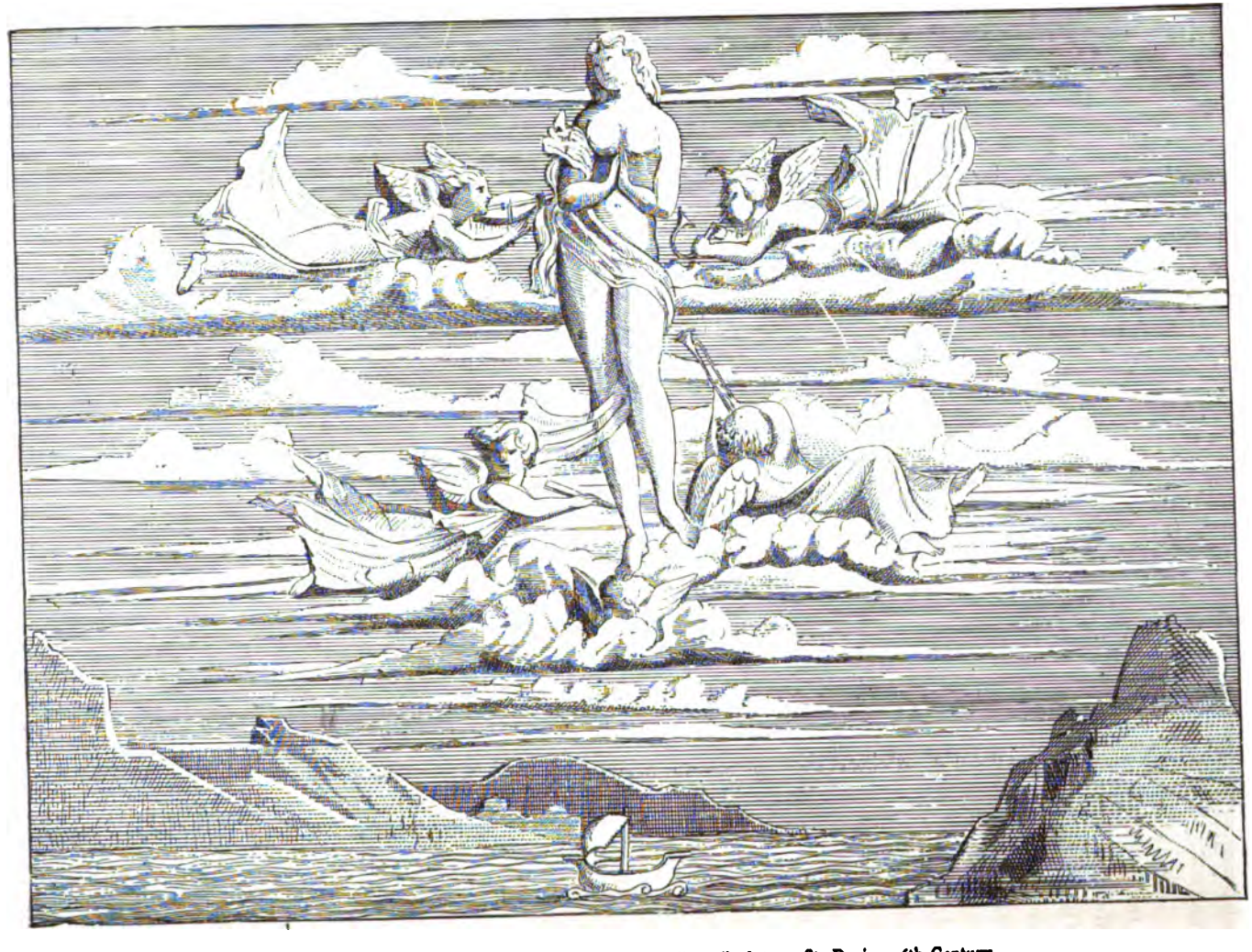


FIG. 97.—Assumption of the Virgin as Venus Aphrodite. Sculpture, St. Denis. 16th Century.

whereby a mere woman is exalted into the rank of Divinity, and the wife of Joseph made a goddess and the mother of God, like Devaki, or Mylitta, or Venus.

M. Didron publishes the exact drawing of a sculpture at the Church of St. Denis, France, of the sixteenth century, representing the assumption of the Virgin Mary as Venus rising from the sea into heaven.[1] It is here exactly reproduced. This is to Paganize Christianity, and not to Christianize Paganism. The assumption or the translation of the Virgin bodily into heaven is entirely unknown to the Primitive Church, and is nowhere contained in the Bible; and it only makes its appearance in Mediæval art about the time when the idolatrous veneration for Mary had culminated, that is, about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.[2] It is an article of faith in the Latin Church, notwithstanding its utter lack of foundation in truth. Any one curious to know how the subject has been treated by Mediæval Christian art, is referred to Mrs Jameson's excellent work on the "Legends of the Madonna."

The assumption into heaven is followed by the coronation of the Virgin, unknown to primitive Christian literature and art, but holding an equally conspicuous place in the literature and art of the middle ages with the assumption. As this coronation implies co-equality and co-operation with the Holy Trinity on the part of Mary, and is the acme of all Pagan idolatry, in common with that which worships images of the Virgin and of Christ,[3] it may be well to compare some of the oldest Hindu representations of the subject with the Romish, and see how complete the resemblance is.

Buddha (Fig. 98) is the symbol and incarnation of all Divine wisdom and intelligence; he sits on his lotus-throne, in profound meditation, within a canopy and glory surmounted by winged angels, with the crescent moon or *Yoni* marked on his forehead, indicative of the female principle and power, while the magic sign of the cross is on the palm of his left hand, symbolical of life and its perpetual reproduction. It is the enthronement of this female principle in Buddha that looks like the coronation of the same thing in the heavens of the Latin Church, the only difference consisting in the use of symbols in the one case, and of the actual woman in the other.

We have seen something like Fig. 99 before, in the androgynous Brahma-Maya of the first chapter. This is essentially the same, the male and female principles

[1] *Paganisme dans L'Art Chrétien*, p. 12–13. Paris, 1853. *Icon, Chrét., Gr. and Lat.*, p. 288. Also Piper's *Myth.*, p. 157.

[2] Didron's *Paganisme*, &c., p. 12.

[3] Firmissime assero Imagines Christi, ac Deiparæ semper Virginis, nec non aliorum Sanctorum habendas, et retinendas, esse, atque debitum honorem, ac venerationem impertiendam. Form of oath, &c., *Lib. Symb.* I., p. 100. Streitwolf et Klener. Gottingen, 1846.

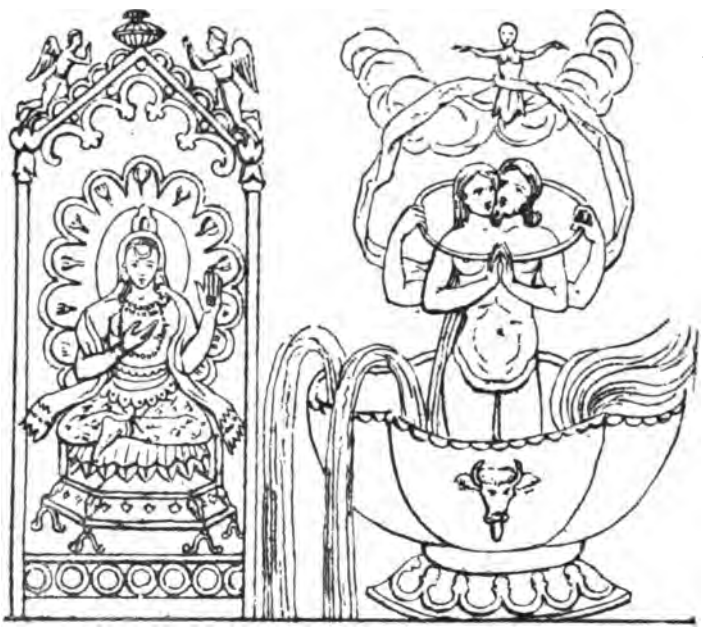


Fig. 98.—Buddha.



Fig. 99.—Androgynous Deity.

of the universe incarnate, or brought from heaven to earth, and again transferred from earth to heaven. It is the whole manifestation of life and the means of its production. The androgynous being, who is either human or divine, stands in the vase of the world, flames issuing from one side, and water spouting from the other, fire and water being the two essential elements of life; the circle of deity is around them; and over all floats the Great Mother spreading the veil of creation of the heavens above them, and blessing the nuptials with hands outstretched in the form of the cross.[1] I admit that the union here is more that of real husband and wife than a mystical spiritual union, such as that which subsists between Christ and His Church; but confessedly, the physical occupation of the same seat in heaven with Christ on the part of Mary, looks as if the Latin Church regarded her actual presence there as necessary to all the life, joy, and prosperity of the world. If not in the same precise way, it is still the same essential enthronement and co-operation of the female principle and power as characterized all Paganism the world over.

Fig. 100 is the Papal representation of the matter, the exaltation of the Virgin to the same throne with Christ, and the union blessed by her coronation. Both are within the circle of Deity; both have the Divine glory round their heads; both are equally adored by standing and prostrate saints in heaven; and the union, mystical indeed, must be traced back to the old Pagan notion of a goddess mother,

[1] *Religions de L'Antiquite*, vol. I. pp. 270–1, and plate XIII.

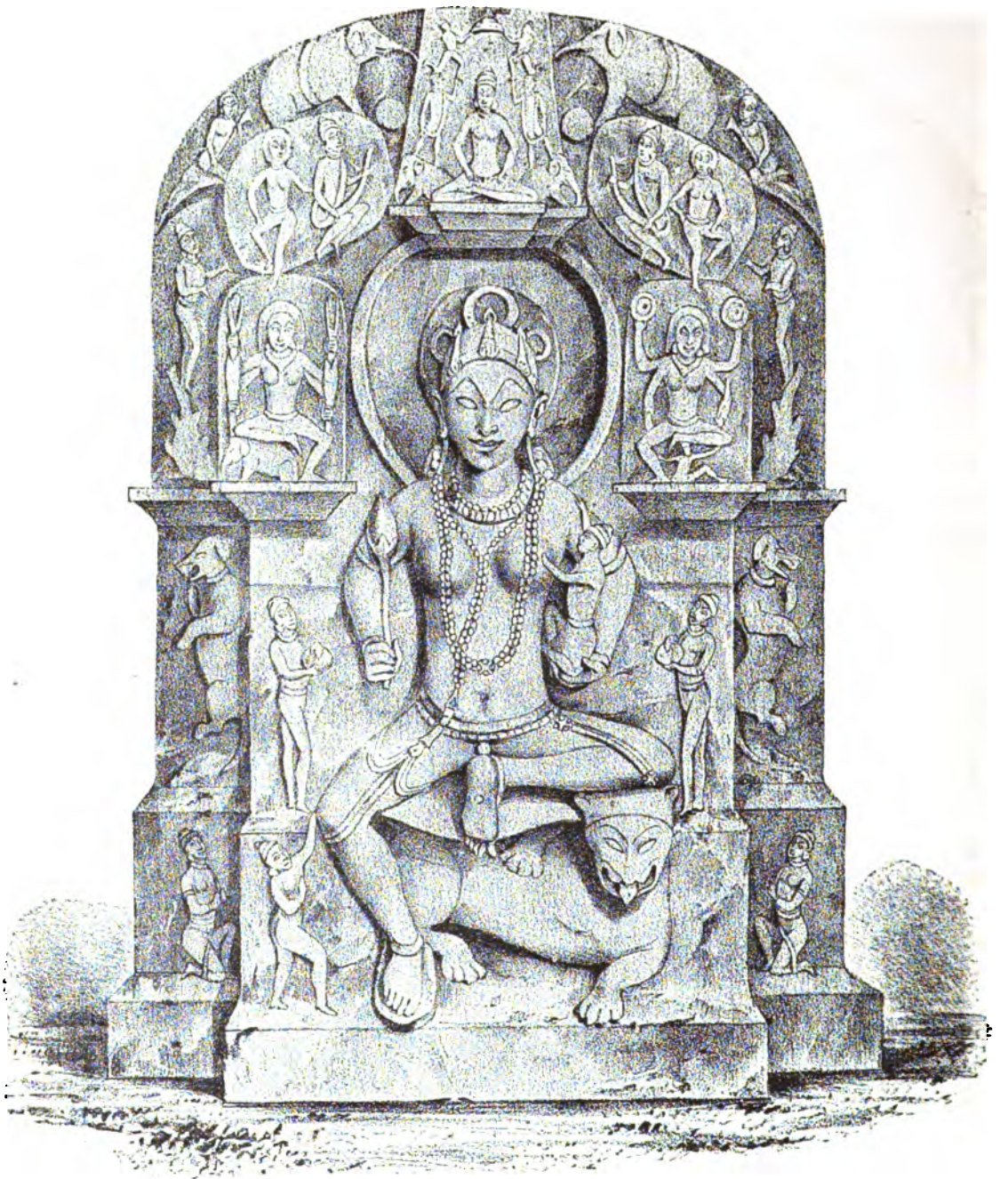


FIG. 101.—Coronation of Bhavani.

FIG. 100.—Coronation and Adoration of Mary. Rome, 13th and 14th centuries.

wife, and sister, *i. e.*, to some female as necessary to maintain the life and happiness of the whole universe, the heavenly world as well as the earthly. I have reproduced this coronation scene from Agincourt's great work, copied from a Mosaic in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, at Rome; and which says of it, that it was begun during the pontificate of Nicholas IV., in the latter part of the thirteenth century, by Giacomo Torrite, and finished by Gaddo Gaddi, in the beginning of the fourteenth. There is another Mosaic greatly resembling this, in the Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, at Rome, executed between the years 1130 and 1143, during the pontificate of Innocent II.,[1] which represents Mary and Christ seated side by side on their heavenly throne, He holding her by the hand, and she already crowned queen of heaven; both have the glory round their heads, and both equally receive the adoration of the saints grouped on either side.

Perhaps the most complete counterpart of this in Paganism is the annexed representation, (Fig. 101,) from an ancient Hindu sculpture of Bhavani, or Parvati, the deified female principle of nature, and of fecundity, otherwise personated in Lakshmi-Devaki, Diana, Juno-Lucina, and Venus.[2] She is seated on a lion as a throne, and is richly decorated with gems, holding the Child in one hand, and a lotus in the other; and she is surrounded by all the great and holy beings of the animal and spiritual worlds, giving her honour and worship. As Maha-Devi she sits above, crowned as supreme goddess. The Papal representation is more refined and spiritual than the Pagan, but the same in fact; Mary is a deified mortal, or a deified female principle as Bhavani is, and receives the same kind of religious homage. The pure theism of the Old Testament has no trace of this dualistic or androgynous principle, nor has the

[1] Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. XVIII. Nos. 6 and 18.

[2] Moor's *Hindu Pan.* and Coleman's *Hindu Mythol.*, pl. 34.

FIG. 161.—Coronation of Bhavani.

Fig. [illegible]—[illegible]

Maria Maggiore at Rome [illegible]
the pontificate of N[illegible]
by Giacomo Torrito, and finished by
the fourteenth. There is another Mosaic
of Santa Maria in Trastevere, at Rome
and 1143, during the pontificate of Lucius
seated side by side on their heavenly
already crowned queen of heaven
both equally receive the adoration

Perhaps the most complete
representation (Fig. xx.) [illegible]
deified female principle of nature
Devaki, Diana, Juno-Lucina,
richly decorated with gems
and she is surrounded by
worlds, giving her
supreme goddess.
Pagan, but the
Bhavani is, and
Old Testament

Christianity of the New Testament. Pagan and pantheistical from first to last, no apologies or explanations can ever excuse or alter the fact, in the Latin Church, of Mary being exalted at the right hand of the throne of God as a co-ordinate function and power with Christ our Lord and hers, in the administration of all things, and more especially in the management of the Church, and the maintenance of its life, peace, and prosperity. And no one can witness, as I have done, the excessive devotion paid to jewelled, crowned, and sceptered images of the Virgin Mary at Rome and elsewhere, in churches of the Papal obedience, without being convinced that she is far more than an humble exemplar of piety to her devotees; and that she has passed into the same rank with the three Persons of the Holy and Blessed Trinity, as an object of the higher worship, or at least as one to be worshipped in connection with the Triune God.

This coördinate female influence with God is unnecessary and of mere human device. It is idolatrous and mischievous. That candid writer, John Henry Newman, well says, that "Christianity knows no difference of sex; in it there is neither male nor female, because there is but One character to which all must conform, One likeness which all must imitate; and from it man must learn all the gentleness and tenderness of a woman, and woman must learn all the strength and severity of man."[1]

[1] Life of St. Walburga. *English Saints*, I. p. 73.

"And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us."

*St. Jno.*, i. 14.

"It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

*St. Matt.*, iv. 10.

FIG. 102.—Reputed Portrait of Christ. Fresco in St. Callixtus. 3d Century

## CHAPTER IX.

### JESUS CHRIST AS SUFFERER.

*Jesus Christ our Lord.—Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.—Personal Appearance.—Portraits.—The Lamb of God.—Crucifixes, Christian and Pagan.—Round Towers of Ireland.—God as Pope, with the Crucified Son.*

THE New Testament writings give no account of our Lord's personal appearance. "Fairer than the children of men," in body, mind, and soul, was the Hebrew ideal of the Messiah, as the Psalmist expresses it; (xlv. 2;) and, "He hath no form nor comeliness," no attractive beauty, is another Hebrew aspect of Him, as Isaiah reports it; (liii. 2;) and with such opposite prophetic anticipations, is it any wonder that the subject of them has actually given rise to two schools of ancient Christian art, or rather to two distinct modes of treating our Lord's personal appearance. One made Him the young and beautiful and blooming Divinity, like Krishna, Mithra, and Apollo; the other gave Him a sad and ugly face covered by a beard, and made Him really and literally "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." The youthful Divinity was first and longest used, even down to the tenth century, when the sadness and gloom of the age, consequent upon the general belief that the end of the world was near, preferred the man of sorrows hanging upon the Cross, a subject never seen in the early monuments of Christianity. Works of art, as Didron most truly says, "are ever the proof and counterpart of religious belief. At the time when the hand of God only is shown, Christ is depicted at full length, and of every age; beardless, or with a beard, of the age of eighteen, or that of thirty. I must say, however, that he was almost constantly represented at that period under the figure of a beautiful and adorable youth of about fifteen or eighteen years of age, beardless, with a sweet expression of countenance, and long and abundant hair flowing in curls over His shoulders; His brow is sometimes encircled by a diadem or *bandeau*, like a young priest of the Pagan gods; this is, in fact, the favourite figure. On sculptured sarcophagi, in fresco paintings and mosaics, Christ

is thus represented as a graceful youth, just as Apollo was figured by the Pagans, and as angels are represented by Christians."[1]

Now, it is worthy of special consideration, that none of the sculptured or painted representations of Christ in early Christian art exactly agree with the reputed descriptions given of His personal appearance by Agbarus, Lentulus, and others. It is not an easy matter to determine when the mere symbols of Christ were developed into pictorial and sculptured representations of His Person; but one thing is certain, viz.: that the uniform testimony of the earliest writers in the Christian era is to the effect that our Lord's person was insignificant and void of beauty, but that the spirit which shone through His humanity was all beauty and glory. Justin Martyr, one of the earliest of these writers, says: "When Jesus came to the Jordan, He was considered to be the son of Joseph, the carpenter; and He appeared without comeliness, as the Scriptures declared; and He was deemed a carpenter—for He was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes; by which He taught the symbols of righteousness and an active life; — but then the Holy Ghost lighted on Him in the form of a dove, and there came a voice from heaven saying, 'Thou art my Son.'"[2]

Clement of Alexandria says, "that the Lord Himself was uncomely in aspect, the Spirit testifies by Esaias, And we saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness; but His form was mean, inferior to men. Yet who was more admirable than the Lord? But it was not the beauty of the flesh visible to the eye, but the true beauty of both soul and body, which He exhibited, which in the former is goodness; in the latter, immortality."[3] The wise man alone is beautiful, according to the Athenian proverb.[4]

Celsus objects to Christ thus: "Since a Divine Spirit inhabited the body of Jesus, that body must certainly have been different from that of other beings, in respect to its grandeur, or beauty, or strength, or voice, or impressiveness, or influence. For it is impossible that He, to whom was imparted some Divine quality beyond other beings, should not differ from others; whereas His person did not differ in any respect from another, but was, as they report, little, and ill-conditioned, and ignoble, *i. e.*, low and mean." Origen in his reply does not deny this, but after citing the passage in Isaiah, remarks upon the unfairness of Celsus in not using the other passage in the Psalmist as to Christ's superior beauty and comeliness, pointing out its application to our Lord's humanity when it was glorified in His transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension.[5]

[1] *Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 244–56.
[2] *Diag. cum Trypho*, c. 78.
[3] *Pæd.*, III. c. 1.
[4] *Miscel.*, II. 5.
[5] *Cont. Celsum*, VI. cc. 75–78.

Tertullian says, "Whatever that poor despised body may be, because it was an object of touch and sight, it shall be my Christ, be He inglorious, be He ignoble, be He dishonoured; for such was it announced that it should be, both in bodily condition and aspect. Isaiah comes to our help again: 'He hath no form nor comeliness; we saw Him, and He had neither form nor beauty.' For although in David's words, He is fairer than the children of men, yet it is in that figurative sense of spiritual grace, when He is girded with the sword of the Spirit, which is verily His form, and beauty, and glory."[1] And in another place, Tertullian says, "All these marks of the earthly origin were in Christ; and it is they which obscured Him as the Son of God; for He was looked on as a man for no other reason whatever than because He existed in the bodily substance of a man. So they said, Whence hath this *man* this wisdom and these mighty works? Thus spake even they who despised His outward form. His body did not reach even to human beauty, to say nothing of heavenly glory. Had the prophets given us no information whatever concerning His ignoble appearance, His very sufferings, and the very contumely He endured bespeak it all."[2]

It is St. Augustine, long after Tertullian, who speaks so glowingly of our Lord's beauty, yet only as the Divine Word, in his comment on the XLV. Psalm, where he says, "God is beautiful, the Word with God; beautiful in the womb of the Virgin, where He lost not His Divinity, and assumed humanity; beautiful the Word as a new-born infant; because then the angels sang praises, and the star directed the Magi to worship Him in the manger; beautiful in heaven; beautiful on earth; beautiful in His miracles; beautiful in his scourging; beautiful calling men to life; beautiful in not caring for death; beautiful in laying down his life; beautiful in taking it again; beautiful on the cross; beautiful in the sepulchre; beautiful in heaven."[3]

"*Summa et vera pulchritudo justitia est, i. e.*, Justice is the chief and true beauty," says this Father; and he further adds, "Whatever the bodily appearance or face of our Lord was, and it was but one, yet it is represented and diversified by a variety of numberless ideals."[4]

This important testimony shows us that in St. Augustine's times, every Christian or Gnostic artist represented our Lord's face according to his own ideal conception of it. Had there ever been any authentic portrait of our Lord, it would have been reproduced, and St. Augustine would have mentioned it. But the above citation shows that he knew nothing of any such portrait, nor yet of any portrait

[1] *Marcion*, 3, 17.
[2] *Flesh of Christ*, c. 9.
[3] Migne's Ed. IV. p. 495.
[4] *De Trinitate*, VIII. c. 4, tom. 8, p. 951. Migne's Ed.

of the Virgin Mary, for he adds, We know not the face or personal appearance of the Virgin Mary.[1]

Abarbanel, a learned Jewish Rabbi of the fifteenth century, maintains that the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah cannot be prophetic of the Messiah, because according to the uniform tradition of his people, He was known to have been a beautiful and blooming youth.[2] This Jewish tradition, together with the prevailing custom among all nations of representing the sun-god as young and blooming, whether Agni, or Mithra, or Horus, or Apollo, no doubt had much to do with the general type of blooming youth as expressive of our Lord's divinity everywhere seen in the Catacombs and churches of early Christianity. The traditional portraits, such as Veronica's, those of Nicodemus, Pilate, St. Luke, the Banias statue, are ascribed to our Lord Himself; the description of Lentulus, or of Agbarus, &c., only show us that there were many ideals of His one face, and that these began to be made quite early.[3]

Among the writings of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, eleventh century, was first found a verbal description of our Lord in Latin, attributed to one Lentulus, a friend of Pontius Pilate, and his predecessor in the government of Judea. This letter, for epistolary it is, purports to have been addressed to the Roman Senate by Lentulus; but historical criticism proves both Lentulus and his letter to have been fictitious. No such person as Lentulus was ever governor of Judea, and no such letter as that which has been attributed to him, was ever written. Yet the account of our Lord which it gives, is admitted to be a fabrication of the third century; and as a most probable Christian tradition, it has considerable importance and interest. So it reads: "At this time appeared a man, who lives till now, endowed with mighty powers; men call him a mighty Prophet; his name is Jesus Christ. His own disciples call him the Son of God. He raises the dead to life, and heals the sick of all manner of diseases. This man is of noble and lofty stature and well proportioned, with a face full of kindness, yet of firmness, so that the beholders both love and fear Him. His hair is the colour of wine, and golden at the root—and from the top of the head to the ears, straight and without lustre, but it descends from the ears to the shoulders in glossy curls, flowing down the back, and parted into two portions down the middle after the manner of the Nazarenes. His forehead is even and smooth; His face without blemish, and slightly mantled with a ruddy bloom; His expression is noble and gracious. His nose and mouth are faultless. His beard is full and abundant, of the same colour as His hair, and forked.

[1] *De Trinitate*, VIII. c. 5.

[2] Münter's *Sinnbilder*, II. p. 7. *Hist. of our Lord*, I. p. 34.

[3] See Didron's *Icon. Chrét.*, p. 245.

His eyes are blue and very brilliant. In rebuke and reproof he is awe-inspiring; in exhortation and instruction He is gentle and persuasive. None have seen Him laugh, but many have seen Him weep. His person is tall and slender; His hands long and straight; His arms graceful. In speech He is grave and deliberate; His language and manner quiet and simple. In beauty He surpasses the most of men."[1]

John Damascenus, a Greek father of the eighth century, cites an early tradition, yet later probably than that of Lentulus, to this effect: Christ, in taking upon Him the form of Adam, assumed features exactly resembling those of the Virgin Mary. He was lofty in stature; His eyebrows met together; His eyes were beautiful; His hair curled; His nose was well formed; His figure slightly bent; His complexion delicate; His beard black; His face of a wheaten colour like His mother's; His fingers long; His voice sonorous; His speech persuasive; most mild and amiable in disposition; quiet, resigned, patient, and invested with every virtue that our reason conceives to be appropriate to the Incarnate Son of God.[2] A century later the appearance of Christ in miraculous vision is that of one tall, clad like the Jews; beautiful in face; the splendour of Divinity darting from His eyes like a flame; His voice full of sweetness.[3]

FIG. 103.—Portrait of Christ with cruciform nimbus. Fresco, Fourth century.

These traditions do not agree with the Patristic writings on the subject, nor with the portraits copied by Bosio from the frescoes of the Catacombs, the most celebrated of which is reproduced in Fig. 102. Kugler sees an exact identity in this portrait and the description of Lentulus; others do not. He says of it: "The face is oval, with a straight nose, arched eyebrows, and a smooth and rather high forehead; the expression serious and mild; the hair parted on the forehead and flowing in curls on the

[1] Didron, pp. 252–3 *Hist. of our Lord*, I. p. 35. [2] Cited by Didron, p. 253, &c. [3] Id.

shoulders; the beard not thick, but short and divided. The appearance that of a man between thirty and forty years of age."[1] Lentulus says the beard was heavy; (*barba ejus multa;*) and the face is not one to inspire much awe and love; it is too sad for anything else than sympathy. The mouth of the portrait is too small and the lips are too protruding and thick for strength and decision of character. The whole effect is sombre. In other respects the picture answers the ideal type of Lentulus well enough.

Much less does this picture of Christ (Fig. 103) answer to the description of Lentulus, also claimed to be a portrait by Kugler and others before him. It is from the cemetery of St. Pontianus, and here reproduced from Bosio. (p. 129.)

This picture belongs to a later age than the other; it is more stiff and formal; the beard is trimmed from the chin, and the mustaches have a modern look; the Book, inscribed with the name of the Lord Jesus, the cruciform nimbus and the right hand raised in the act of blessing, indicate the Person of our Lord.

But of all the portraits of Christ that I have yet seen, I prefer for simple grandeur, combined with sweetness, the little mosaic on the title page of this book, which Agincourt copied from the original of the same size at Rome, claiming for it the remarkable date of the first century.[2] It is more like the account of Lentulus than the other two. Another one, a medallion of terra-cotta, found among the rubbish near the mouth of the cemetery of St. Agnes, is said to be of "exquisite beauty, and characterized by a sweet and tender grace of expression."[3] How shall we reconcile the apparent contradictions which exist between the fathers of early Christianity and the monuments, touching our Lord's personal appearance? And how shall we explain the two-fold manner in which the monuments themselves represent it? (Fig. 104.) One example out of many of like kind is here given.

The sarcophagus from which this representation is here reproduced, was found in the Vatican cemetery, and probably belongs to the fourth century. The diminutive, ugly, and bearded Christ, stands on the mystic mount between two Palm trees, with a lamb beside Him wearing a cross on its head like a crown or horn of salvation; Paul is on the right and Peter on the left, attending to their Lord's teaching or command. Peter is receiving the open roll of the Gospel, and Paul the promise of the Holy Ghost figured by the Dove sitting on one of the Palm trees to which Christ is pointing. He is evidently giving His last commission

[1] *Hand-book of Painting*, I. pp. 14–16.

[2] *Peinture*, I. tav. 13, No. 22.

[3] W. H. Withrow's *Catacombs of Rome*, p. 348.

to these two representative and foremost men to go and preach the Gospel and found His kingdom, coupled with the promise of His presence in the Holy Spirit to the end of time.

The majestic and youthful Christ as the King of truth stands on trial before Pilate, who is about to wash his hands and pass sentence, but in perplexity and hesitation for a moment averts his face, and wears the look of a man in real doubt and trouble. Again, this youthful and majestic Christ is seen calling Zaccheus down from the Sycamore tree, and riding into Jerusalem in triumph.

Or here is another example illustrating the same two-fold treatment of the subject, only a little varied. (Fig. 105.)

Fig. 104.—The Majestic Christ and the Diminutive Christ. Sculpture, Fourth century.

On the mystic mount, as usual in these examples, stands the old, bearded, and ugly Man of sorrows; and the young, blooming and beardless Christ is giving the keys of His kingdom to Peter, and speaking words of healing to the poor woman who is touching the hem of His garment. There is nearly a score of examples like these two in Bosio alone, where the ugly and bearded Christ, and the beautiful and beardless one occur together on the same monuments, not all exactly alike, but varied as these two are. I merely give them as specimens, and ask the reader to look into Bosio for the rest.[1]

The only explanation which seems to be possible of this contradiction is the mere record of the fact then and ever since recognized by Christians, that Christ had two natures, a Divine and a human; and that the old, sad, and bearded man is meant to show Christ's human nature, and the young, joyous, and beardless figure is meant to set forth His Divine nature.

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, pp. 49, 57, 65, 77, 85, 89, 91, 97, 253, 363, 475, 523, 285, 287, 293, 295, 411, 423, &c.

FIG. 105.—The young and beautiful Christ, and the old and ugly Christ. Sculpture, Fourth century.

What painter can combine the two in one picture? or what sculptor can unite them in one statue? If Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo have failed, is it any wonder that no authentic portrait of Christ has come down to us?

Because, as Philo Judaeus expresses it, God never grows old, but is always young and vigorous, and nothing which belongs to Him is old; because the ancient types of Christ, such as Abraham, Noah, Isaac, Moses, and Elijah among the Jews; and Krishna, Horus, Mithra, and Apollo among the Gentiles, are generally represented as young and beardless; and because spiritual beings like angels and souls of good men just released from their bodies are also so represented, it is that early Christian art painted Christ in His youthful adolescence to teach and express the idea of His Divinity. And because, too, He was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; because He was subject to all the laws, restrictions, and infirmities of man's nature, sin alone excepted; because He grew from infancy to childhood and through all the stages of human development just as we grow and develop; and because He was a poor, patient, persecuted sufferer, it was that this same primitive Christian art represented the matter in its sad, old, and bearded Christ.

Although persecution began with the very birth and infancy of Christ, when King Herod sent his "bloody-hunting slaughtermen" to Bethlehem to "spit the naked infants upon pikes and make their mad mothers' howls break the clouds," yet of this horrible massacre there is no trace at all in the Roman catacombs, and none in any Christian art until about the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, when we have an example on a sarcophagus from the crypt of St. Maximin, France. It represents Herod seated, and two of his soldiers bearing naked children before him to be adjudged, while one poor mother stands by with hands clasped at her heart, and looking on

with great anxiety to hear the result from Herod's lips. The treatment is very simple; and there is no representation of actual slaughter.[1] There is another example of the fifth century in the Basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, at Rome, in mosaic, which simply represents the mothers of Bethlehem with their infants in their arms before three of Herod's captains.[2] Modern Romish art must needs represent the actual slaughter in all its horrible and sickening details, to make it impressive to the vulgar, as Fra Angelico, Raphael, and especially Rubens, have done. Early Christian art had a more refined delicacy of taste and far better conceptions of the true and only object of art, which is to teach, cheer, comfort, and elevate the soul of man, and not fill him with horrors, and ideas of cruelty and licentiousness.

Of the flight into Egypt and the return of the Holy Family to Nazareth, there are no very early examples; and Christ among the Rabbis in the temple at Jerusalem, at twelve years of age, is not certainly and definitely recognized in Christian art until the fifth century, when it appears in the great mosaic of *Santa Maria Maggiore*. All that Ciampini says of it is this, viz.: that the Child Jesus is vested in a white alb, with a diadem or glory round his head, and *two crosses* over it, which he thinks remarkable; (*insignitum;*)[3] but he does not say whether the two crosses are alike, and his engraving is so indistinct that one of them cannot be definitely recognized. One is the square Greek cross, and the other ought to be the St. Andrew's cross or monogram, to denote, as their combination does in the eight-pointed star, which is over His head in the scene of the Adoration in the same mosaic, the Divine and human in union—the Incarnation of the Son of God—the joining together of heaven and earth. Mrs. Jameson merely notices it with the remark that "this is the oldest extant representation of this scene."[4] Fleury gives two representations of it from manuscript Bibles of the ninth century, one of which shows our Lord on an elevated throne, and the Doctors grouped on either side of Him, listening and wondering. Mary and Joseph are also in the scene, both with the nimbus of saintship and raising their hands in surprise.[5]

Of our Lord's Baptism in the Jordan, there are two early examples in the Roman Catacombs, one of which stands before chapter IV. on the *Disciplina Arcani*, to which the reader is referred. The other is in the crypt of Lucina, the oldest part of the cemetery of St. Callixtus, and was discovered and published by De Rossi.[6] Its counterparts can be seen in the figures illustrating the subject of Baptism. This Baptism was the beginning of our Lord's public ministry, and the con-

[1] Fleury's *L'Evangile*, I., pl. 27, pp. 77–8.
[2] Id., p. 210.
[3] *L'Evangile*, I., pl. 31.
[4] Ciampini *Vet. Mon.*, pl. 49., p. 200, &c.
[5] *Hist. of our Lord*, I., pp. 277–8. 2d Ed., Lond., 1865.
[6] *Rom. Sott.*, I., pl. 14, pp. 321, &c.

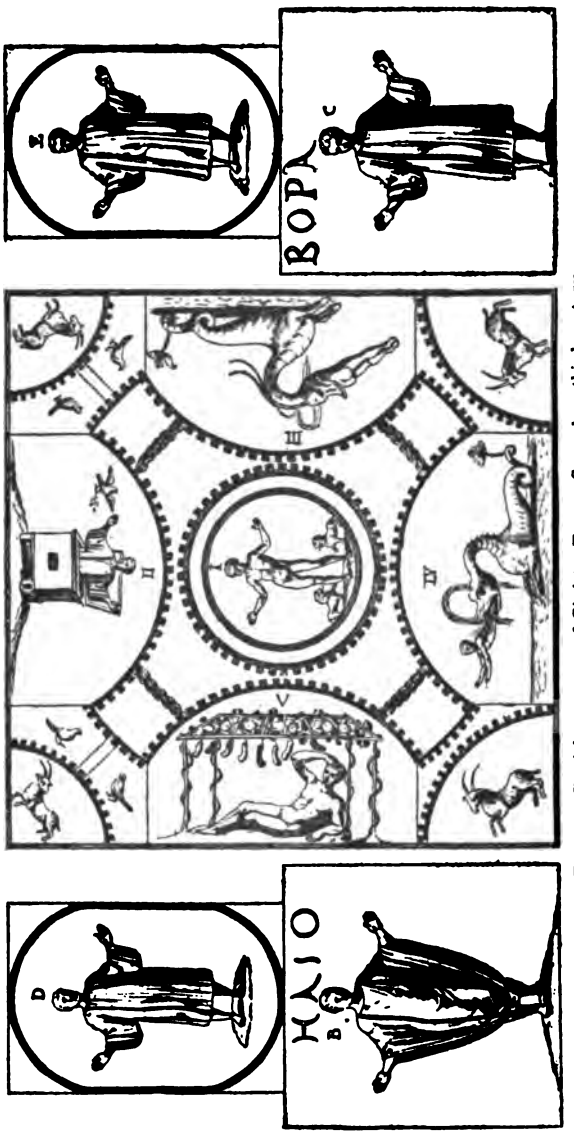



FIG. 106.—Daniel as a type of Christ. Fresco, Second or third century.

secration of His humanity to the great work of human salvation. He was the First of a whole baptized race of happy immortals—the last, best Friend of our sinful humanity. To attempt giving a full account of the early Christian treatment of the various acts of His life in painting, sculpture, mosaic, &c., would be here impossible. A mere catalogue is out of the question; and it has already been done in Fleury's *L'Evangile*, the latest and best archæological work on the subject; in the Jameson-Eastlake *History of our Lord*; by Kugler and Charles Hemans.

I pass, then, to the consideration of the general subject, and here produce an example of one of the Hebrew types of Christ's life as a life of exile, of care, of toil, and of persecution. (Fig. 106.) It is that of the prophet Daniel, always a youthful nude figure standing between two lions, with hands outstretched in prayer, in the form of the Cross. It is from a fresco in one of the *cubicula* of the cemetery of Sts. Marcellinus and Peter, originally copied and published by Bosio.[1] No. 1 is Daniel occupying the place usually assigned to the Good Shepherd, viz.: the centre of the vaulted ceiling. Like the ideal and youthful Good Shepherd, the young and nude figure of Daniel is obviously intended as a type of Christ; for he

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 377. Aringhi, II. p. 39.

is always thus represented in the monuments of the Catacombs. St. Ignatius calls Daniel the wise, and says that at the age of twelve years he became possessed of the Divine Spirit;[1] and St. Hippolytus speaks of him as that holy and righteous man, a prophet and witness of Christ, to whose relief the Son of God came and was recognized by Nebuchadnezzar. For this good father says in his Commentary on Daniel, as to the Son of God who appeared in the fiery furnace—which, by the way, is of frequent occurrence in the Catacombs—"Tell me, Nebuchadnezzar, when didst thou see the Son of God, that thou shouldst confess that this is the Son of God? . . . . . As the children of Israel were destined to see God in the world, and yet not to believe on Him, the Scripture showed beforehand that the Gentiles would recognize Him incarnate, whom, while not incarnate, Nebuchadnezzar saw and recognized of old in the furnace, and acknowledged to be the Son of God."[2] For this reason, then, together with Daniel's graphic account of the Resurrection, this wise prophet, so like Christ at the age of twelve years and so like Him in fidelity and persecution, must be regarded as His type.

The two lions are sin and death, man's greatest enemies, from which Christ came to deliver us. The nude figure illustrates the manner in which Christ emptied Himself of all His glory, and laid aside His royal robes, stripping Himself for the conflict; or it may suggest also, His innocence, and purity, and strength, like Adam's before his transgression, shame, and degradation. Clothing is no more than a concealment of guilt, and a merciful protection against shame. It was not provided for man in a state of innocence; children come naked into the world; but animals are born with covering; and so here, this nude type of Christ suggests His human purity and innocence—His human nature without sin—the new Adam come to repair the ruin, and to restore the loss of the first and sinful Adam, who had to be clothed after his sin against God.

No. 2 is Noah in his ark receiving the Dove. Nos. 3 and 4 are scenes in the life of Jonah typical of Death, Hades, and Resurrection. Goats and doves are in the scene, suggesting the removal of sin and the influences of the Holy Spirit. B. and C. are figures of Orantes in *alb* and *penula*, over whose heads are the Greek names of *Elio* and *Vora*. D. and E. are two of the minor order of the clergy in albs, to whom, most probably, was entrusted the care of the burial of the dead, inasmuch as they are painted on each side of the door of the vaulted chamber. The other two figures, B. and C., are in the back part of the room, painted high up on the wall between two graves, or *loculi*, and are priest and deacon.

Bosio gives two sculptured scenes where the young Son of God is seen coming

[1] *Epist. ad Mag.*, p. 173.

[2] Ante-Nicene Lib., VI. Hippolytus, I. pp. 443 and 470.

to the relief of the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace;[1] and all this is obviously meant to teach how Christ came to deliver men from sin and every evil here, and to overcome death and the grave for them at last, in order to give them life eternal.

It was under the rule of Pontius Pilate in Judea, that our Lord suffered and died. In the sculptured sarcophagus where Christ appears as such a majestic figure before Pilate, and as such a diminutive one on the mystic mount with the lamb beside Him, (Fig. 104,) we have an example of a whole class of representations, in which the idea of sacrifice is connected with our Lord's trial before Pilate; and they are of frequent occurrence. It was a most delicate and artistic way of just hinting at the Crucifixion without giving any glimpse even of its shame, degradation, and horror. For crucifixion was a most shameful and degrading thing, most keenly felt by Christ Himself, in which feeling early Christianity fully shared, and which required seven centuries to overcome.

Pontius Pilate is mentioned in the Creed merely to designate the time of our Lord's passion or suffering, as we learn from St. Ignatius, who says, "I desire to guard you beforehand, that ye fall not on the hooks of vain doctrine, but that ye attain to full assurance in regard to the birth, and passion, and resurrection which took place in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate, being truly and certainly accomplished by Jesus Christ, who is our hope."[2] Here it is implied that the Creed was already in existence.

Tacitus, the Roman historian, confirms this testimony of St. Ignatius, when he says, "Christ, the founder of the Christian name, was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, during the reign of Tiberius."[3]

Pilate was appointed governor of Judea in the twelfth year of Tiberius, A. D. 25–6. His head-quarters were at Cæsarea Philippi. His administration was singularly unhappy. He began it by making the fatal mistake of removing his head-quarters to Jerusalem. This was an insult and an outrage to Jewish prejudices against images, on all the banners of his army. No provincial governor had ever so done before. The Holy City and Temple were profaned. And night was chosen to accomplish the deed unseen. The Jews were enraged, and sent large deputations to Pilate to remonstrate against the outrage. It was his intention to massacre them secretly, but when the signal was given to his soldiers to fall upon them, the poor Jews were so in earnest, and withal so ready to die, that Pilate relented, and sent the obnoxious standards back to Cæsarea Philippi.[4]

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, pp. 63 and 101. Aringhi, I. p. 185.
[2] *Ad. Mag.*, c. 11. Dressel's Ed. pp. 148-9.
[3] *Annal.*, lib. XV. c. 44.
[4] Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. 3.

But not learning much from such an experience of Jewish fanaticism, Pilate on two other occasions nearly drove this fierce people into open insurrection; viz., once when he hung up in his palace at Jerusalem some gilt shields inscribed with the names of his gods, which only a positive order of the Emperor compelled him to remove; and again, when he misappropriated the sacred revenue of the Temple arising from the redemption of vows (*Corban*, St. Mark, vii. 11,) to help him in the construction of an aqueduct, which bred a riot in the city; and which he suppressed by the summary process of sending disguised soldiers with concealed weapons among the rioters to stab and kill them on the spot. His slaughter of the Galileans, mentioned by St. Luke, (xiii. 1,) is another atrocity which must have taken place at some one of the frequent riots common to Pilate's administration.

No longer able to endure his intolerable cruelty and exactions, the Jews complained to Pilate's superior officer, Vitellius, Governor of Syria, who at once compelled him to leave Judea, and submit himself to the pleasure of the offended Emperor. But before he reached Rome, Tiberius was dead; and Caius Caligula was on the throne, A. D. 36. He examined the complaints made against Pilate's mal-administration of affairs in Judea, and banished him to Vienne on the Rhone, in France, where there is a singular monument called the tomb of Pilate.

Eusebius says, "It is proper to observe, how it is asserted that this same Pilate who was governor at our Saviour's crucifixion, fell into such calamities, during the reign of Caius, that he was forced to become his own murderer, and the avenger of his own wickedness. Divine justice, it seems, did not long defer his punishment." [1]

Another tradition is, that Pilate sought to hide his shame and sorrow on the mountains of Lake Lucerne, in Switzerland, one of which is still called Mount Pilatus, where, after spending years in its dismal recesses, in utter remorse and despair, he plunged into the lake and drowned himself. According to the popular belief, a form is often seen to emerge from the gloomy waters of the lake, and, like Lady Macbeth, go through the motion of one washing his hands, after which thick clouds of mist rise from the lake, and wrap the top of the mountain in darkness, presaging a tempest which is sure to follow soon after.

Still another tradition is that of an apocryphal book called *The Death of Pilate*, to this effect, viz., Tiberius being grievously sick, and having heard of the fame of Jesus as a healer of diseases, dispatched a messenger to Pilate to have him send Jesus to Rome to cure him. Pilate replied that he had crucified Him as a malefactor. On his way back to Rome with this message, the messenger met Veronica,

[1] *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. II. c. 7.

who gave him the cloth or handkerchief with which the Lord had wiped His face on the way to crucifixion, and in so doing had impressed His features indelibly upon it. This cloth was brought to the Emperor, and he was healed. Pilate was summoned to Rome, and thrown into prison, where he killed himself with a knife. His body was thrown into the Tiber; and such terrible storms of hail, thunder, and lightning followed, that the Romans took it up and sent it to Vienne, where it was thrown into the Rhone. The same storms and tempests recurring, the body was again sent to Lake Lucerne, where it was sunk into the deep waters, said even yet to boil and bubble as if by some diabolical influence.[1]

In the *Paradosis of Pilate* we have this account, viz., the universal darkness which took place at our Lord's crucifixion caused great alarm at Rome, and Tiberius summoned Pilate to answer for having caused it. He was condemned to die; but before his execution Pilate prayed to the Lord Jesus that he might not be destroyed with the wicked Jews, pleading ignorance as an excuse for having caused His death. The prayer was answered by a voice from heaven, that all generations should call him blessed, and that he should be a witness for Christ at His second coming to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Pilate was then decapitated, and an angel of the Lord received his head. Procla, Pilate's wife, seeing this, greatly rejoiced; and yielding up her spirit, was buried with her husband.[2]

This is all wonderful enough, if it be true. But what shall be thought of the Abyssinian Church exalting Pontius Pilate into a saint, and appointing a day in its calendar for the celebration of his memory, and the commemoration of his virtues, viz., the 25th of June? Neale tells us that on this day Pilate is thus commemorated with his wife Procla, in this ancient church. The Greeks reckon the latter among the saints; but that Pilate should be so honored, simply because he declared our Lord to be a "just Person," and washed his hands in token of that belief, is monstrous.[3] And Dean Stanley confirms the statement, when he says, "One saint, elsewhere unrecognized, appears in the Ethiopian calendar; Pilate is canonized, because he washed his hands and said, 'I am innocent of the blood of this just man.'"[4]

There can be little doubt that Pilate, after the custom of all Roman governors of provinces, must have sent, among his other reports and despatches to the central government at Rome, some account of our Lord's trial and crucifixion; and this view is confirmed by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, in their Apologies for Christianity made to the Roman authorities and to the Gentiles, who more than once refer

[1] Tischendorf's *Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 432–5.
[2] Id. pp. 426, &c.
[3] *Holy Eastern Church*, Int. Pt. I p. 806.
[4] *Hist. Eastern Church*, p. 98.

to the papers entitled "*The Acts of Pilate*" in their public archives for the truth of our Saviour's miracles and sufferings. These papers are not now extant; they have perished with other precious documents; and an Apocryphal book of the same title has been made to take their place. Justin says, "Of the truth of these facts you may be informed out of the Acts which were written by Pontius Pilate."[1] Tertullian is still more explicit: "Tiberius, in whose time the Christian name first became known in the world, having received information from Palestine in Syria, through his governor there, that Jesus Christ had there given manifest proof of the truth of His Divinity, communicated it to the Senate, insisting upon it as his prerogative that they should assent to his opinion in the matter of declaring Him to be a God." And still again, referring to our Lord's miracles, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, he says: "All these things Pilate himself, who was in his conscience for following Christ, transmitted to Tiberius Cæsar; and even the Cæsars themselves had been Christians if it had been consistent with their secular interests."[2]

Eusebius also declares: "The fame of our Lord's remarkable resurrection and ascension being now spread abroad, according to an ancient custom prevalent among the rulers of nations to communicate novel occurrences to the Emperor, that nothing might escape him, Pontius Pilate transmitted to Tiberius an account of the circumstances of our Lord's resurrection from the dead, the report of which had already been spread throughout all Palestine. In this report, he also intimated that he had ascertained other miracles respecting Him, and that having now risen from the dead, He was believed to be a God by the great mass of the people."[3]

There are two Apocryphal Letters of Pilate in Thilo's and Tischendorf's collections, one of which is addressed to Claudius, and the other to Tiberius, in both of which our Lord's miracles, His Divine Sonship, His crucifixion and resurrection are referred to, except that in the letter addressed to Tiberius, He is spoken of more as the best man that any age had produced; that He had been made the subject of prophecy by the Sybils and by His own prophets; and that the supernatural signs which attended His crucifixion prognosticated the end of the world.[4] Pilate speaks of his great reluctance to shed the blood of so just a Person, and that He would still be living, had it not been that he feared a sedition among the hot-headed Jews.

*Saint* Pontius Pilate is odd enough; but are all these things respecting Pilate's reports and letters to the Emperor mere forgeries? If they are only traditions, they are certainly very early ones; and their various statements wonderfully agree.

[1] *First Apology*, c. 47.
[2] *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. II. c. 2.
[3] *Apol. pro Christianos*, cc. 5 and 21.
[4] Thilo, pp. 796–802. Tischendorf, pp. 392–5, and 411–12.

Taking them in connection with early Christian monuments as to the whole story of our Lord's life, death, resurrection, and ascension, they must relate facts of a then recent occurrence, which cannot be doubted. Were three or four generations of men utterly deceived and mistaken? And is all Christian civilization built upon a lie? Look at the few examples of Christian monuments scattered through this book, and see what pains have been taken to record the verities of early Christianity. Had they not been facts, how could art all at once forsake her fond old mythologies, and depict such wonderful inventions as these?

I now pass to consider the delicate and tender manner in which early Christian art treats the subject of our Lord's death and sacrifice on the cross. Why should a fact so well-known to the heathen as the crucifixion be concealed? And yet its actual realistic representation never once occurs in the monuments of Christianity, for more than six or seven centuries. The Lamb was the ever-recurring symbol of the Crucified. I have already referred to it, at some length, in the first chapter, as a symbol of light and joy to the world, as the old Hindu god *Agni* typified the real *Agnus Dei;* but there is another aspect in which to consider the Lamb, viz., as a symbol of prosperity and peace. Ever since man has felt desire and hope, there has been a perpetual Argonautic expedition in search of the Golden Fleece. The Lamb with the golden wool, the true *Agnus Dei*, has always been the symbol of happiness, power, riches, abundance, and contentment. Are not men forever in search of these things? The Lamb, as the symbol of light and heat, is in the sun, rising and setting amid flocks of golden clouds, giving promise of fertilizing showers to make the grass grow for the sheep and cattle. *Pecus*, or flock, is even yet the synonym of wealth, because the *pecuniary* ability of the patriarchs, and their nomadic posterity in the East consists in numerous flocks of sheep and herds of eattle. The soft, fleecy, white clouds of a fine Spring morning, turned into gold by the rising of the sun, might well attract the attention of the Eastern herdsman, and lead him to anticipate an abundance for himself and his flocks; and they would be to him a real golden fleece of hope and desire, that just such numerous fleeces might whiten his plains and pasture-grounds, and be turned into actual gold. These old simple herdsmen seemed to think that all blessings came from heaven; that the golden fleeces of clouds in the sky were but signs and warrants of golden treasures upon earth; to their unsophisticated minds it did seem to be true, that every good and perfect gift was from above, and came down from the Father of lights; their simple faith recognized the greater riches of grace and glory in heaven; and it looked forward to the rising of the Sun of Righteousness to turn all earthly things into the pure gold of abiding wealth, typified by the Lamb in heaven, who was worthy to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and

blessing. (Rev. v. 12.) This is the real Argonautic expedition of the whole human race—the search after enduring riches and happiness; after the Divine wisdom; after some solution of the deep and dark mystery of life's ills, and their remedy; after that one last and blessed golden-fleeced morning which shall bring to the world, and to every sad soul of man, the Son of God once more to bless the earth with the abundance of peace and prosperity, truth and righteousness, joy and gladness. The old Greek mythos of the ship Argo and her crew, may be identical with the story of Noah and his ark in search of a new world purified and renovated by a flood of waters. To him the pot of gold was where the bow of peace touched the earth, and where he bowed down and worshipped the God of the Covenant before his blazing altar-fire, in which the golden-fleeced lamb was glowing as a sign, token, and pledge of the Greater Victim and Deliverer, who, as the Lamb of God, should come to take away the sin of the world, and thus give it an abiding peace.

This symbol of the lamb to denote Christ is of Divine authority. It is peculiar to the Old and New Testaments. Purity, innocence, meekness, and gentleness belong to it; and usefulness to man in the way of food and clothing is another of its attributes. The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world is the Son of God manifesting the Divine love for the welfare and happiness of mankind. He is the brightness of the Father's glory, eternally going forth to beautify heaven and enrich the earth.

From the first age of Christianity to the present time, the prevailing symbol of our Lord has been that of the lamb. The Paschal Lamb slain and eaten by the Israelites on the night of their departure from Egypt, and with whose blood the sign of the cross was made on their dwellings, was a type and symbol of Christ, whose blood was shed for our deliverance, and whose body was broken for our sustenance, on the cross. This Paschal Lamb was roasted on a cross, by ancient Israel, and is still so done by the Samaritans at Nablous, in order that it might be a complete symbol of the Lamb of God slain for the sins of men. For Justin Martyr says, "The mystery of the lamb which God enjoined to be sacrificed as the Passover, was a type of Christ; with whose blood they anoint their houses, *i. e.*, themselves, in proportion to the faith of those who believe in Him. That lamb which was commanded to be roasted whole, was a symbol of the suffering of the cross which Christ would undergo. For the lamb which is roasted, is roasted and dressed in the form of the cross; one spit is transfixed right through from the lower parts up to the head, and one across the back, to which the lamb's legs are attached."[1] And this signified to ancient Israel deliverance from all evil through the

[1] *Diag. cum Trypho*, c. 40.

Messiah; or as Philo expresses it, "The Passover is a passing or crossing over of the created and perishable being to God, and very appropriately; for there is not a single good thing which does not belong to God, and which is not divine."[1]

In passing over to God and to His service as Israel did from the evil of Egyptian bondage, the slain and roasted lamb was typical of suffering and privation to be endured before the goodly land of Canaan could be reached; even as Christ Himself went not up to joy, but first He suffered pain; and entered not into His glory before He was crucified; and even, too, as all must suffer something in order to be saved. Peace is secured by conflict; the path of glory is the path of pain and agony. And they who suffer most are the meek and innocent, in order to greater blessing. "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth," in order to the sacrifice in which we all have eternal redemption.

It is remarkable that St. John is the only one of the Evangelists who records the fact of this symbol of the lamb as applied to our Lord, twice only in his Gospel, and twenty-nine times in the Apocalypse. Philip, the deacon, applies it to Christ in his explanation of the passage in Isaiah to the Eunuch; (Acts, viii. 32;) and St. Peter says, "that we are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." (I. Ep. i. 18–19.) It is therefore chiefly from the writings of St. John that the Church of the first ages derived its authority for using the lamb so conspicuously and so constantly in her cemeteries and early churches, as a symbol and a substitute for Christ's actual suffering on the cross. John the Baptist had never pointed out Jesus Christ as the Lamb of God, if the symbol were not applicable and of Divine sanction. He was too honest a man to deceive the people in this respect.

And as to its treatment by early Christian art, it is enough to look at the two sarcophagi on preceding pages of this chapter, and see the lamb standing beside Christ on the mystic mount with the cross on its head, as if the earthly part of human redemption were now accomplished by the sacrifice on the cross, and our Lord were about to ascend into heaven to continue it there.

I here reproduce two Phœnician medals from M. Raoul Rochette's collection of crosses, to show that the Pagan world had also the idea of sacrifice and suffering as the price of eternal life. (Fig. 107.) The couchant lambs or young rams have a sort of crown of globules over them; the crosses depend from rings made up of spherical globules also, one of which has the star of hope and of promise within it. The cross and the crown here unite; and the lamb is reposing as the crowned

[1] *Sac. of Abel and Cain*, c. 17, vol. I. p. 220. Bohn's ed.

FIG. 107.—Pagan Lamb and the Cross.

victor of life and peace.[1] At least, I suspect this to have been the pure original idea, afterwards so greatly corrupted and perverted into phallic worship, whose chief expounders, in modern times, are Richard Payne Knight, and J. A. Dulaure. Specimens of this perversion may be seen in the Cyprus collection, at the "Metropolitan Museum of Art," New York. And I only here allude to it, because I believe these old Phœnician medals or coins retain the pure primitive ideas of the lamb and the cross, which Christianity restored.

Fig. 108 is the manner of representing the Lamb of God by early Christian art, as here reproduced from Ciampini,[2] who speaks of it as occupying a central place within a circle, and having a diadem or nimbus on its head; and as being a symbol of Him who takes away the sin of the world, used by the early Christians, in times of persecution and danger, for the instruction of the Catechumens and Neophytes, when a crucifix would have been hazardous and indecorous. St. Andrew's crosses are seen in the corners, suggestive of suffering; and the crown on the head of the lamb is emblematic of victory. The circle in which the lamb stands denotes the eternity of God the Father.

More than two centuries later, A. D. 530, we have two representations at least, in mosaic, of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, emblematic of His universal Church. One of these is reproduced from Ciampini, in Fig. 109, except that one candlestick is missing, on account of the difficulty of representing it, hidden as it is for the most part by the wing of an angel, not here shown.

FIG. 108.—The Victorious Lamb. Mosaic. Fifth century.

On each side of this altar stand two angels, in the original picture; and the saints are pressing forward from below with crowns in their hands to cast before the throne of

[1] *Second Mèmoire sur La Croix Ansée*, pl. II. Nos. 8–9.

[2] *Vet. Mon.*, Pars. I. pl. 74 and 75, p. 240.

the Lamb, saying, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God," &c. (Rev. iv. and v.)[1]

There is no trace yet of the exaltation of the Virgin Mary, nor even of the human form of our Lord; it is all purely symbolical, and should have so remained for the better preservation of pure doctrine.

In the first Vatican Basilica, during the Bishopric of Sylvester, A. D. 315–336, Constantine was persuaded to erect a marble altar instead of the old wooden one, and to decorate the Holy Place in which it stood with mosaics, afterwards restored by Innocent III., representing our Lord alone on His heavenly throne, as a majes-

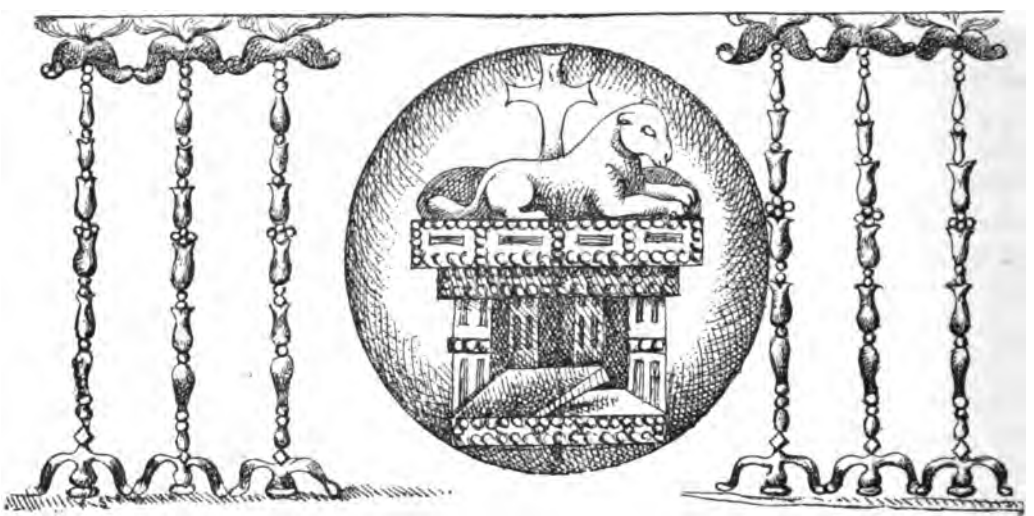


FIG. 109.—The Slain Lamb on the Altar. Mosaic. Sixth century.[2]

tic figure of the usual ideal type, *i. e.*, with short, bifurcated beard, and long hair parted in the middle, but now with a cruciform nimbus. Paul and Peter, His chief apostles, are standing in their usual places; two stately palm trees are on either side; the four streams of the first Paradise flow from the mount on which His throne is fixed; He holds the sealed book in one hand, and gives His blessing with the other. Two stags come to drink of the living water. And directly underneath this, we see the symbolical representation as given in Fig. 110, with six sheep on either side, coming from Bethlehem and Jerusalem; while Innocent is on one side, and a figure representing the Church of Rome, on the other. The whole is surmounted by a gemmed cross. The chalice receives the Lamb's blood; and from

[1] Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* Pars. II. pl. 15 and 46.

[2] The original picture is too large to reproduce here, and I give simply the central object, or the Lamb, with six candlesticks.

His feet flow the streams of living water. A nimbus is on His head, indicative of holiness and divinity.[1]

FIG. 110.—The Life-Giving Lamb. Mosaic. Fourth century.

The victorious Lamb with the banner is never seen in ancient Christian monuments; it was the invention of mediæval art. Down to the year 692, or thereabouts, the Lamb, as shown in the above examples, was exclusively used to symbolize Christ as the Saviour, slain for the sins of men, and triumphant over sin, Satan, and death. At that time, we are told, that the Church was uneasy lest the reality and history of our Lord might eventually be lost or swallowed up in mere symbol and allegory. And so, with a good intention, but with a most painful realism, never ventured upon before, the Council of Trullo, otherwise known as the *Quinqui-Sixtum*, in the reign of Justinian II., ordained that henceforth the actual historic figure of the man Christ Jesus, should be substituted in all Church paintings and mosaics for the symbolical lamb. Thus runs the decree: "In certain venerable pictures and images, the Precursor, St. John, is represented pointing with his hand towards the Lamb of God. We adopted this representation as a symbol of grace; to our apprehension, it was the shadow of that Lamb Christ, our God, whom the Law exhibited to us. Having, then, in the first instance, accepted these figures and shadows as signs and emblems, we now prefer to them grace and truth, *i. e.*, the fulfilment of the Law. Therefore, in order to expose to all regards, perfection even in paintings, we determine that for the future, in images of Christ, our God, He shall be represented in His human form, instead of the Lamb, as in former times. We must contemplate all the sublimity of the Word through the veil of His humility. The painter must, as it were, lead us by the hand to the remembrance of Jesus, living in the flesh, suffering

[1] Ciampini, *Sacr. Ædificiis*, pl. 13. Jac. Bosii. *De Crux Trimp.*, pp. 615-16.

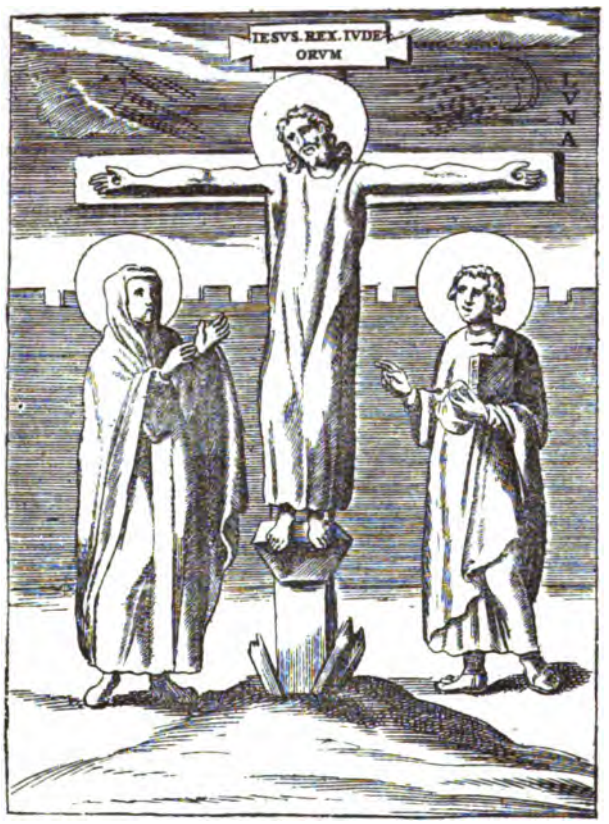



FIG. III.—Crucifix. Fresco. Ninth century. From the Cemetery of Pope Julius.

and dying for our salvation, and thus obtaining the redemption of the world."[1]

This action of the Eastern Church was adopted by the Western, when Adrian I., Bishop of Rome, in the eighth century, ordained this: "Because John the Baptist pointed to Christ, saying, Behold the Lamb of God; therefore some represented Christ under the form of a Lamb; but forasmuch as the shadow hath passed away, and because Christ is very man, therefore He ought to be represented in the form of a man."[2]

And it was by such a process of reasoning that the venerable and sacred symbol of the Lord's Supper at length became the real Body and Blood of Christ.

I have reproduced from Bosio the painted crucifix which he discovered in the cemetery of Pope Julius, in 1594, and which is usually assigned to the time of Pope Adrian III., A. D. 884. (Fig. III.) Bosio says that the form of our Lord is fastened to the cross with four nails, whereas the feet show no marks of nails.[3] Mary and John are the persons present. It is curious to notice how the artist has represented the eclipse of the sun and moon. The reader is requested to compare this Christian crucifix with that in Chapter VII., from Central India, and see the difference.

Of course there are older representations of the crucifixion than this, the oldest, perhaps, being that of a Syriac manuscript of the Four Gospels, A. D. 586, in which, according to Westwood, the crucifixion of Christ and the two thieves is rep-

[1] Didron, *Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 338–9.
[2] Durandus, *Rationale*, &c., I. c. 3. Didron, p. 336.
[3] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 581. Aringhi, II. p. 165.

resented; our Saviour being clothed in a long, loose shirt or tunic like the above; whereas the thieves have only a short garment across the middle of the body. On either side of the cross of Christ stands a soldier with a spear and sponge, and at its foot are seated three soldiers casting lots for His garments; whilst on each side of the picture stands a group of weeping disciples and females.[1] But this existence of the crucifix in manuscripts or other private and secluded places, is a vastly different thing from their public positions in churches, chapels or oratories, where the people were accustomed to meet for worship before them; it is different, too, as the work of monks for illustration of the Gospel history, from the decrees of councils and popes respecting their use in the public worship of the churches, or in private devotion. For it did not take a great many centuries to bring in the idolatry of the crucifix itself—the adoration of the wood and the figure—and the superstitious veneration of relics. Any one who has witnessed this kind of ceremonies at the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, or at Rome, knows the meaning of crucifix-worship. And if the Church of the first six centuries could do without the crucifix, and maintain its faith and charity in their purity, I, for one, can see no need of its introduction and adoption now. It is and must always be, a most painful object to look at, exciting only horror and anguish. The cross is quite enough to tell the whole story of our redemption; and of it we must never be ashamed.

I have reserved the annexed representation of a Pagan crucifix, as I believe it is, for this place purposely, in order to show how the idea of the crucifixion of the incarnate God may have been the common inheritance of Paganism; and as an object to excite the sensibilities, may have suggested to the churchmen of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, its adoption for this very purpose, as well as for popular effect among the still remaining Pagans of the East and West. The actual crucifixion of our Lord was the deed of Paganism; and now, after so long an interval, its representation might be ventured upon without shame or risk. The Pagans would ridicule it no more, seeing that Christianity had supplanted their own religion, and had realized the meaning of their own mythology. The Crucified to them would mean life from the dead, and death in order to life.

I have put on the next page (Figs. 112 and 113) one of the Round Towers of Ireland, upon which the representation of the crucifixion occurs, and four nondescript bronze animals from India; the former copied from O'Brien, and the latter from Moor.[2] My only motive in doing so is to compare the animals having the long

[1] *Paleographia Sacra Pictoria*, art. Syriac Manuscripts. London, n. d. Fleury gives it as the first; *L'Evangile*, II. pl. 87, with another of same date.

[2] *Round Towers*, pp. 299–304. *Hindu Pantheon*, pl. 34, No. 2, p. 141.

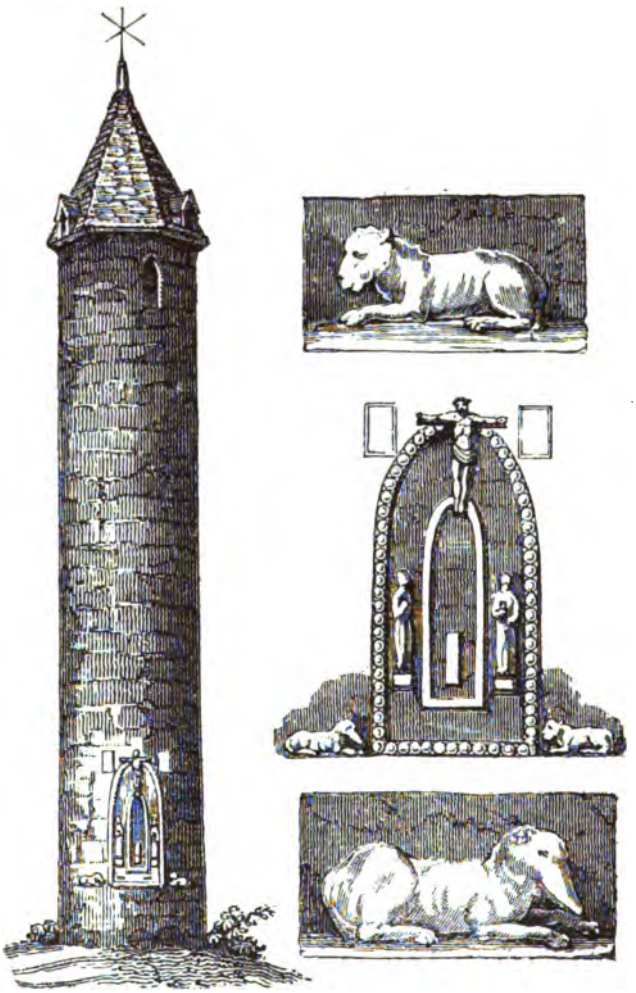


FIG. 112.—Irish Round Tower and Crucifix.

long flexible nose like the tapir, and had no need of a proboscis; such an animal once roamed our Western plains or lived near their lakes, when a tropical climate prevailed. The horns are still in the way, and we cannot identify snouts. What are they? Not elephants; for there are no tusks and no proboscis. Not cows and calves, as Moor suggests the lower ones to be, by any stretch of the imagination; for still there are no horns, and the bodies are those of elephants. The long snout in all these examples suggests the tapir, but there are no tapirs in Ireland or India; they are found thus far only in South America and Sumatra. They answer better to the account of the brontotherium, an animal so named by Prof. Marsh, of New Haven, Connecticut, and discovered in the bed of an old miocene lake, in Dakota. Large as an elephant, and bearing a general resemblance to it in form, its legs were shorter, and like those of the rhinoceros; its nose adorned with a pair of huge horns; its skull a yard in length; without tusks or long proboscis, it still had a

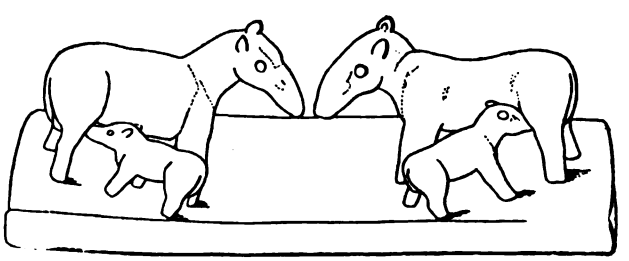


FIG. 113.—Hindu Figures of Animals.

these animals in our plate with any existing species. But they are much alike; and the question is, how did Ireland and India come so close together?

Henry O'Brien explains this Round Tower crucifixion as that of Buddha; the animals as the elephant and the bull sacred to Buddha, and into which his soul entered after death; the two figures standing beside the cross as Buddha's virgin mother, and Kama, his favourite disciple.[1] The whole picture bears a close likeness to the crucifixion in the cemetery of Pope Julius, except the animals, which are conclusive proof that it cannot be Christian. It came ultimately from the far East to Ireland with the Phœnician colonists, who erected the Round Towers as symbols of the Life-giving and Preserving Power of man and nature, and how that universal life is produced through suffering and death.

Christ's crucifixion was shrouded in darkness; but Christ's Church has been presumptuous enough to bring it forth into light and prominence, after the example of Paganism, and to the perversion of its precious purpose. It was not to be seen, or to be seen but once; its realistic repetition destroys its awful sanctity and mystery, and familiarizes the mind only with a ghastly scene of barbaric cruelty.

FIG. 114.—God the Father as Pope, and His crucified Son. Sixteenth century.

To what length human presumption will go in this image of the Crucified, look for evidence at this representation of God, the Father, habited as a Pope, and holding forth His Son in the agony and death of crucifixion. (Fig. 114.) I have copied it from Didron; and it is to be found among the curious representations of the stained glass windows of St. Martin's Church, Troyes, France.[2] It is the work of the latter part of the sixteenth century.

But earlier than this, viz.: A. D. 1511, Albert Durer executed one of his most celebrated paintings for a church in Nuremburg, whence it was removed to Prague, and is now in the Belvedere at Vienna, I mean his Adoration of the Trinity, in which God the Father is represented as Pope holding forth His crucified Son, as above.[3] In view of all this, as to the symbol becoming an idol, the cry of the Litany may well go up to heaven, day and night: O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

[1] *Round Towers*, p. 301. [2] *Icon. Chrét.*, p. 232. [3] Head's *Handbook of Painting*, I. p. 134. London, 1854.

The earliest example of our Lord's burial which exists among the monuments of primitive Christianity is, perhaps, that of an ivory in the Vatican, of the sixth century, which represents a square structure, surmounted by a dome, with an open door, no doubt intended for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with a sleeping soldier on each side of it, and two of the holy women who came early in the morning to anoint the dead body of their Lord.[1] No such representations are found in the Catacombs or the early churches either of the East or West. It is barely possible that on a sarcophagus of the fourth century, where two persons sit under the Monogram, one asleep and the other looking up, there may be a symbolical allusion to it; but the actual scene has yet to be discovered.[2] So careful was early Christian art in abstaining from all painful representations of her Lord. It is a hint to modern realists in art that they go and do likewise. Mere animal and æsthetic sensibilities do not constitute the essence of true religion, for it consists of faith, hope, and charity; faith comes from hearing the Word of God; hope is the child of heaven looking for future deliverance from all evil to the Cross of Christ alone; and charity is the love of God and His truth, as well as of our neighbours, which also keeps His commandments and endures forever.

[1] Fleury, *L'Evangile*, II. pl. 92, No. 3. [2] Id., No. 2.

"Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example."

I. *Pet.*, ii. 21.

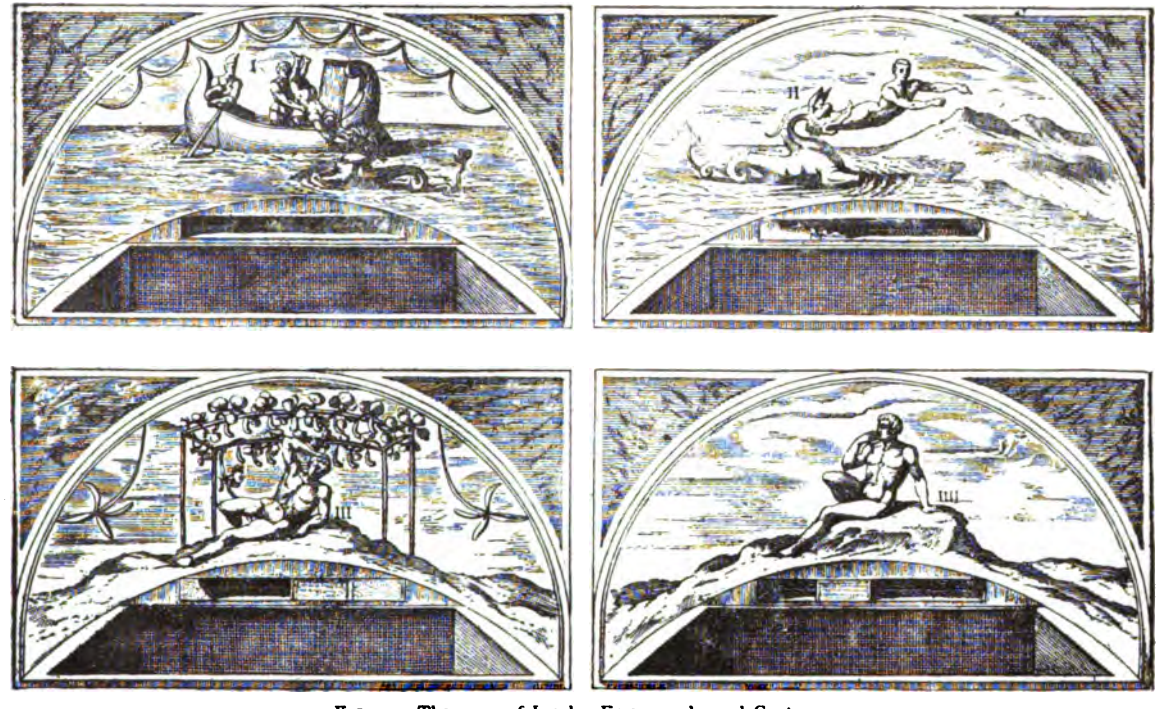


FIG. 115—The story of Jonah. Fresco. 2d or 3d Century.

## CHAPTER X.

### JESUS CHRIST AS DELIVERER.

*Jesus Christ our Lord.—He descended into Hell; the third day He rose from the dead; He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.—Jonah as a type of Christ in Hades.—Etruscan, Hindu, aud Egyptian examples and parallels.—Hindu and Egyptian trees of life.—The Ascension and its Gentile parallels.*

THE Christian Creeds are guilty of no such miserable tautology and nonsense as would be implied and involved in the declaration, "He was buried, and He descended into the grave." Beyond the grave is Hades or Hell; and while the human body of our Lord rested in the one, His human soul descended into the other. Whatever, then, Hades may be, it is not the grave; it is a separate state of existence between death and the new life of the resurrection, sometimes called the Intermediate State. It was into this that the soul of Christ went after death.

About the middle of the fourth century, Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea,—of that Church neither cold nor hot, and therefore spued out,—denied that our Lord had a mere man's rational soul, and maintained that His Divinity or the Logos took the place of the human soul in Him. This was manifestly a denial of our Lord's true and proper humanity, and it was just as much a heresy as the denial of His essential Divinity on the part of Arius. This heresy of Apollinarius was condemned on all sides, by provincial synods, by the laws of the Empire, by the writings of learned ecclesiastics; and, A. D. 381, it was finally condemned by the General Council that met at Constantinople, in that year, for the express purpose. It was after this Council, A. D. 390, that we first meet with the clause in the Creed about the Descent into Hell. The Aquilean Creed, or otherwise known as that of Ruffinus, is the first example of any Creed containing this clause. No necessity had hitherto existed for the special statement of this fact or doctrine, since nobody had ever before doubted or denied it; it was the common belief of all Christendom

from the beginning; and it was only now incorporated in the Creed, by special statement, because our Lord's true and proper manhood had been denied. And the Athanasian Creed amplifies the statement of the doctrine, when it says of Christ's human nature: "Man, of the substance of His mother, born in the world; perfect God, and perfect man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting, one Christ, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh; but by taking of the manhood into God; for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ; Who suffered for our salvation; descended into Hell." Of course the Nicene Creed would have no statement of the doctrine as to the Descent into hell, inasmuch as it was drawn up and promulgated before the existence of the heresy of Apollinarius.

We first naturally turn to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to see what is there said upon this subject. We find St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, in his great sermon, citing a prophetical passage from the Psalms: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption;" and this passage he applies to Jesus Christ as the Person referred to, whose soul was not left in hell, nor His body in the grave. (Acts, ii. 25–32.) The penitent thief on the cross asked the Lord to remember him when He came into His kingdom, and was answered that he should that day be with Christ in paradise; all of which implies faith on the part of the malefactor, and a place or state after death in which both should be together in that part of Hades called paradise. (St. Luke, xxiii. 42 and 43.) The doctrine of the Descent into hell and of the Ascension into heaven is stated by St. Paul in these words: "He that ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens." (Eph. iv. 9 and 10.) The preaching of Christ to the spirits in prison, spoken of by St. Peter, has universally been regarded as proof of the doctrine. (I. Pet. iii. 18.)

But the most explicit and emphatic statement of the doctrine is contained in these words of our Lord Himself: "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth; a greater than Jonas is here." (St. Matt. xii. 39–41.) Jonah, then, is a type of Christ when He descended into hell, and rose from the dead on the the third day. Early Christianity has recorded her understanding and explanation of the matter in her monuments, one of which precedes this chapter.

Inasmuch as our Lord Himself has adopted Jonah as a type of His own intermediate existence between death and the resurrection, it will be necessary to exam-

ine the subject with some care, and ascertain, as far as possible, its precise meaning. I begin, then, with the story itself as Jonah tells it, and as it is in the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, with which the reader may compare the corresponding passage in the authorized version of King James. When Jonah was thrown overboard, "the Lord had commanded a great fish to swallow Jonas, so Jonas was three days and three nights in the belly of the fish. And when out of the belly of the great fish, Jonas prayed to the Lord his God, and said, 'In my affliction I cried to the Lord my God, and He hearkened to me. Thou didst hear my cry from the womb of Hades; Thou didst hearken to my prayer; Thou hast cast me into the depths of the heart of the sea. When streams encompassed me—all Thy billows and Thy waves passed over me. Then I said, I am cast out from Thy sight; nevertheless I will continue to look towards Thy holy temple. The water was poured round me to my soul; and the lowest abyss encompassed me; my head hath gone down into the clefts of the mountains; I have gone down to a land, the bars of which are everlastingly fixed; let my soul now, corrupted as it is, ascend, O Lord, my God. When my soul was fainting I remembered the Lord; let my prayer now come to Thee into Thy holy temple. . . . . I will sacrifice to Thee with the voice of praise and thanksgiving. I will pay Thee what I have vowed to the Lord for my deliverance.' Upon this a command was given by the Lord to the fish, and it cast forth Jonas upon the dry ground."[1]

In the authorized version this expression occurs, "The weeds were wrapped about my head;" and this, together with the consideration of *the belly of the fish and the womb of Hades as synonymous*, seems to make it a matter of symbol and allegory as to the precise manner of Jonah's preservation in the deep and his deliverance from its dangers. Jonah was cast out and sacrificed to save the ship and the sailors; Christ was cast out and sacrificed for the salvation of mankind. Jonah went down into the lowest parts of the earth and sea, called the womb of Hades: Christ descended into Hell, but no fish swallowed Him; Jonah prayed to God in Hades; and Christ preached to the spirits in prison; Jonah was brought out of corruption; Christ saw no corruption; and Jonah went to Nineveh for its salvation, even as Christ ascended up on high to make the city of God a New Jerusalem for His redeemed people.

In order, then, that Jonah may be a complete type of Christ, we must inquire into the meaning of the fish or whale that is said to have swallowed him. Christ makes the whale's belly as to Jonah and the heart of the earth as to Himself, synony-

[1] Version of Charles Thompson, late Secretary to the Congress of the United States. Vol. III. Jonas. Phila., 1808.

mous, just as Jonah himself does; and therefore, synonymous they must be in some sense. Besides, what fainting could there be to a man safely lodged inside a whale's belly? or how could his head be wrapped about with weeds? Who has ever yet been able to determine precisely what kind of fish it was that swallowed Jonah, even though the best translation of the original possible, be that of a whale? How long ago is it that whales have ceased to inhabit the Mediterranean sea? Or were they ever found there? Certainly within the Christian era either no whales have been known in those waters, or it was no whale that swallowed Jonah; for Christian monuments of the second century represent the Pagan *Hippocampus* as the creature that gorged and disgorged Jonah. It is a compound of horse and dolphin. It is the symbol of God's power in the deep and over the deep—the benignant Power of Preservation and safe conduct to the desired haven—the Power exercised in Hades for protection and deliverance. Compare this Etruscan *Hippocampus* and its rider, (Fig. 115,) with the Christian representation of Jonah, and see what kind of a whale it was that swallowed him. Had the primitive Christians at Rome known of any whale, or any other monster of the deep, capable of swallowing a man, can we conceive of any good reason why it should not be represented on their sacred monuments, but rather that a Pagan symbolical creature like the above should have been chosen?—a creature the like of which does not now exist, and so far as we know, never has existed. And I much prefer the ancient Christian and Etruscan symbol to the modern literal, absurd whale. Is there no other kindly Power, or no other and better mode of preserving or restoring a man cast away at sea in a storm, than a whale? But the Bible says it was a whale! Yes, modern translators of the Bible say so; but even granting the correctness of the translation, the Bible also says that Jesus Christ was the Lamb of God; and just so far as Jesus Christ was literally a Lamb, so far the Power that kept and restored Jonah was a whale. Orpheus was a type of Christ, but it is doubtful whether such a person as Orpheus ever lived; so Jonah's whale is a symbol of Hades or the Power of the preservation of life. The above picture is an exact copy from the collection of Maffeus, of a Hippocampus, as it is

FIG. 116.—Etruscan Jonah and Whale.

so often found in the Etruscan tombs.[1] Mrs. Hamilton Gray, in her description of one of the painted tombs of Tarquinia, speaks of the men and horses in various attitudes and occupations; of an offering made by two persons to some female divinity; and of sea-horses and dolphins over the door, at the same time giving a drawing of the whole.[2] These sea-horses or Hippocampi are like the above, a compound of horse and dolphin, only the horse's head and fore feet are a little more exactly defined than in the above representation, perhaps by the copyist. It was a belief of the ancient Greeks, Romans and Etruscans that dolphins attended all cases of shipwreck and transported the struggling mariners safely ashore. The story of Arion, embarking for home from Sicily, where he had won a poetical victory; how he was robbed and thrown overboard by the sailors, and carried ashore on the back of a dolphin, illustrates the story of Jonah, and may be a modification of it. On account of the playful and friendly disposition of the dolphin, it was made the symbol of all that was helpful to man in the dangers of the sea. It was dedicated to the gods and called the Sacred Fish. Montfaucon publishes a youthful and beardless Hercules, the strong power and type of Christ, with precisely such a Hippocampus beside him as the above; and he says of it: "Some ancients say that Hercules was devoured by the whale which guarded Hesione, and that he remained three days in his belly, and at last came out bald. This fable may perhaps be an imitation of the story of Jonas, and is perhaps expressed in this figure, which is not a dragon, but more like Jonas' whale represented in the Subterraneans at Rome."[3]

So, too, the spotted horse is represented as bearing the departed soul away to other regions, in the Etruscan tombs, an example of which is given by George Dennis in his "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria." The horse is singular in shape and colour, red, yellow, and black being the colours. The groom is naked and of a deep red colour. A boy of like complexion sits astride the horse; and a man goes before, leading the way with a double-headed axe or mace on his shoulder, perhaps the same as the cross-shaped hammer of Thor, or the *chakra* of Vishnu and Krishna. Panthers of parti-coloured red, yellow, and black are introduced; and they were sacred to Bacchus as guardians of the dead. The explanation of Mr. Dennis is this: "I take the boy on horseback to be emblematical of the passage of the soul into another state of existence; and the figure with the hammer is probably intended for the Charon of the Etruscans."[4] So horses and their riders occur in one of the Christian cemeteries in connection with Jonah.[5]

[1] *Museum Veronense*, pl. iii. No. 6. *Ver.*, 1749.
[2] *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 176. Lond. 3d Ed., 1843.
[3] *Antiquity Explained*, I. pl. 63, No. 11, c. iv., p. 128.
[4] *Cities and Cemeteries*, &c., I. pp. 50–3. Lond., 1848.
[5] *Garrucci*, pl. 22. In the cemetery of St. Cecilia.

Thus the Dolphin being friendly to man at sea, and the horse being his friend on land, the union of the two became easy and natural as a symbol of the Preserving Power, in the passage from earth to Paradise across the sea of death. The Hippocampus was invented to express this idea. Dennis says that "Hippocampi and water-snakes are symbols frequently found in Etruscan tombs. They are generally regarded as emblematic of the passage of the soul from one state of existence to another, an opinion confirmed by the frequent representation of boys riding on their backs. This view is, moreover, borne out by their amphibious character—horse and fish, snake and fish—evidently referring to a double state of existence."[1] And again, in another place, Dennis says: "Sea-horses and other marine animals and emblems are of so frequent occurrence in Etruscan tombs as well as on Sarcophagi and funeral urns, as obviously not to be without a meaning. As stated in a former chapter, they probably have reference to the passage of the soul into another state of existence, according to the general belief of the ancients that the disembodied spirit had to cross a lake or river on its way to its future abode. In certain cases they may be emblems of the maritime power of Etruria, who long ruled the waves."[2]

In John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," a river must be crossed before the Christian can reach the heavenly city; and every congregation of Protestant Christians sings the hymn beginning with:

"On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," &c.

The idea is fundamental to all religions, and has come down to us from our Pagan ancestors.

Very significantly, indeed, Dennis adds to these explanations another which seems to clear up the whole matter. In speaking of certain urns painted with winged divinities, dolphins, and sea-horses, "symbols, it may be, of maritime power, but more probably of the passage of the soul to another state of existence, especially when a Hippocampus has a winged figure on his back," as in the example above, he says, "The idea of the Hippocampus on ancient monuments was probably suggested by the singular fish of that name, which abounds in the Mediterranean, and whose skeleton resembles a horse's head and neck placed on a fish's tail."[3] The Centaur may also be a symbol of the passage of the soul. But the present Hippocampus of the Mediterranean is a small creature of from six to ten inches in length, rarely reaching more than a foot, two specimens of which are in my possession; and such a whale as this Jonah could have swallowed.

[1] *Cities and Cemeteries*, &c., I. p. 220. [2] Id. I. p. 329. [3] Id. II. p. 184.

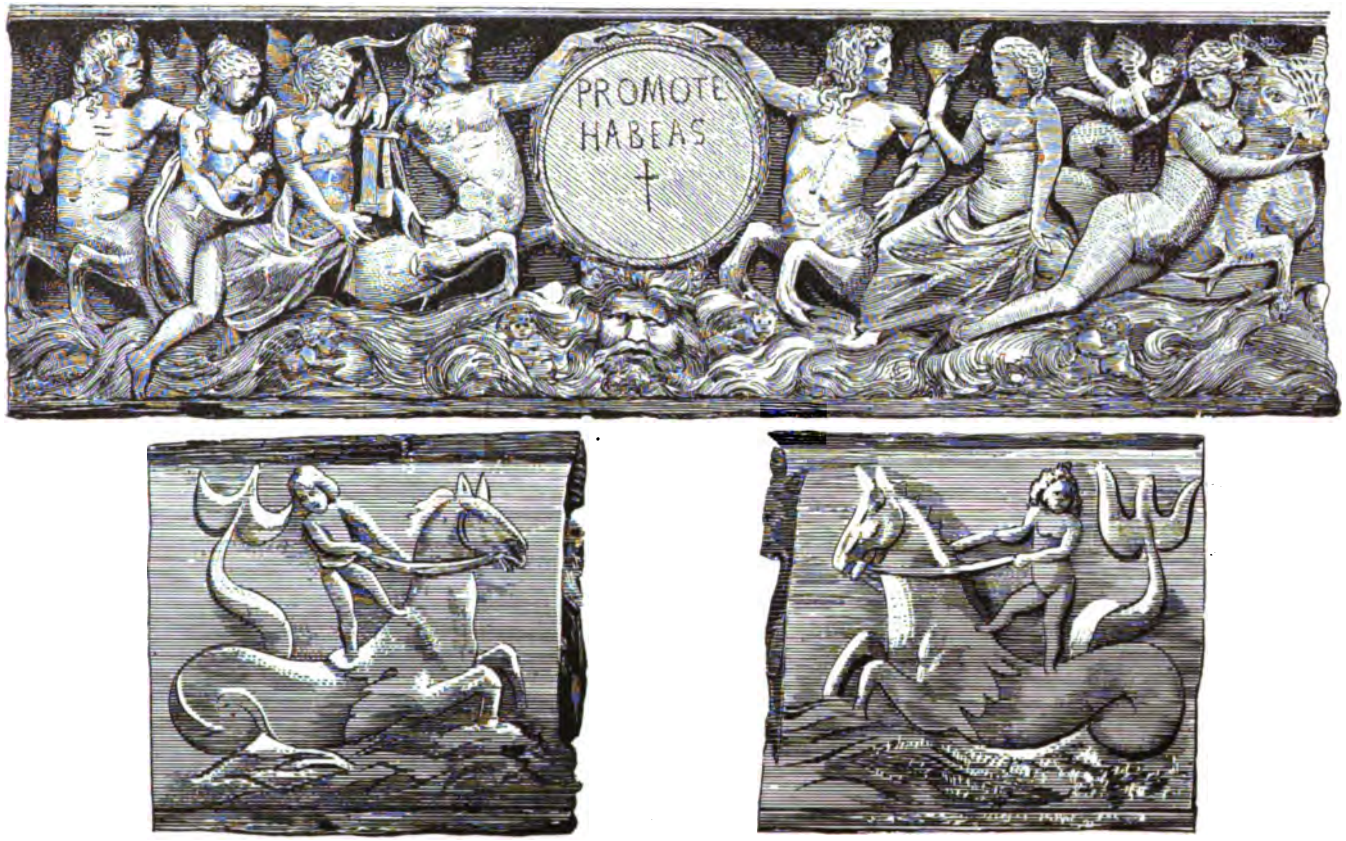



FIG. 117.—Tritons, Nereides and Hippocampi. Christian Sarcophagus.

In the sixth chapter I have given a representation of this passage of souls as treated by Greek and Roman Pagan art; and I here place before the reader another sculpture greatly resembling it, but with the addition of two Hippocampi and boys riding them, taken from the ends of a sarcophagus, which was discovered only two years ago, and a photograph of it published in the Bulletin of the Archæological Municipal Commission of Rome, for the months of May–August, 1873. It is exactly reproduced here (Fig. 116), and it would be hard to tell which was the original, on comparing them. Commandatore Rosa, who is at the head of this Archæological Commission, says that the sarcophagus was discovered under a little green hill, to the west of the great portico, on the right-hand side of the Basilica of St. Lorenzo, in a passage-way leading into the cemetery of Ciriaca.[1] It was probably a Pagan sarcophagus used by some liberal-minded Christian or broad churchman, of the fourth century, named Promotus, which name appears on the central shield or circle, with a cross, and the expression *Habeas*, "*thou hast it*," *i. e.*, the life immortal signified by the cross. Yet it matters not whether it be Pagan or Christian, the fundamental idea is the same, viz.: that of some blessed protecting Power in Hades, and of everlasting life through the cross. Isaac Taylor speaks of the Etruscan belief, as embodied in the symbols of the Hippocampi and horses with boys astride them, in these words: "The central object of the Turanian belief was a Supreme God, the great protecting beneficent power of heaven. They believed also, as firmly as we do ourselves, in a future life and in a future judgment—they held that according to the deeds of the body, so the future state will be. To them it was given in their darkness to have some glimmering knowledge of the Eternal Goodness, and the solace of that blessed hope of immortality which is the stay and refuge of the Christian life."[2]

Now, it is well known to every student of the Roman Catacombs that there is no subject, not even excepting the Good Shepherd, so often represented there as that of Jonah, who, in all cases, is young and beardless like the Good Shepherd. It is presented in every variety of fresco, sculpture, funeral tablet, glass, lamp, medallion, &c.[3] Or, as Charles Maitland expresses it, "By the ancient Church the history of Jonah was deemed typical of death and resurrection, and ranked among the most popular objects of representation employed in the Catacombs. In these subterranean chapels, where the living were separated from the dead by a mere tile or slab of stone, and sometimes liable to be mingled with them by the violence of their enemies even before the conclusion of their worship, the hope of a future life

[1] *Bulletino*, &c., pp. 192–200, pl. iv., Roma, 1873.

[2] *Etruscan Researches*, pp. 115 and 152. Lond., 1874.

[3] And down to the fifteenth century, it held its place in Christian art, for it occurs in the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Hum. Sal.*

naturally occupied a prominent place in their creed. The words, "I believe in the resurrection of the dead," must have resounded with solemn import through those dreary caves; and all that could help a trembling faith to seize the joyful reality was eagerly adopted. Jonah escaping from the whale may be everywhere seen." [1] The sanction of its use was the express declaration of Christ Himself, and His own resurrection.

But there was this great difference between the Pagan and Christian treatment of the subject, viz.: the soul is riding the Hippocampus in the one; it is safely enclosed within the creature, in the other. With good Bishop Münter, I am inclined to think that this Hippocampus or horse-fish of Jonah is like the other Fish or Dolphin of the Christian monuments, a symbol of Christ Himself preserving the souls of the righteous after death in Hades until the general resurrection, when they shall be brought forth to the perfect life and bliss of Heaven. Thus the whole story of Jonah seems to resolve itself into the simple statement that he was miraculously preserved in Hades by that same Divine Power which kept the soul of Christ and restored it to light and life in the resurrection. The power of God in Christ was the whale of Jonah.

Some of the Christian fathers cotemporary with these monuments, are very clear in their statement of the doctrine of Hades or the intermediate state.

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, but two steps removed from the Apostles, being a disciple of Polycarp, who was St. John's pupil, speaks thus against certain heretics who denied the doctrine of an intermediate state, and maintained that the soul at death passed immediately to the perfect life and bliss of Heaven, viz.: "If these things are as they say, the Lord Himself, in whom they profess to believe, did not rise again on the third day; but immediately upon His expiring on the cross, undoubtedly departed on high, leaving His body in the earth. But this was the case, that for three days He dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says concerning Him: 'And the Lord remembered His dead saints (Israel) who slept in the land of sepulture; and He went down to preach His salvation to them, and to rescue and save them.' And the Lord Himself says, 'As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth.' Then also the Apostle says, 'But when He ascended what is it but He first descended into the lower parts of the earth?' This, too, David says, 'And Thou hast delivered my soul from the nethermost hell.' If, then, the Lord observed the law of the dead that he might become the First-Begotten from the dead, and tarried until the third day in the lower parts of the earth: then after-

[1] *The Church in the Catacombs*, pp. 303-4. 2nd Ed., Lond., 1847.

wards rising in the flesh, so that He even shewed the print of the nails to His disciples, He thus ascended to the Father;—if all these things occurred, I say, how must these men not be put to confusion, who allege that the 'lower parts' refer to this world of ours, but that their inner man, leaving the body here, ascends into the super-celestial place? For as the Lord went away into the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were, yet afterwards arose in the body, and after the resurrection was taken up into Heaven, it is manifest that the souls of His disciples also, upon whose account the Lord underwent these things, shall go away into the invisible place allotted to them by God, and there remain until the resurrection awaiting that event; then receiving their bodies and rising in them, just as the Lord arose, they shall come thus into the presence of God."[1]

St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, near Rome, A. D. 220–30, says that Christ became incarnate and subject to the law for the purpose of redeeming those who were under the bondage and curse of the law: "Wherefore the warders of Hades trembled when they saw Him; and the gates of brass and the bolts of iron were broken. For, lo, the Only-Begotten entered, a soul among souls, God the Word with a human soul. For His body lay in the tomb, not emptied of Divinity; but as, while in Hades, He was in essential being with His Father, so was He also in the body and in Hades. Of His own will He dwelt in a body animated by a soul, in order that with his soul He might enter Hades, and not with His pure divinity."[2]

Again in his description of Hades, Hippolytus says: "Hades is a place in the created system, chaotic, a locality beneath the earth, without light. This locality has been destined to be as it were a guard-house for souls, at which the angels are stationed as warders, distributing to each one's deeds the temporary awards according to different characters. And in this locality there is a certain place set apart by itself, a lake of unquenchable fire, into which we suppose no one has ever yet been cast; for it is prepared against the day appointed by God, in the which one sentence of righteous judgment shall be applied to all. And the unrighteous, and those who believed not God, shall be sentenced to this endless punishment. But the righteous shall obtain the incorruptible and unfading kingdom, who indeed are at present detained in Hades, but not in the same place with the unrighteous."[3] This illustrates the parable of the rich man and Lazarus as to Hades consisting of two parts or conditions, and the lake of fire under all, which shall receive and devour both death and hell; and which is the second death. (Rev. xx. 14.) A blessed thing it is

[1] *Lib.* v. c. 31, iii. c. 20, of *Hær.* Also, Harvey's Creeds, vol. I. pp. 333–4.

[2] *Com. on St. Luke*, Ante-Nicene Lib., I. p. 485.

[3] *Adver. Græcos.* Fabricius' Ed., p. 220.

that it is yet in the far distant future, and that none of our race has been cast into it!

In the fourth chapter, on the *Disciplina Arcani*, I have referred to the objection of Celsus as to this then prevalent Christian doctrine of Hades; and I now give Origen's reply as to Christ's object in going down to hell: "Whether he like it or not, we assert that not only while Jesus was in the body did He win over not a few persons only, but so great a number that a conspiracy was formed against Him on account of the multitude of His followers; but also, that when He became a soul, without the covering of the body, He dwelt among the disembodied spirits, *converting such of them to Himself as were willing, or those whom He saw for reasons known to Himself, to be fitted for salvation.*"[1]

St. Clement of Alexandria is equally clear and emphatic as to Christ's descent into hell as the mighty Conquerer of death: "Wherefore the Lord preached the Gospel to those in Hades, as well as to all in earth, in order that all might believe and be saved, wherever they were. If, then, the Lord descended to Hades for no other end but to preach the Gospel, as He did descend, it was either to preach the Gospel to all, or to the Hebrews only. If accordingly to all, then all who believe shall be saved, although they may be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there; since God's punishments are saving and disciplinary, leading to conversion, and choosing rather the repentance than the death of a sinner; and especially since souls, although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies are able to perceive more clearly, when no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh. And because the Gospel further says, that many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after His resurrection, and went into the Holy City and appeared unto many, it is manifest that they were translated to a better state, or higher post; wherefore there then took place a universal movement and translation through our Saviour's dispensation."[2]

Eusebius, in his "Demonstration of the Gospel," says on the sixteenth Psalm, that Christ descended into Hades to free the souls long detained there, who for ages had been expecting His coming;[3] and again, in summing up the Christian faith as it was taught to Agbarus, king of Edessa, he says, "Christ humbled Himself and died, and suffered from the Jews; He was crucified, and descended into Hades, and burst the bars which had never yet been broken, and rose again; and He also raised with Himself the dead that had slept for ages. And how He descended alone, but ascended with a great multitude to His Father."[4]

[1] *Cont. Cel.*, II. c. 43. Harvey's Creeds, I. p. 337.
[2] *Demonstratio*, &c., X. p. 501.
[3] *Stromata*, VI. c. 6
[4] *Eccl. Hist.*, I. c. 13

Hence it is no wonder that in the earliest Liturgies of the Church we find this petition so constantly repeated: "Remember, O Lord, the God of spirits and of all flesh, those whom we have remembered, and those also whom we have not remembered, our fathers and brethren, who have died in the faith of Christ hitherto; and our ancestors from righteous Abel even unto this day. Do Thou give them rest in the region of light and of the living in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence grief and sorrow and sighing are banished away, and where the light of Thy countenance shines continually. And vouchsafe to bring them to Thy Heavenly kingdom."[1]

In view of all this early literary testimony, in connection with the monumental evidence in favour of the doctrine of Hades, we may well exclaim with St. Augustine as to any skepticism about it: *Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum*,—"Who but an infidel would deny that Christ went to the lower regions!"[2]

And because it was infidelity thus to deny the doctrine, and to revive the heresy of Apollinarius, the Bishops of England refused to give Episcopal consecration to the applicants for it in this country, after the Revolution. The "Proposed Book" of Common Prayer which was first prepared, omitted the clause in the Apostles' Creed of the descent into hell; and when it was submitted to the English Bishops for examination, this answer was received: "That if the essential doctrines of our common faith were retained, less respect was paid to our (English) liturgy than its own excellence, and your declared attachment to it, had led us to expect. Not to mention a variety of verbal alterations, of the necessity and propriety of which we are by no means satisfied, we saw with grief that two of the confessions of our Christian faith, respectable for their antiquity, have been entirely laid aside; and that even in that which is called the Apostles' Creed, an article is omitted, which was thought necessary to be inserted, with a view to a particular heresy, in a very early age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception."[3]

At a convention held in Wilmington, Del., in October, A. D. 1786, it was resolved that the clause, "He descended into hell," should be retained in the Apostles' Creed; and that the Nicene Creed should be inserted in the Book of Common Prayer, the two things chiefly criticised by the English Bishops. Bishop White distinctly affirms that "the omission of the article of Christ's descent into hell, in the

[1] Rattray's Liturgies, p. 119. St. James' and St. Mark's.
[2] *Epist. ad Evod.*, 164. Migne's Ed., II. p. 710.
[3] Bishop White's "*Memoirs of the Church*," p. 364.

Apostles' Creed, was the thing principally faulted; nor was it inserted and restored without warm debate in Connecticut, or carried except by a division in the votes of the clergy and laity by dioceses; the numerical majority of votes was against it. Had the issue been different, there could have been no proceeding to England for consecration at this time."[1] And in his "Lectures on the Catechism," under this article of the Creed, the Bishop says: "When this Church became severed from the Church of England, by a civil revolution, with a determination to retain the principles of her parent Church, in doctrine, in worship, and in discipline: and consequently applied to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, for the conveying of the Episcopacy; the principal difficulty occurring in the ensuing negotiation, arose from an intention manifested on our part to expunge from the Creed the article in question."[2] On such a slender thread hung the existence of the present Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America!

If the reader is curious to know what is said of all our Lord's doings in Hades, he is recommended to the perusal of the Apocrypal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, or as it is otherwise called the *Acts of Pilate*, for full details.[3] It is very entertaining, and is translated by the Rev. B. Harris Cowper.

### *The Resurrection of Christ.*

It is a most singular fact that no actual representation of our Lord's resurrection has yet been discovered among the monuments of early Christianity. The earliest that I can find is that published by Mrs. Eastlake in Mrs. Jameson's "History of our Lord," representing a temple like tomb, with a tree growing behind it, on which two birds are feeding; the drowsy guards are leaning on the tomb, one asleep, the other awake, and two others are utterly amazed and confounded; an angel sits at the door of the sepulchre speaking to the three holy women; and our Lord is ascending a hill with a roll in one hand, while the other is grasped by the hand of the Eternal Father, as it is seen reaching down out of heaven. It is an ivory carving, and said to belong to the fifth or sixth century.[4] It is at Munich.

Surely, then, there must have been some other way of representing to the primitive Christian faith and hope a fact so dear to the heart as that of the Lord's resurrection. As the crucifixion is only represented by symbol, so doubtless is the resurrection. If the reader will turn to the fifth chapter, and look at the sacred mono-

[1] *Memoirs*, &c., pp. 133–4 [2] p. 33.
[3] Thilo's Coll., pp. 675–781. Also Tischendorf's, pp. 368–395.
[4] Vol. II. p. 263. 2nd Ed. Lond. 1865.

gram in the centre of the lower sarcophagus, he will see one of the modes of representing the mystery of the resurrection. I have already referred to it as a symbol of the Trinity,—the circle denoting the Father, the monogram the Son, and the doves the Holy Ghost. But then this circle is a crown of glory also, which the Father gave as the sign of victory and peace. The Son of God had become incarnate for man's redemption; He had suffered and died to make the great sacrifice of love; He had gone down to Hades seemingly defeated and undone; but now He comes forth in the resurrection as a Conquerer over sin and death, and must needs be crowned as all other conquerors are. The Psalmist had prophesied of Christ, "Thou hast made Him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned Him with glory and honour;" (Ps. viii. 5;) and an Apostle says, "We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour." (Heb. ii. 9.) Below the crowned monogram we see our Lord as the youthful Divinity speaking to two women, one of whom is kneeling towards Jesus as if asking a favour, and the other is assisting her by laying the hand on her shoulder. These women are evidently Mary and Martha, come to meet Jesus to tell Him their brother Lazarus was dead. He seems to be saying to them, "Thy brother shall rise again; I am the Resurrection and the Life." The twelve Apostles are adoring the Mystery of Christ risen as thus shown to be what He proclaimed Himself at Bethany.

Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza and defeating the Philistines by his own death, was considered as a type of Christ bursting open and carrying away the gates of Hades, and conquering His and our enemies by His death and resurrection. Such a fresco painting there is of Samson with the gate or huge door of Gaza on his back, and it is in connection with Jonah just landed out of Hades, and holding up his hands as an Orante in thanksgiving and praise. And in the same *cubiculum* with this grouping we have on one of the side walls, the resurrection of Lazarus, and Jonah reclining under his gourd.[1] Isaac, too, was a type of Christ's resurrection, because he was the same as dead and restored to his father alive; and because his father "accounted that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure." (Heb. xi. 17.) Daniel, also, because he prophesied of Christ and the resurrection, was a special type of Him in overcoming sin and death Daniel is always youthful, nude, in a praying or cross-like attitude, and standing between two lions that have been subdued and tamed. Perhaps this scene in the lions' den may have some special reference to Hades, and the deliver-

[1] Bosio's *Rom. Sott.*, p. 567. In the "*Biblia Pauperum, and The Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,*" the types of Christ's resurrection are Jonah coming out of the whale, and Samson with the gates of Gaza.

ance from death and corruption or the power of the grave. (Fig. 118.) In either case, whether the lions represent sin and death, or death and corruption, the meaning is the same, *i. e.*, it is the deliverance of Christ's entire human nature, body, and soul, from the grave and from Hades. He rises to be the Good Shepherd again, and to establish His Church, as here represented.

FIG. 118.—Daniel as a type of Christ. Fresco. Fourth or Fifth century.

This painting is within the *arcosolium* of the cubiculum or chapel, on the end wall, immediately over the altar-tomb, of the Cemetery of Sts. Marcellinus and Peter.[1] The post of honour is here assigned to Daniel, standing within the circle as an Orante. (No. III.) The Good Shepherd is below, (No. I,) with the lamb as our lost humanity on His shoulders, and His Jewish and Gentile flock represented by the two sheep at His feet. The Church as one and as the Bride of Christ is represented by the female Orante. (No. II.) The very flowers growing at the root of the central tree are cross-like, just as we so often see them in nature. The garlands and palm branches are signs of joy and victory. The doves suggest the Holy Spirit, or His work in the sanctification of His people. Daniel is here, therefore, pre-eminently the type of Christ in His resurrection as the hope and the pledge of the future and general resurrection of all the sleeping dead.

But notwithstanding all these Old Testament types of Christ, we must notice other facts, so often presented to our view in the Christian monuments, and always when Jonah is the subject, (1) of the prophet reclining under his gourd or tree of life, after coming out of Hades; and (2) the withering of that gourd. Sometimes it

[1] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.*, p. 387.

is a tree without gourds, under which he lies.'[1] The four scenes go together generally, as in the plate which precedes this chapter, viz.: death, resurrection, rest, and life eternal. Jonah was not a faithful or amiable prophet of the Lord; and yet if he is made the type of Christ in His death and resurrection, so he must be considered in the scenes which follow. What, then, is the meaning of the gourd under which he reclines?

The Septuagint makes this gourd the *colocynth*, (κολοκύνθη,) which St. Jerome translates by the word *hedera* or ivy, a plant sacred to Bacchus. This was a new reading, about which there was a lively controversy in the beginning of the fifth century. The people of Tripoli rebelled against it, and made an uproar in the Church. The loss of the gourd, always a favourite in that burning clime, affected them not less than it had Jonah; and to make things worse, the Jews assured them that the true rendering of the Hebrew *Kikaion* was gourd. St. Augustine followed the Septuagint and Syriac readings, and stopped the reading of St. Jerome's Vulgate throughout his diocese, not hesitating to stigmatize its rendering of this word into ivy as a heresy![2] The Christian monuments followed the Septuagint, and such plants as appear figured in them are still offered for sale in the markets of Rome. Sometimes, however, the plant is represented as a long cucumber rather than a gourd, and the leaves of the vine are large and thick, so as to make an abundant shade, which after all is the main consideration. The *Palma Christi* or castor-oil plant has had some advocates; but the best authorities adhere to the gourd or wild cucumber as answering all the claims of Jonah's plant. Parkhurst, Gesenius, Jablonsky, and Michaelis so regard it. Jerome's cotemporaries, the Jews, so rendered it. Its derivation from the Egyptian *Kiki* is in its favour. It is susceptible of rapid growth in warm countries, and in India assumes the size of a tree. It has large palm-like leaves, large fruit, and lasts about four months, according to Niebuhr; and Volney says of it that "the species of gourd near Cairo called *Kerra* will, in twenty-four hours, send out shoots near four inches long." Its juice is medicinal, being powerfully purgative. The story in Jonah makes it to be of rapid growth, as a night plant. And the Christian monuments confirm the whole substantially.

"The trees of the Lord are full of sap," says the Psalmist; and from the trees of Eden and the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God, and which bare twelve kinds of fruits monthly, whose leaves were for the healing of the nations, (Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2,) trees have been taken as symbols of God's power, mercy, and majesty. Trees occupy such an important place in the economy of nature by way

[1] See plate in Chap. VI. on the Fish and Fisherman.

[2] See Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 305. Also Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, *Art. Gourd.*

of attracting and retaining moisture, and shading the water-sources and the soil so as to prevent barrenness and desolation; they are so useful to man for shade, for fruit, for medicine, for fuel, for building houses and ships, for furniture, for almost every department of life, that it is no wonder some of the more conspicuous ones, such as the oak, the pine, the palm, and the sycamore, have been made sacred and used for worship. Good men like Abraham have worshipped God under a *terebinth* or evergreen oak; and our Lord Himself went out to the Garden of Gethsemane to quiet His deep agitation of soul under its olive trees. The influence of a vast pine forest upon a man overworked in town is most salutary and restoring. Its profound silence, its long vistas of aisles and colonnades, its towering trunks of trees softly feathered and festooned towards the top; or its roar like Niagara or the stormy sea, when the wind blows hard or a thunder storm prevails; or a night scene in such a forest by a camp fire, whose ruddy light projects your shadow through the open vista miles high up towards heaven; the distant howl of wolves, or the loud hootings of the owl; your sleep in a bed of dry moss under a canopy of young balsam trees, sweeter than an infant's slumber,—all this gives new life and energy to the mere brain-worker; and he goes back to his duty after such a brief sojourn in the woods, fresh and vigorous. The trees that we climbed or played under when we were children, we love to visit in after years; and often they are the only friends or acquaintances left, when our own kindred have passed away from the old ancestral home.

In view of all this, is it any wonder that the Norsemen had their Yggdrasill or great tree of life? or that the Hindus had theirs?—a tree comprehending heaven, earth, and hell—God as a Triad of being, power, and intelligence—man as a triad of body, mind, and soul? the tree of all existence?[1] In its Hindu form it is here presented. It was the roots of the Yggdrasill that spread far and wide in different directions; here it is the branches. "The universe," says Capila, "is the eternal tree Brahma, which sprung from an im-

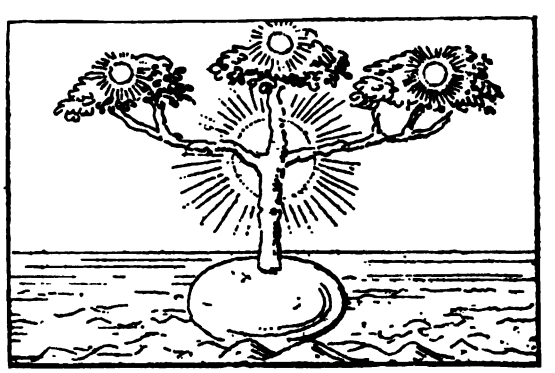


FIG. 119.—The Hindu Tree of Life.

[1] See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, pp. 410, 488–494, Bohn's Ed. Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, I. pp. 154–56. London, 1851.

perceptible seed (matter.")[1] In speaking of creation, the Vedas describe the complete nonentity of everything, except the impersonal Supreme Being called *Tad* or *That*, whose breathing produced the female principle. Then there was darkness and a chaos of waters and fluids, at length covered by a husk or crust. Then desire was first formed in his mind, and that became the original productive seed; in souls it became providence; and in the elements it became matter.[2]

Again, the Laws of Menu say, "That the universe, consisting of three worlds, was produced from water. He first, with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed. Water, which is the element whence the three worlds proceeded, is that light which is also the efficient cause of creation, duration, and destruction, manifested with these powers, in the form of BRAHMA, VISHNU, and RUDRA; to denote this, 'earth, sky, and heaven,' are subjoined as epithets of light. These terms bear allusion also to the three qualities of truth, passion, and darkness, corresponding with the three manifestations of power, as creator, preserver, and destroyer; hence it is also intimated that the irradiating being is manifested as BRAHMA, VISHNU, and RUDRA, who are respectively endued with the qualities of truth, passion, and darkness. The meaning is, that this irradiating being, who is the supreme BRAHMA manifested in three forms or powers, is the efficient cause of the creation of the universe, of its duration and destruction. Thus the universe, consisting of three worlds, containing all that is fixed or movable, is the irradiating being, as creator, preserver and destroyer or renovator."[3]

The symbolic tree just given (in Fig. 119) fully illustrates all this Hindu religion and philosophy. There is a vast expanse of water; the seed or Brahme is denoted by the circle out of which the tree grows; the central sun is the one chief irradiating light; the three branches, each with a sun, denote the three powers of creation, preservation and renovation after destruction, and the three great corresponding divisions of the universe and of human nature. Its cross-like shape suggests how all life is the result of sacrifice, suffering, and death. It is reproduced and enlarged from Guigniaut's improved version of Creuzer's *Symbolik*.[4] I admit that it bears no resemblance to Jonah's gourd; but I am sure that it illustrates the principle of reproduced life out of the profound abyss of God's Almightiness. Life comes out of the sea here, just as Jonah did; and Jonah's great Antitype was the Sun that shed light upon all the darkness hitherto, manifesting God more clearly as a Trinity of Divine Persons, not abstractions or powers merely; and demonstrating the doctrine of immortality in both body and soul. It was the new creation.

[1] Ward's *Hindoos*, IV. Int. xxiv.
[2] Colebrooke's *Essays*, I. 33–4.
[3] Colebrooke's *Essays*, I. pp. 131–2.
[4] Plate ii., No. 16, Vol. I. p. 157, and Vol. IV of Plates.

FIG. 180.—Buddha under the Tree of Life.

But what have we here? It is a fac-simile of a gilt bronze Buddha in my possession, obtained almost directly, from a British officer, who captured it from a temple in Burmah, during the late war.

It represents Buddha seated as usual in meditation, but here as I have never before seen him, under a cruciform tree, like the one given above from the Hindu monuments; and this tree not only has the three great divisions of the universe symbolized by its three branches, but each branch has its three stems, symbolizing the Triad or three-fold powers of creation, preservation, and destruction. He also wears the pointed cap of Mithra, which is unusual. And this little image is a precious thing in its way, as showing that Buddhism is not the atheistical system it is said to be. Moreover, it seems to prove that the fundamental idea of God is the same as that of Brahminism. Upham says: "It (Buddhism) is charged with excluding altogether a Creator and Governor from its system; but, if it be capable of positive proof that this is the true meaning of the doctrine, still it admits, on the other hand, the operation of Fate, (called *Damata*,) whereby much of the necessary process of conservation, or government, is infused into the system. It is philosophically described as a circle; for the universe proceeds upon the precise idea developed in Ovid; it arises in beauty and excellence, and enjoys a golden age of rectitude and peace; it deteriorates, as it passes through a determinate series of changes, from its brightness and glory; the stature of its inhabitants diminishes, and the perfection of its fruits and every other natural quality become proportionably lessened and impoverished, by stated degrees, until the arrival of the period for their destruction, for which three agents are periodically assigned, namely, fire, water, and wind. Each of these causes has its exact limits; the last is the final and grand cataclysm which sweeps the whole system into general destruction. Such is the eternally revolving circle of the Buddhist scheme, which, containing germs of self-existence, even after this catastrophe, exhibits them as again developed by necessity or fate, rolling

FIG. 121.—Buddha enthroned.

spontaneously onwards, as before, in eternally revolving changes."[1]

But here is another and more usual image of Buddha reproduced from Guigniaut's plates.[2] He is entirely nude, and seated with his legs crossed like a Turk or tailor, on a pedestal in the middle of which is a serpent in a tetragon, enclosed within a hexagon. On his breast and in the palm of his right hand, resting in the left, is a flower of four petals in the shape of a cross. The flower in the hand, however, has another like one within it, not shown here, but in Moor's plate, (75, No. 3,) making a square divided by a cross into four other squares, or an octagon, like the eight-pointed star; the fan or canopy of Brahma is over his head, together with *Naga*, the Raja of serpents, *i. e.*, the personification of the Eternal.[3]

Now, as there were twenty-two Buddhas or incarnations of Vishnu, one of which was Krishna, why may not these cross-like flowers be intended as something more than the offerings brought to Buddha, as Moor conjectures, and be really intended as symbols of his incarnation, or joining of heaven and earth, God and man, to give life to the world by his sufferings and death? Buddha, like Krishna, was crucified, as already shewn in the seventh chapter; and here he is naked as Jonah under his gourd, reposing under his canopy of shade and the guardianship of the Eternal One, showing the marks of his conquest over death in his hand and breast, and sometimes, in other examples, in his feet also, viz.: the sign of the cross. Moor gives an example, where such a cross is on the middle of the sole of his right foot between two stars, one of which has eight points, and the other six.[4]

According to the legends of Gotama Buddha, the ninth and last incarnation of Vishnu, it was under a tree that he was born, and it was in the forest, by one of its trees, that he attained *nirwana* or passed away into the Divine essence and conscious repose; just as in the case of Krishna thus born and dying. Buddha's last words were: "The elements of the omniscient will pass away; the three gems

[1] *History of Buddhism. Int.*, pp. 2 and 3. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 391, 432, &c.
[2] *Religions*, &c., pl. 13, No. 112.
[3] *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 227.
[4] *Hindu Pantheon*, pl. 70, No. 5

will still remain."[1] I have no doubt that it was some *sal* tree in the same form as that of the three cruciform branches, under which we see him sitting, to denote his lordship over the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell, gained by his death. Lucian, also, describes such trees, (palms,) in his Syrian Goddess.[2] Another way of representing the tree of life with its fruits, among the Babylonians and Persians, is the above (Fig. 122), which I find in Lajard's plates, but without any definite description in the text.[3] [He died before his great work was completed.] It represents a cylinder of green jasper, with cuneiform inscriptions somewhat effaced; but with other figures sufficiently obvious to determine the motive of the composition. The three priestesses are gathering the fruit of what seems to be a palm tree with three branches on each side, for distribution; a smaller palm tree with fruit and three branches on each side is between two of the priestesses; another bush with three branches is near a priestess; a bush with seven branches, on the top of which perches a swan, goose, or duck, is near the other priestess; while the crescent moon is in the field between and over two of the holy women; and another duck, swan, or goose, is in the lower corner. These three-branched trees and seven-branched bush most probably have the same meaning as in the case of Buddha and Krishna, and relate to the life of the universe kept up and reproduced in endless cycles of change, destruction, restoration, and transmigration. The duck or swan was sacred to Agni in the Vedic hymns, who is compared to a swan in the waters, *i. e.*, light in darkness, or the sun in the blue vault of heaven. Agni is sometimes called *hansa* or swan, the companion of the clouds, *i. e.*, lightning. In Egypt the duck or swan was an emblem of the god Seb or Saturn, much esteemed as an article of food, and as an offering for the altar; but not holding rank among the sacred animals of Egypt.[4] Horapollo explains it thus: "When they would denote a *son*, they delineate *Chenalopex*. (a species of goose.) For this animal is excessively fond of its offspring, and if ever

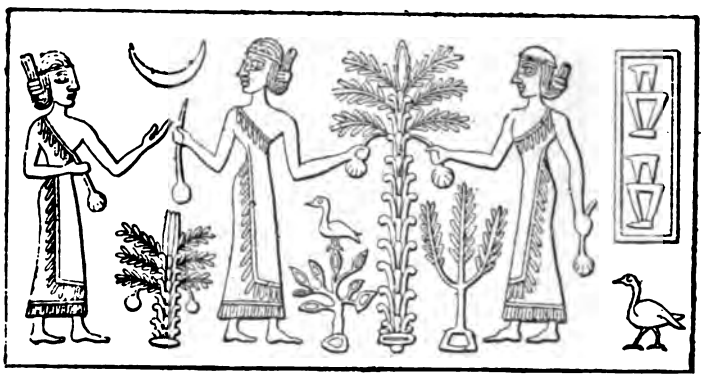


FIG. 122.—Babylonian Tree of Life and its fruits.

[1] Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 145, 181, 347.
[2] Vol. III. p. 475.
[3] Pl. 27, No. 7, of *Mithra*.
[4] Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 2d Series, II. pp. 226–7.

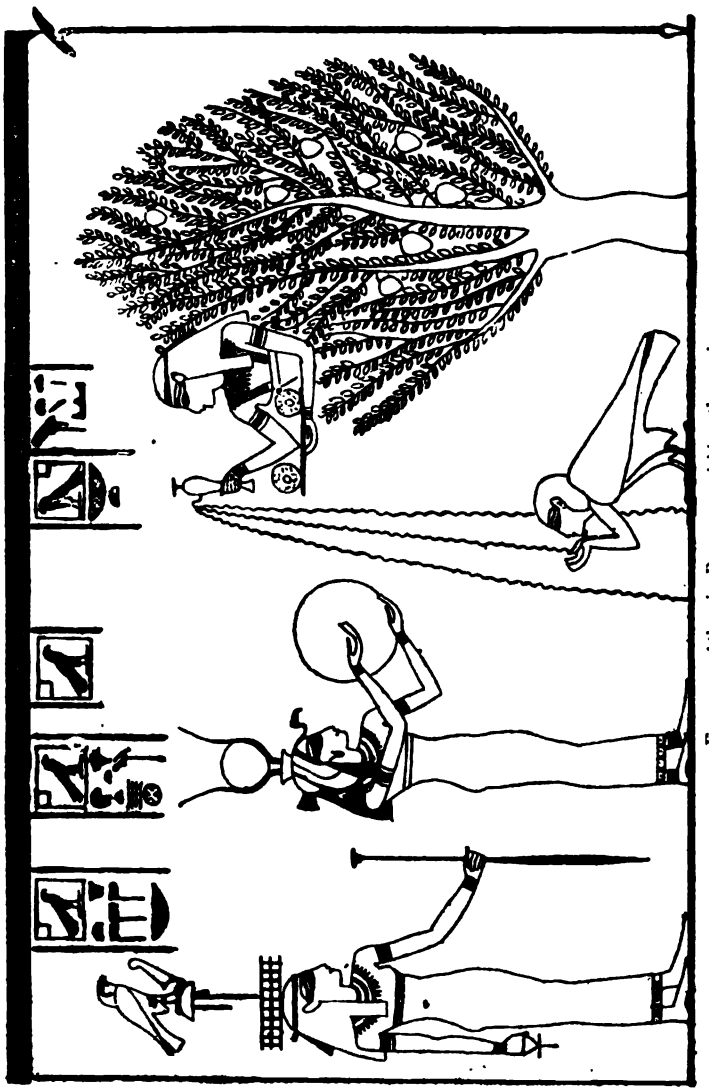


Fig. 123.—Athor in Persea nourishing the soul.

it is pursued so as to be in danger of being taken with its young, both the father and mother voluntarily give themselves up to the pursuers, that their offspring may be saved; and for this reason the Egyptians have thought fit to consecrate this animal."[1] The fire of love and devotion, therefore, is its characteristic. And in the composition above, it presides over all life or it comes to the source of all life for nourishment, represented by the large palm tree, with its six cross-like branches and the significant emblem on its top. The Crescent is the symbol of the passive power of reproduction. But we have here (Fig. 123) an Egyptian representation of the subject somewhat more clearly defined than the preceding one. It is from Wilkinson, who says that it represents Athor, the Venus of the Egyptians, in the sacred *Persea* or Peach tree, giving to the deceased or departed soul the fruit and drink of heaven.[2] She was the goddess of the West and of Night, presiding over the Western mountain and the Theban tombs, and consequently over the dead there buried. She is the 'Lady of the tree,' also, *i. e.*, any

[1] Cory's *Horapollo*, I. 53. pp. 73-4.

[2] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2d Series, I. pp. 386-395, pl. 36 a.

tree symbolical of life and its nourishment. The soul is represented by the figure drinking the stream of living water, *i. e.*, a hawk with a human head. For Horapollo says: 'The HAWK is put for the soul, from the signification of its name; for among the Egyptians the hawk is called *BAIETH*, and this name in decomposition signifies soul and heart; for the word *BAI* is the soul, and *ETH* the heart; and the heart, according to the Egyptians, is the shrine of the soul; so that in composition the name signifies 'soul enshrined in heart.' Whence also the hawk from its correspondence with the soul, never drinks water, but blood, by which also the soul is sustained."[1]

Holy Writ tells us that blood is the life of all animals, and must not be eaten, but be offered as an oblation to God. This was typical of the blood of Jesus Christ which cleanses from all sin, and thus becomes the life of the soul. Yet now again, the wine of the Eucharist, symbol of Christ's blood, is restored to its primitive place as in old Egypt and with Melchisedek, and must first be offered to God as an oblation before it is taken to nourish the soul in all virtue and godliness of living.

Here, then, we have the Egyptian mode of symbolizing the tree of life as the source of nourishment to the human soul after death. Wilkinson gives another plate like the above, only much larger, which represents Atmoo, Thoth, and the Goddess of letters writing the name of Remeses on the fruit of the Persea.[2] The "Book of the Dead" probably relates to our picture, when it speaks of the departed soul as supplicating Osiris to bid it come into Hades in peace, so that it might be ready for the final judgment, in such remarkable words as these, viz.:

"Hail! dweller in the West, Osiris.
Even in the region of the mighty winds!
Grant that I may stand peaceably in the West.
Let the lords of the hill receive me,
Let them say unto me, 'Come in, come in, peace be with thee.'
Let them assign to me a place among the great gods.
*Let the two nurse goddesses receive me at the stated time when I come forth.*
Glory be to thee, O Sun! glory be to thee, O Athom!
Thou hast purified the dead,
Thou hast created them for life again upon the earth.
Thou art hailed as the Lord of heaven,
As the governor of Hades,
Thou illuminest the Osir—in Hades,
Thou makest him to dwell in the West,
Thou smitest off the sins from him,
Thou castest his iniquities behind him,
Thou grantest him to be great among the justified."

[1] Cory's Ed., I. 7, pp. 15–16.

[2] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2d Series, II. p. 52, pl. 54. a.

And again it represents Osiris himself as saying:

> "*I am the great cat (sun) sitting at the pool of the Persea,*
> Which is in On; on that night when mine arm wageth war
> To drive away the wicked,
> On that day when the enemies of the Lord are all strangled there."

Here, then, we have the explanation. The soul is purified in Hades for the final judgment, or it is kept there for judgment; when it comes forth it is fed and nourished from this tree of life by Athor; and Osiris waits and watches like a cat under the tree to seize and devour all the wicked that come forth of Hades. Or as Jonah came from Hades and reclined under the shade of his gourd, so the old Egyptian hoped to repose under the Persea tree and be nourished with the food and drink of heaven.

Porphyry tells us that "the olive is the plant of Minerva; and Minerva is wisdom. When men hold olive branches in their hands stretched out in prayer and supplication, it signifies an exchange of sorrowful darkness for joyful light and peace. And in the dark cavern of all this mortal existence and of Hades, they must lay down their worldly possessions; and naked, in suppliant attitude, with self-denial, casting aside all superfluities, averse to all sensual delights, they must sit down at the foot of the olive tree, and consult with Minerva by what means they may most effectually have all evil passions destroyed that lurk in every secret recess of the soul, so that like Ulysses they may at last gain the region of peace where tempestuous seas are unknown."[1] Did Porphyry take a hint from the Man of Sorrows under the olive trees of Gethsemane, on the night before His crucifixion? or from Noah receiving the Dove with her olive branch, as he sailed over the sea of the world's baptismal waters to the land of peace? Who knows? The sun rises again in splendour, and the new regenerate life of a blessed eternity begins. Even the gourd and the olive pass away, and all the earthly becomes heavenly. It is the last scene in Jonah's career. This is reproduced as usual from Bosio, who copied it from the original fresco in the cemetery of St. Callixtus. (See Fig. 124.) It gives to Noah as the youthful type of Christ the place of honour, marked 1. The box is open; Noah stands in the cross-like attitude of prayer, signifying by what means Christ was to effect the world's regeneration; and the Dove with her olive branch is coming towards him as the symbol of life and peace, through the Holy Ghost. The square and circle combined, in the midst of which he stands floating on the flood of baptismal waters, indicate this world and the eternal one which includes it in its

[1] *Ant. Nymph.*, 15 and 16.

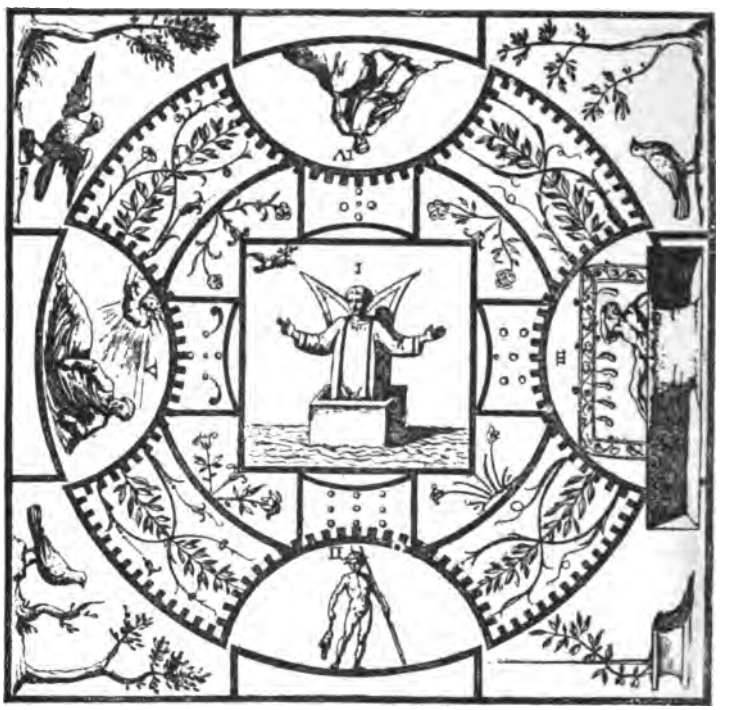


FIG. 124.—Noah and Jonah as types of Christ. Fresco. Second or third century.

endless circle. No. 2 is said to be young Tobias carrying his fish, which wrought the miracles of casting the devil out of Raguel's daughter and she became his wife, and of restoring his blind father to sight. This argues an early use of the old Apocryphal writings by early Christian art for purposes of instruction, which are too much ignored by many modern Christians. No 3 is the naked Jonah under his gourd; 4 is Job on his dunghill, a young figure and type of Christ in His suffering and triumph, in His death and resurrection; and 5 is Jonah clad, with the eternal Sun of Righteousness and life risen upon him. He is an old man now, and type of Him, who as a Man, comes to judge the world. The city of God has now repented and is spared from destruction. Jonah disappears; the Son of God Himself as Mediator becomes subject to the Father, and God is all in all.

But during the interval of retirement and rest between His resurrection and ascension, our Lord was instructing His disciples as to the affairs of His Church and Kingdom on earth, and giving them their Divine commission to go forth and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And then He passed away to the place from which He came in the heavens, to the bosom of His and our Father.

This picture (Fig. 125) represents our Lord seated in an elevated chair as the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, giving some charge or instructions to His twelve Apostles. It has been suggested that it may possibly be the scene of the discussion with the Rabbis in the Temple at Jerusalem; but our Lord is here a full-grown man, not a boy of twelve years. If the seated figures to the right and left are meant for Sts.

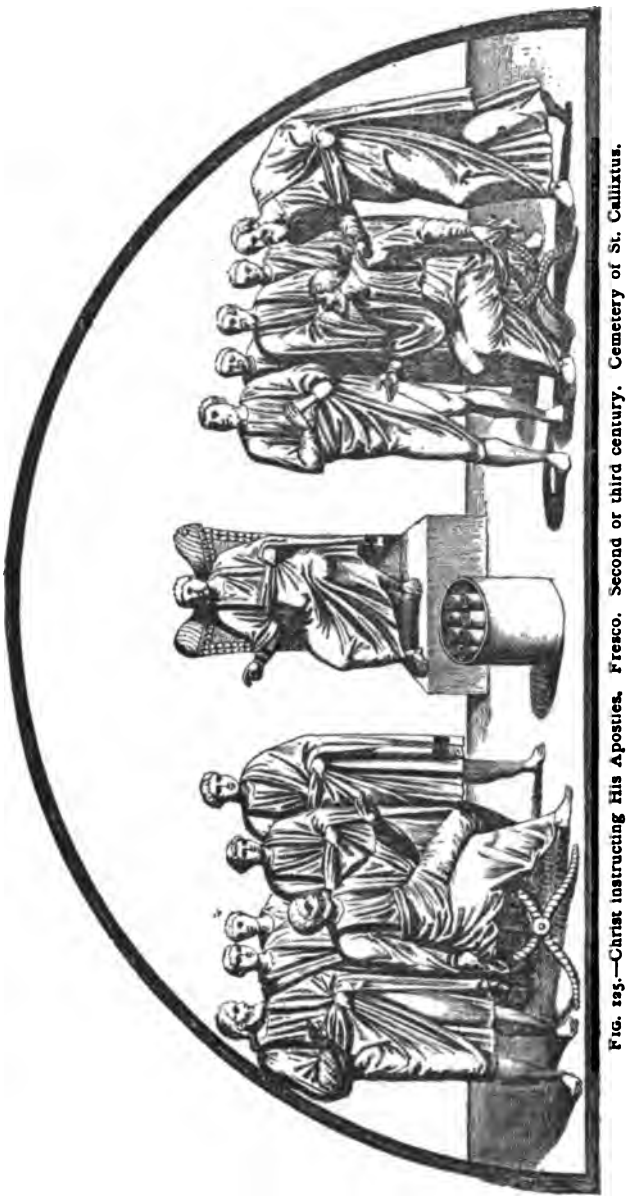


Fig. 125.—Christ instructing His Apostles. Fresco. Second or third century. Cemetery of St. Callixtus.

Paul and Peter, as it is most likely, then the representation is not meant to be literally and strictly historical; for Paul was not converted to Christianity until after our Lord's ascension. It is rather meant to convey the idea that *all* the twelve Apostles were equals, and alike Divinely charged and commissioned to preach the Gospel and found their Lord's Kingdom in the whole world, Paul as much so as Peter, and James as much as John. They are all clad like the gentlemen and philosophers of the times, in white albs or tunics ornamented with purple stripes, and over these the toga or pallium.[1] Even our Lord has no distinct or different kind of dress. Seated above, He is the Supreme Ruler of His Church; and the two seated Apostles are below Him as representative men in the two-fold co-ordinate functions of that Church as to spirit and form, law and Gospel, reason and imagination, prose and poetry, piety and ritual, or of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the spiritual world. This sitting posture denotes authority and rule; and so Christ is first and the Head over all to His Church; and next to Him are Sts.

[1] See Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum, Int.*

Peter and Paul both, and not one to the exclusion of the other. The distinctions of dress, even, had not yet come. They were all Bishops, but with no such stiff and ugly vestments as the Anglican and American Bishops wear; nor with such golden, scarlet, and purple dresses trimmed with lace and bespangled with gems, as appear on the clergy of the Greek and Roman churches. Here the scene is somewhat varied. (Fig. 126.) In illustrating our Lord's humanity two others of like kind have been given already. This humanity He is now about to take up to heaven. He is telling the Twelve something that produces astonishment mingled with sadness. He is giving the open scroll of His Gospel to Peter, who bears the cross of shame for denying his Lord, and was himself crucified; and at the same time He is giving His blessing and the promise of the Holy Spirit to Paul. Sometimes the Dove is present to indicate it.

Fig. 126.—Christ and the Twelve just before the Ascension. Sculpture. Fourth century. Bosio, p. 69.

Occasionally two doves appear, one over the head of each of the two foremost apostles; and sometimes over the heads of the whole Twelve. Here a man and woman are at the feet of our Lord engaged in worship. He stands on the mystic mount from which the four streams of Paradise flow forth, indicative of the heavenly origin of the Four Gospels, that were to water the four corners of the world, and make its waste and barren places like the Garden of the Lord.

The following (Fig. 127) is a representation of our Lord with the four holy Evangelists. He is here the youthful Divinity, giving some important message to

His servants before He leaves them. The motive of the painting is obvious. Our Lord is pointing to heaven with both hands, as if to intimate His return thither; and one of the Evangelists is pointing to the star of eight points as suggestive of His heavenly origin and His Divine Incarnation. Part of the plaster has fallen off, so as to destroy the effect of the vine over our Lord's head. The two monograms and the nimbus indicate Christ as Divine.

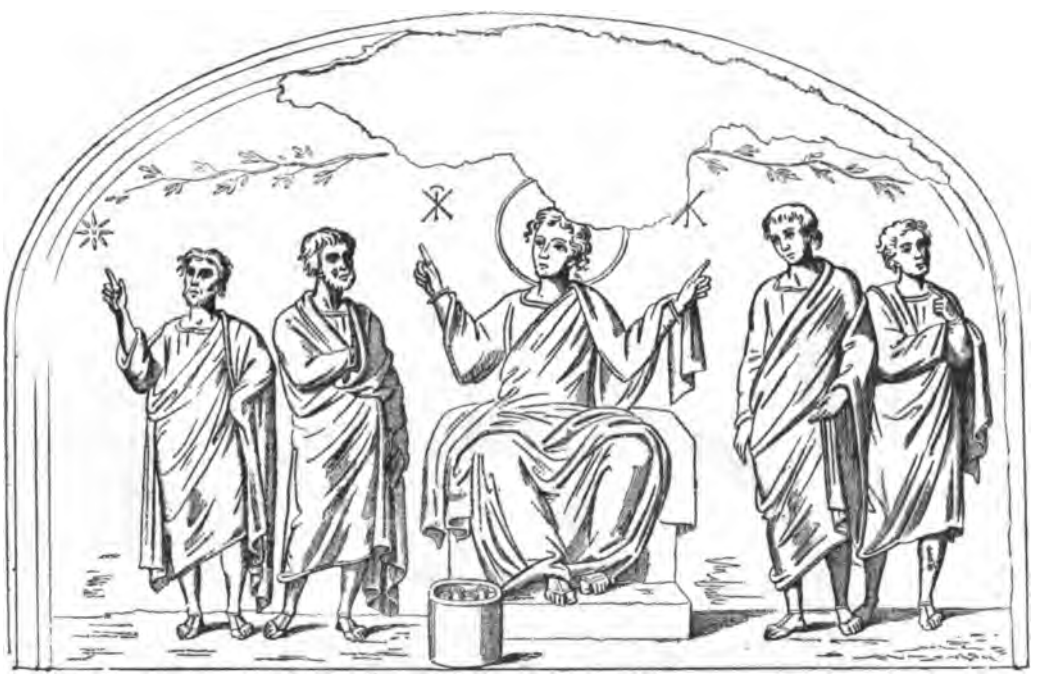


FIG. 127.—Christ and the Four Evangelists. Fourth century.

The fresco is one of the recent discoveries in the cemetery of St. Callixtus. I copy it from Garrucci, who dates it about A. D. 311. (Plate 17.)

### *The Ascension.*

This fresco (Fig. 128), from the cemetery of St. Callixtus, is that of the ascent of Elijah into heaven as a type of our Lord's Ascension. We are told that the horses and chariot that bore the prophet aloft were of fire, and that he went up by a whirlwind. (II. Kings, ii. 11, &c.) The narrative is somewhat confused; and I think purposely so, because no human mind can conceive, and no language can

express, the profound mystery of such a thing as the Ascension. It is stated as a fact without any explanation. How could Elijah ride through space to some distant heavenly region in a fiery chariot drawn by horses of fire? And if he went up in this chariot, how is it that a whirlwind is said to have taken him up? Were the fiery horses not strong enough to draw one man through thin air and over a smooth way, without the aid of a whirlwind? It forbids explanation. We accept it in faith as a mystery. But it is curious to observe how this representation of the subject, in early Christian art, is always precisely like the four horses and chariot of Apollo and Mithra, the sun-gods of the Greeks and Persians, as given in a pre-

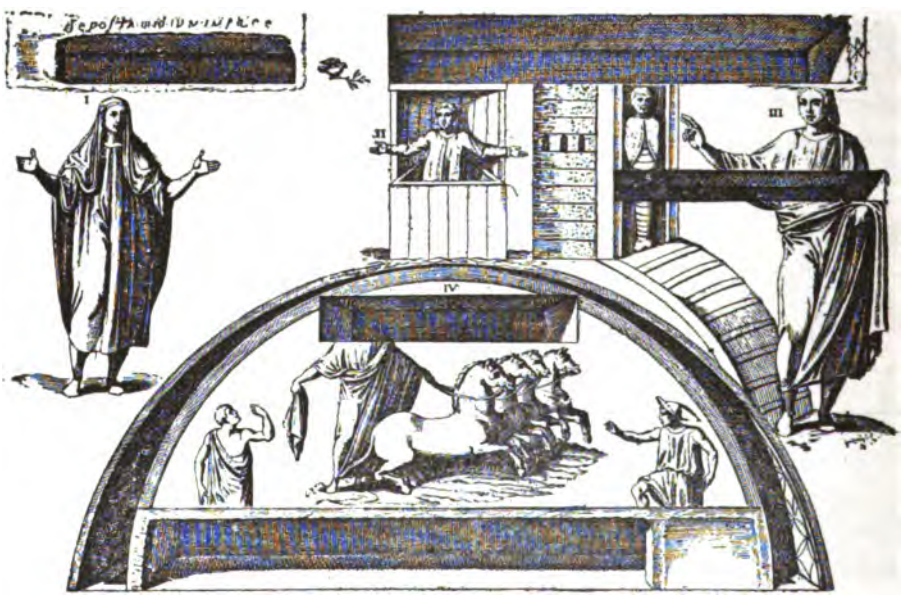


FIG. 128. Elijah as a type of Christ in the Ascension. Mercury present. Fresco. Second or Third century.

vious chapter. Whether in fresco or in sculpture, as on the magnificent sarcophagus at the head of Chapter V., it is the same young and beardless form of Christ that is seen, like a young Apollo, riding the heavens in His strength. But in the above fresco there is no chariot, as there is always in other examples: the horses are prancing on clouds, and the prophet is standing on clouds, handing down his mantle to Elisha. "He maketh the clouds His chariot; and walketh upon the wings of the wind; He maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire;" (Ps. civ. 3 and 4;) and here is the illustration in the Lord of the elements using them for His own purposes.

Some relic hunter has broken open the grave, and destroyed part of the fresco, so that Elijah's head is not seen; but it was doubtless the same youthful face as it always is elsewhere. The grouping is not without significance. Noah in his box (No. 2) is just over the scene of the Ascension to signify the new regenerate life as begun in baptism by the Holy Ghost, and ending in heaven with Christ. The resurrection of Lazarus, No. 3, is the pledge and first fruits of our own release from Hades and the grave; No. 1 is an orante typifying the Church of God rejoicing and giving thanks for all this great salvation begun, continued, and ended in Jesus Christ her Lord. No. 4 is its consummation, in the Ascension.[1]

But what is the Pagan Mercury doing here? Let it suffice to say now, that he was the messenger of the gods, and the conductor of souls into the land of spirits, and that he is probably here for the comfort of Elisha, for he seems to be speaking to him. The whole subject of Mercury, in this capacity, will come up again when the general resurrection is considered. Yet before I leave this subject of the Ascension, I desire to say a word about the Gentile representations of it, one of which is here given. (Fig. 129.) It is an antique baked cylinder, copied from Lajard's Mithra, and here reproduced in fac-simile. He calls it the *Mystic Ladder*. It belongs to the eighth degree of the ancient Mysteries of Mithra, being the second degree of fire or the sun, which exactly suits the purpose of the ascent to heaven by horses and chariot of fire, or the Ladder of Light which Jacob saw in his night vision, joining heaven and earth. This Mystic Ladder of Mithra looks like a tree. The five branches on each side, including the top, represent the five planets known to the ancients, by which the soul ascended to the super-celestial region of pure spirits, where God dwells, here indicated by the floating symbol of the Triad above the ladder. It is the tree of the universe, joining heaven and earth, God and man. The two figures on either side with wings, the arms and body of men, and eagle's heads, suggest the angelic ministers whom Jacob saw, and are perhaps the guardians or cherubim who protect it, and keep it from profane and unworthy intruders, or assist the soul upwards. Among all the Asiatic peoples, the eagle was the child of the sun, and consecrated to the sun-god. The cone-like plant and the dove hovering over it, are significant of the generation of the soul. It must leave its natural state and climb up this mystic ladder or tree of life to God, if it would fulfill its appointed destiny.[2] Can this have reference to the tree of life in Eden?

FIG. 129.—Persian Mystic Ladder.

[1] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.*, p. 257. Aringhi, I. p. 322.

[2] Mithra, pl. 61, No. 6, pp. 451–3, 475.

The old Asiatic nations regarded the sun as the symbol and the seat of Divine power in producing life, whose name was *El;* and as that which interposes or mediates for the purpose. The Hebrews applied this term to God Himself, who made the sun and all things. The Phœnicians called the sun-god *Hel;* the Greeks *Helios;* and so we have the name *Elias* or Elijah, which signifies *My God is Jehovah, i. e.*, the true God as distinguished from the mere sun-gods of Paganism. Elijah, therefore, is a most fitting type of the Son of God ascending the heavens to the Eternal Father. The sun-god of the ancient Hindus was *Surya* riding the heavens in a chariot drawn either by one horse with seven heads, or by seven horses, doubtless to indicate the seven prismatic rays of light.[1] We have already seen how Mithra and Apollo are represented as sun-gods. Tertullian says, "the chariot and four horses are consecrated to the sun."[2] And therefore early Christian art took this typical and suggestive Pagan conception, and made it the framework of her grander and truer picture of the great Son of God shining on the earth to give it life, and going up on high to draw all men after Him, even as the natural sun draws up the moisture to give it back in fertilizing showers.

The *sitting down at God's right hand* has already been shown in Chapter VI., on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, and in another like representation, to which the reader is referred. There are other representations of it, as in the mosaic of the church of St. Agatha, A. D. 378, a grand work, in which our Lord is seen in royal apparel seated on the throne of His glory, with angels standing by to do His bidding; and still another that was in the old Basilica of St. Paul, at Rome, A. D. 441, representing St. John's vision of the Lord Jesus on His heavenly throne, the sea of glass, the bow of the covenant, the mystic beasts, the white-robed elders with their crowns, and the whole heavenly host, adoring Him. But there is no Virgin Mary.[3] And lastly, He is seen in one of the frescoes of the cemetery of Pontianas, reaching down from the height of heaven to crown His faithful martyrs.[4]

As the tree of life which grew in the midst of Eden finds its parallel in all mythologies from India to Scandinavia; and as Christ's descent into Hades is prefigured by Jonah and Zoroaster alike, who is said to have gone to heaven to receive the sacred fire and the Zend-Avesta from Ormuzd, and then descended into hell, rose and ascended into Mount Albordj, where he consecrated himself to meditation and piety;[5] so our Lord's Ascension finds its prophetic parallels in Elijah and the mythological beings of all Oriental ancient nations. Wonderful coincidences,

[1] Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pls. 87, 88, and 89.
[2] Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*, pt. I. pls. 46 and 68, pp. 184, 228–33.
[3] Guigniaut, I. p. 317.
[4] *Spect.*, ix. p. 17.
[5] Bosio, p. 133.

indeed, they are, implying one great truth revealed to all mankind alike to aid us in our struggle upward and heavenward, to God.

### *The Lion.*

As the Lamb was the symbol of the sun's light, so the Lion was the symbol of its heat. The Lamb is meek; the Lion is bold. One is weak and yielding; the other is strong and aggressive. The Lamb is the victim; the Lion is the conqueror. The Lamb's light withdrawn, leaves the world a dark and dreary waste; the Lion's heat withheld, leaves it without life. Light without heat is insufficient for the production and maintenance of life, as in the Polar regions the brilliant Aurora gives no verdure to the vast expanse of snow and ice over which it plays; and heat without light would make a blind and cheerless void everywhere. But the sun unites the light and heat; and therefore, both the Lamb and the Lion must be combined to make a complete symbol of our Lord, who claimed to be both the Light and the Life of men. And we find this to be actually the case in St. John's Apocalypse, where the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and the Lamb that was slain, both unite in opening and taking the Book of Destiny from the hand of Him who sat on the throne; both of them seem to be necessary to open this mysterious Book, and to loose its seven seals; and when it was open, the new song of redemption began. (v. 1–11.)

This Book of Destiny revealed a higher and better life for men through the meekness of the Lamb and the strength of the Lion united; spiritual life here and hereafter is the result of these two opposite forces acting together. It is still the principle embodied in the cross; and therefore, part of the heavenly ascription of praise and thanksgiving is to the Lamb that was slain. The seven seals of the Book are old acquaintances, viz., the seven heavenly bodies known of the planetary system by the ancients; the seven horses of *Surya*, or the seven spirits attendant on the supreme god of the Chaldeans, or the seven spirits of the prophet Isaiah, all having something to do with man and his destiny as recorded in this Book, and over which none had power and control but the Lord Himself, the Lion-Lamb. In other words, life from the grave and Hades and risen into heaven, is alone through the power and efficacy of this Lion-Lamb, who is the Resurrection and the Life.

On the monuments of all ancient nations that have had a religion and a civilization, such as India, Chaldea, Persia, Egypt, Etruria, Greece, and Rome, we find the lion as a symbol of strength and vigilance, often placed in tombs or at their entrances to signify protection and returning life. For there is an old fable of the

lion being born dead, and made to live after three days' licking or roaring of the dam.

Judah was the lion tribe of Israel, and one of the names of Jerusalem was *Ariel, i. e.*, the lion of God. "It is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah," says an apostle; (Heb. vii. 14;) and St. John expressly calls Him the Lion of the tribe of Judah. When King Solomon was building the temple at Jerusalem, he had the border of the great laver ornamented with carved work of lions, oxen, and cherubim interspersed among palm trees; and the ivory throne of his palace was guarded by lions, two on either side of it, and twelve on the steps by which it was approached.

Besides the purpose of ornament, these lions had the more important significance of the protecting and preserving power of God, or of His wrath against injustice and wrong, just as the heat of the sun sometimes kills as well as makes alive. Bulls, and lions, and cherubim are common among the ruins of Nineveh, Babylon, and Persepolis; why should not King Solomon have them in his temple and palace, like his neighbours? They were no more than symbols in both cases. What are the rows of sphinxes which guarded the approach to the old temples of Egypt? or what is the Sphinx that sits on guard near the pyramid of Cheops to this day, after the tomb has been rifled of its contents, but a symbolical creature composed of lion's body, and woman's head and breast? Here again, we have the strength and passive weakness, the male and female principles, joined together, as the united Power of life and its reproduction, just as in the Lion and the Lamb. Lion-headed figures are found in the Egyptian monuments bearing the cross in their hands, as a sign of life, one of which is a woman with the sun and a conical flame on her head, which head is that of a very vigilant lion.[1]

One of the old Persian symbols of the Divine Power was a lion with a honey bee in its mouth,[2] reminding us of Samson's riddle, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." (Judg. xiv. 14.) The Phrygian and Lydian Cybele or the great mother, Nature, is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by lions; and Rhea, the same goddess, among the Greeks and Romans, either rides the lion itself, or has lions crouching around her throne. Whether, then, it is thus Sphinx, or Rhea, or Cybele, or the Mithraic lion and bee, or Samson's lion and honey, it all amounts to the same thing, viz.: the creative and preserving power of God united, in heaven and earth, sun and soil, male and female, mind and soul, reason and feeling, strength and sweetness, majesty and meekness,

[1] Jac. Bosii, *Crux Trium.*, p. 437.

[2] Hyde's *Hist. Per.*, tab. 1, p. 111.

God and nature, including the human. This is the Lion-Lamb of the Apocalypse, suffering in meekness and submission, and conquering in majesty and power.

Ciampini tells us that lions used to be stationed at the doors of the ancient churches and basilicas of Italy, not as mere ornaments, but as having a mystical signification; and he gives several examples of them, some of which seem to be playing like a dog with a man, and in one case, even with a lamb.[1] The lion and the lamb were here in strict accord. We may, perhaps, gather the meaning of lions placed at church doors from the Egyptian Horapollo, who says: "To denote a watchful person, or even a guard, they portray the head of a lion, because the lion, when awake, closes his eyes, but when asleep keeps them open, which is a sign of watching. Wherefore at the gates of the temples they have symbolically appropriated lions as guardians."[2] It may be, that this picture, (Fig. 130,) on the inside of a glass cup used at the Agapæ and the Lord's Supper by the early Christians, is intended to illustrate this watchful and protecting care of God over His Church. Or is it meant to convey the idea that the Lion has opened and unfolded the Scriptures, hitherto confined within the Jewish tabernacle and people, to all mankind? but still guards and protects them with sleepless vigilance? For the Apocalpytic vision expressly says that it was the Lion of the tribe of Judah that had prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof. It is the property of heat to open and

FIG. 130.—Lions guarding the Church's doors.

[1] *Vet Mon.*, I. c. 3, p. 35.

[2] Cory's Ed., xix. p. 40

expand things; and so it was the prerogative of Christ to unfold the mysteries of old respecting the great salvation, and to open wide the sealed doors of the Jewish Church for the entrance of the Gentiles, so as to make His Father's house the praying place of all nations.

And this view of the matter seems to be confirmed by the two seven-branched candelabras in the lower part of the engraving, representing either Christ Himself as the Light of the world in His Incarnation and Resurrection, or the Church as that light under the Jewish and Christian dispensations, with Christ in the midst of the Candlesticks. A vessel of oil or wine is seen, and two horns, *the horn of salvation* doubtless, either for drinking purposes, or for feeding the lamps, are also here. Some symbolical plant grows out of a vase convoluted like a shell, perhaps a stalk of wheat; and a bunch of grapes lies near the vase. This plant rises up, like a tree of life between the two Candelabra to indicate the life-giving Presence and Power of Christ in the midst of His Church and people of both Jewish and Gentile dispensations, in all ages, to sustain and nourish them with the Bread and Wine of Heaven. The inscription indicates this life immortal in Christ Jesus.

Altogether, it is a most suggestive little treasure; and if it is here rightly interpreted, it would remind the communicant in using this cup, as he saw the symbols of life and its protection on the bottom, of the need of watchfulness; that the Church was the light of the world; that the Lord was also its Light and Salvation, its Guide and Defender, its spiritual Food and Drink.

And here is a still more remarkable example on a sarcophagus dug from the cemetery of St. Agnes, and published by Boldetti,[1] who thinks it belongs to the fourth century. (Fig. 131.)

The allegorical figures of Paganism need not here be investigated, as they are seen between the lion on each end, except to say that they seem to have reference to victory and peace in another world. Our concern is about the lions. Each seizes a doe, as if to carry it away to its den. What does it mean? The monument is Christian, as it is manifest from the praying figures or Orantes on the top, as well as from the inscription, which is this: "*Aurelia Agapetilla, God's Handmaid, who sleeps in peace. She lived* 21 *years*, 3 *months, and* 4 *days. Her Father made this.*" Here the lion only seems to seize the doe, not to kill it, and may be a hunting lion said to be used in ancient Egypt; for the doe lives and is only frightened. The lion only means to secure the timid deer for use, and to bear it away to another place. It is the Son of God come to claim His due. Death is only a little alarm: it is not extinction; the Lion only means to take its victim up to the Ever-

[1] Buonarruoti, *Osservaz.*, pl. ii., pp. 19-24. [2] *Osservaz.*, Pt. II. p. 466.

Fig. 131.—The Lions and their Prey.

lasting Hills, where it shall find better pasture and purer water, and live forever free from danger and dismay.

Symbol of the natural sun and of the Son of God as the lion thus is, like the natural sun causing life to spring out of the earth and grow up towards heaven ; so the Son of God not only rose from the grave Himself as the pledge of all future restoration to mankind, but He ascended into heaven—returned to His native place —and there sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until He comes to judge the quick and the dead.

Inasmuch as the general resurrection is still to be considered, I reserve the article of the Creed as to the Final Judgment until the whole of that subject comes under review.

Jonah under his gourd finds his counterpart in Pagan deities and their trees of life; and Jonah's Lord, after death, the grave, and Hades are overcome, has risen to give life and peace to the ransomed host out of all lands and ages, who have hoped for and believed in Him through their Krishnas, Mithras, Buddhas, and Apollos, as well as through Hebrew Types of the Messiah.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from this present evil world."

*Gal.* i. 3, 4.

"Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree."

I. *Pet.* ii. 24.

"To Him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."

*Rev.* i. 7.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE HOLY GHOST: THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

*The Holy Ghost: The Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.—The Dove as a Symbol among the Gentiles and the Christians.—Noah's Ark.—The Ship and Orante.—Eve as Pandora.—Juno as Queen of Heaven.—Paul and Peter as representative Apostles.—Orders of the Clergy.—Ordination.—Inscriptions.*

AS the Cross was originally the symbol of life among all nations, and its meaning became perverted to mere sensuality and superstitious uses, it was the prerogative of Christianity to restore it to its true meaning and rightful use as the symbol of the higher and better spiritual life. Christianity is a restoration of all things lost, obscured, fallen, perverted, degraded, and abandoned. And as it restored the Cross, so it restored the Dove as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, the Third Person of the Christian Triad, the *Narayana* of the ancient Hindus, and the *Mihr* of the Persians. The Greeks of Homer's time must have had some tolerably correct notion of this Holy Spirit, if we may judge from this adjuration of Agamemnon in the ratification of his treaty with Priam: "Oh! thou awful and venerable Father of all, great Jove, ruling in heaven; and thou Sun, most great and glorious, who seest and hearest all things; and thou all-pervading Spirit of life and motion in rivers, in earth, and in beings under the earth, tormenting perjurers, and false swearers, and treaty breakers, be witness now, and guard this our covenant."[1] Three Persons or attributes are here invoked as the one faithful and true Witness; and the Spirit is recognized as all-pervading and life-giving. This is precisely the doctrine of the book of Genesis, when it says that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, *i. e.*, brooded like a dove to produce life; or it is as the Psalmist expresses it, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the *breath* (spirit) of His mouth;" (xxxiii. 6;) or as Isaiah repeats it, in his account of God's almightiness in creation: "Who hath directed the Spirit of

[1] *Iliad* III. 276, &c. R. P. Knight's *Symbolism in Ancient Art and Mythology*, sec. 219, p. 68. 2d ed.

FIG. 132.—The Church as the Bride of Christ.

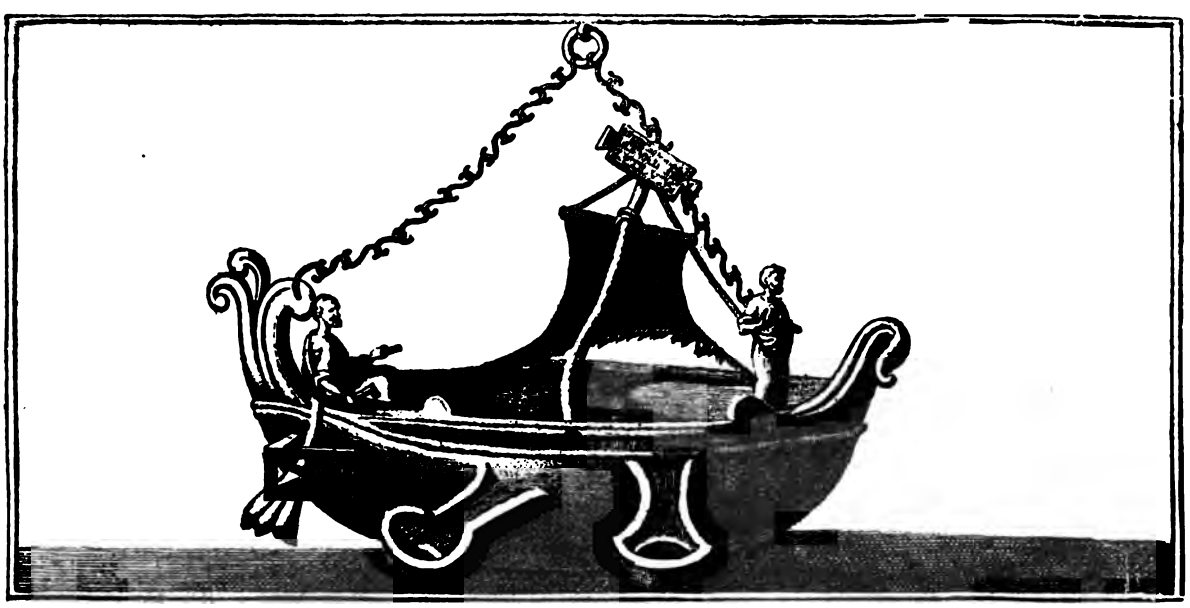


FIG. 133.—The Church as Apostolic. A bronze lamp in the Medicean Museum.

the Lord?" (xli. 13.) As the world was made in wisdom, according to a Divine plan, so its execution was by the Spirit of God. And as this Spirit appears in the first creation, so it does in the regeneration, restoration, or new creation in the Incarnation of the Logos or Wisdom, and all that follows it, in the body of Christ or His Church. Hitherto the Logos was manifested in creation chiefly, and in *natural* types of the spiritual, both among the Jews and Gentiles; but in the Regeneration He is manifested in Person first, and in His abiding presence in His body, the Church, by the Holy Spirit. We have already seen how this Spirit is the author of Christ's human nature by means of the Virgin Mary; we are now to see how He is the life-giving power in the Church, and in the Sacraments. For just as the Incarnation of the Son of God was spiritual in the womb of the Virgin, so is all the life of the Church spiritual in the Sacraments.

It is a remarkable fact that this Spirit has been symbolized among all religious and civilized nations by the Dove; but among Pagans it was applied to the female influence or power in the production of life. For the Dove is seen on the heads of the images of Astarte, Cybele, and Isis; it was sacred to Venus and Juno; it is seen, too, in the hand of the priest of Venus in the Cyprus collection of Di Cesnola, and in the scene of the re-union of Cupid and Psyche on the Tarsine Sarcophagus, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and it is here presented on a silver coin of Sicyon, an independent city of ancient Greece, and one of the oldest. (Fig. 134.) Its inhabitants were noted for their luxurious and dissolute manners, and obtained the epithet of "Sicyonii calcei." This coin is an illustration of this fact. It bears traces of Asiatic conception, for the lion and the buck as well as the bull were sacred to Mylitta, and the Dove with laurel to Venus. Here the Dove is encircled by a laurel wreath; while under the lion and buck sits a little roguish Cupid ready to shoot his piercing dart. The whole is symbolical of sensual love. It is copied from Lajard.[1]

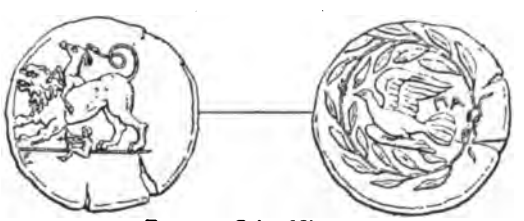


FIG. 134.—Coin of Sicyon.

Fig. 135 is another representation of the Dove in connection with the Bull, on two coins, either of Cyprus or Cilicia. The figure is copied from M. Raoul Rochette, and is here reproduced in fac-simile. It is even more ancient than the preceding. The bull to the left has the *crux ansata*, so often seen on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, in front of him, with a chain of globules going from his

[1] *Venus*, pl. 25, No. 5, pp. 206–7. *Trois. Mem.*

mouth, and extending under his feet. The *crux ansata* is simply the male and female principles joined, or the cross and crown; and the globules compose the chain or successive order of generated things. The bull on the right is simply the *obverse* of another coin like the other, of which the Dove is the *reverse* in both cases. The inscriptions are somewhat effaced, and the hovering spirit or Triad, which Rochette here calls *Mihr*, is quite dim, but yet discernible. The specimen is of great rarity and antiquity.[1] An ivy leaf is in front of the Dove, which is in rapid flight.

FIG. 135.—Dove and Bull. Cilician or Cyprian coins.

R. P. Knight tells us that "this bird was probably chosen for the emblem of the Third Person to signify incubation, by which was figuratively expressed the fructification of inert matter, caused by the vital Spirit moving upon the waters. . . . The Dove or Pigeon would naturally be selected in the East in preference to every other species of bird, on account of its domestic familiarity with man, lodging as it usually did under the same roof with him, and employed as his messenger from one remote place to another. The Dove or Pigeon is also remarkable for the care of its young, for conjugal attachment and fidelity, for the fervency of its desires and love; and hence it is sacred to Venus."[2]

The learned Jacob Bryant, whom some writers on Mythology, such as Faber, affect to disdain, says, "That the Dove which returned to Noah with an olive leaf, and brought the first tidings that the waters of the deep were assuaged, was held in many nations as particularly sacred. It was regarded as a peculiar messenger of the Deity, and an emblem of peace and good fortune. Esteemed as an interpreter of the will of the gods to man, and on that account looked upon as a bird of presage, it was the special favourite of mariners, who in their voyages used to let a dove or pigeon fly from their ships, in order to judge from its movements of the success of their voyage. The true name of the dove was *Ionah* or *Ionas;* it was a very sacred emblem, and at one time almost universally received; it was adopted by the Hebrews; and the mystic Dove was regarded as a symbol from the days of Noah by all those who were of the Church of God. The prophet sent to Nineveh as God's messenger was called Jonah or the Dove; our Lord's forerunner, the Baptist, was called in Greek by the name of Ioannes; and so was the

[1] Second Memoire, *Crux Ansata*, pl. II. No. 3, pp. 52–55.
[2] *Ancient Art and Mythology*, sec. 70.

Apostle of Love, the author of the fourth Gospel and of the Apocalypse, named *Ioannes.*[1]

But this truly sacred symbol of the Third Power or Person of all the ancient Triads, used as such from the earliest times of God's pure worship, retained in the Mysteries by the learned and initiated long after its loss among the ignorant and debased people who would not or could not entertain correct abstract ideas of God, was so perverted and corrupted by the wicked Hamites, that what was intended to be only symbolical, was made an idol and a real object of worship. The corruption took place in Chaldea and Babylonia, under Nimrod and his licentious queen, Semiramis, who, at her death, is said to have been turned into a dove. As a dove she was worshipped by all the Oriental nations under the name of *Iune* or *Juno*, instead the Holy Spirit.[2] And so *Ionism*, or the *Yonism* of the Hindus, the worship of Cybele, and Mylitta, and Venus, the corrupt idolatry of the female function of generation and life, took the place of a purer and better faith and practice; and in our day it has been transplanted into the Romish Church, the mother of harlots and of all abominations in religion and politics.

From the very first origin of Christian art, the Dove appears in fresco paintings, sculptures, on gravestones or tablets, in mosaics, lamps, and glasses. We see it in nearly all the examples given in this book, of Baptism, the Good Shepherd, Christ and His apostles, and always with Noah. We see it in the treatment of the Incarnation, and shall soon see it with the Church. Our New Testament informs us that the Holy Spirit, in bodily shape like the Dove or Pigeon, descended from heaven upon our Lord at His baptism; by which I understand that a real Dove came to Him as the visible symbol of the Holy Ghost to aid and consecrate His human nature for the work before Him—a symbol well-known and recognized as such by all who saw it. Christianity still retains it in her churches, in glass windows, on pulpits and altars, or hangs a real dove from the apex of her chancel arches. Most likely it was a white dove of old, as it is now; for in the *Apocryphal Gospel of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, there is this tradition: "When it became necessary to find a husband for the Virgin, the prophecy in Isaiah was considered as giving directions how to proceed: 'A rod shall go forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall arise from the same, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and piety, and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him,' (xi. 1 and 2.) Whereupon the High Priest desired all persons of marriageable age,

[1] *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, II. pp. 282–94, and 301, 2d ed. London, 1775.

[2] Hislop's *Two Babylons*, pp. 83, 128–30.

still unmarried, who were of the house of David, to bring their rods to the altar of God; and he whose rod afterwards produced a flower, on whose top the Spirit of the Lord sat in the form of a dove, should espouse the Virgin. Joseph, however, an aged man of the house and family of David, withdrew his rod from the rest that were brought; and when the High Priest again consulted the oracle of God, he found that the person designated was the very one who had withheld his rod. Joseph was thus betrayed; and when he brought his rod, a dove came from heaven and sat on the top of it, and so it was plainly evident to all that the Virgin was to be espoused to him."[1]

It will be observed that in this account, the Dove is taken for the visible symbol of the Holy Spirit, which is the only object of citing the passage. Another account cited by Didron, says that it was a white Dove, more brilliant than snow, that escaped from the rod as Joseph reached forth his hand to take it; and that after flying several times round the temple, it soared upwards toward heaven.[2]

As the source of Divine inspiration the Dove is seen as a symbol of the Holy Spirit hovering over the head of King David as the Psalmist of Israel, in a Greek manuscript of the tenth century, as depicted by Didron;[3] and the same author tells us that Gregory the Great is often seen painted in the churches of France with a Dove perched on his right shoulder, and also thus sculptured in the Cathedral of Chartres.[4] St. Jerome is thus depicted also. In a beautiful French manuscript of the fifteenth century, the Dove is represented as flying over the new creation, with a cruciform nimbus, towards the Creator, who is the Son of God, standing on a high bank, holding the globe in his hand surmounted by the cross, and rays of Divine glory round His head.[5] There is the significant synchronism of two churches, one large and the other small, with towers and spires, in the upper part of the field, to show the origin of the Church of God as cotemporaneous with the Creation, and that the Holy Spirit had as much to do with the one as the other.

So, too, the Dove is the symbol of that inspiration which guides the counsels and aids the prowess of kings; for to this day in the coronation of the kings and queens of England, a Duke goes before the sovereign bearing the sceptre surmounted by a Dove. Charlemagne is represented, in Montfaucon, as carrying such a sceptre; Mohammed, even, conscious of the importance with which a like phenomenon would invest his doctrines, taught a pigeon to perch on his shoulder, and the bird would remain there for several hours. The Arabian prophet made that tame dove pass for a heavenly messenger, commissioned to reveal to him the pleasure of

[1] Tischendorf's *Evan. Apoc.*, pp. 111–12. Thilo. p. 207. Cowper's *Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 93–4.
[2] *Icon. Chrét.*, p. 457. [3] Id. p. 443. [4] Id. pp. 458–9. [5] Id. p. 452.

the Almighty. The Dove was regarded, as we have seen, even among the Pagans, as a medium of instruction, an organ for communicating the Divine will. From the top of the oaks of Dodona, doves prophesied of the future.[1]

In a French manuscript of the fifteenth century, the Dove is represented descending from heaven, with cruciform nimbus, on the triangular cloth of a military and religious standard surmounted by a cross, held in the hands of a figure personifying the Christian religion, or the Church, preparing to go forth for the subjugation of Paganism and Judaism;[2] just as the Dove was depicted on the military standards of the Babylonians, when they went out to battle.[3]

At the consecration of Charles X., A. D. 1825, after the enthronement, a large number of doves was let loose in the Cathedral of Rheims. Many of them burnt their wings at the numberless torches in the church, one of which, Didron says, he received into his hands as it fell down dead. It was a bad omen for Charles, for he was deposed and died in exile.

Didron gives some curious examples of the Holy Ghost under the form of a man, in mediæval Christian art, of the same degenerate kind as represented God the Father under the guise of the Pope in full canonicals;[4] and he makes the remark, in the same connection, that the middle ages were faithful to the ideas of Paganism which they completed and carried to perfection with singular felicity. (*rare bonheur.*)[5] Miss Twining gives an instance from a French manuscript of the fourteenth century, of the Holy Spirit under the form of a little naked child, with cruciform nimbus, floating on the waters at Creation, just as we have seen in the Hindu example of Narayana. God the Son is represented in the act of creating the sun and moon, holding the globe in His hand, surmounted with a cross, and giving His benediction in the Papal form. He also has the cruciform nimbus.[6]

But in all the early Christian monuments, the Dove is the prevailing symbol of the Holy Ghost, and is of as frequent occurrence as the Good Shepherd or Jonah. The special instances of His appearance in Baptism will again be considered, when that subject comes under review.

## *The Holy Catholic Church.*

There are three ways of representing the Church in the early Christian monuments, two of which precede and illustrate this chapter. One is the typical ark of Noah, as the depository of Divine Truth contained in Holy Scripture, and

[1] *Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 458–60. [2] *Icon. Chrét.*, p. 461. [3] Bryant's *Anc. Myth.*, II. p. 229, &c.
[4] *Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 440, 456, 466. [5] Id. p. 405. [6] *Symbols and Emblems*, pl. 32, No. 2, p. 66.

of Divine grace and power as lodged in the Sacraments, and with the Christian ministry. The other is that of a ship; and the third is an *Orante*, or praying female, in cross-like attitude as the Bride of Christ.

In no instance that I have found, after diligent search, is Noah's ark represented in any other way than by a small square box. Why a large ship of ordinary commerce is not given, must be because this box is meant to symbolize something. There is one example of a fresco in the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter where the box is placed inside a boat; and another where Noah stands in a circular baptismal font ornamented with three lion's heads, probably to indicate the Three Persons of the Trinity, just as some old baptismal fonts have three fishes joined in the form of a triangle. I here reproduce from Bosio the fresco which represents Noah, in this exceptional manner, (Fig. 136,) and will give the other later. No. 1 is the Good Shepherd as usual, and the safe Fold indicated by the house. No. 2 is the paralytic carrying his bed. No. 3 is the miraculous multiplication of bread. No. 4 is the resurrection of Lazarus. No. 5 is Daniel in the lion's den. No. 6 is Jonah cast out into the sea and Hades. No. 7 is Jonah coming out of Hades. No. 8 is Moses striking the Rock, which is Christ smitten for the sins and comfort of His people. And No. 9 is Noah in his square box, which is carried by a boat. The Dove with her olive branch is flying towards him. I apprehend that this square box and this house near the Good Shepherd mean the same thing, viz., the Church, the One Fold for all alike, whether Jew or Gentile; for the Good Shepherd Himself has said, "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one Shepherd." (St. John, x. 16.)

FIG. 136.—The Good Shepherd and Doves. Second century.

The two sheep represent both Jew and Gentile as belonging to this fold, lying down in peace and listening to the Shepherd's voice, while the sacrificial Lamb or our redeemed humanity is on His shoulder. A whole circle of feeding doves surrounds the Good Shepherd and His flock, as if to indicate the varied influences and eternal presence of the Holy Spirit, either in the sanctified people of God, or in His own multiplied gifts and graces. The doves in the angles may also have some reference to the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the four corners of the world, among all such as are not yet enclosed within the Fold, and encircled by His blessed influences, and under His complete control.[1]

This type of the Church as a square box or structure set within a boat is found in the "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*," already referred to in relation to Jonah; and most significantly so, in connection with the sin of our first parents and their expulsion from Eden and subsequent toil, as the only refuge for mankind, when at length the Flood came.[2] The venerable Bede gives a most curious representation of it as the type of the Church. A large square house, with sloping roof and dormer window, is set within a boat, and divided into five stories. Noah as the type of Christ is in the upper story, with his family as the body of Christ, Noah being the Head; and here, too, is the honoured and highest place of the martyrs; next is the place of holy virgins and celibates; next that of the married, or uncarnivorous animals; and the much larger space below this is occupied by the sensual and worldly, or swinish and ferocious beasts, the carnivorous; and below all, in the hold of the vessel, is the receptacle of the fifth, the type of hell. The dove is flying towards the ark without the olive branch.[3]

FIG. 137.—Deucalion and Pyrrha. Apamean Medal.

Holbein makes it an oblong and square structure only.

I here place before the reader the Pagan method of representing the universal tradition of the Flood, and the preservation of the human race. (Fig. 137.) It is reproduced from Bryant, who gives two examples of it.[4] Deucalion and his wife are within the box, and also represented as just landed. One dove sits on the side of the structure,

[1] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* p. 373.

[2] *Opera. Tom.* II. p. 350. Basileæ, 1563.

[3] Berjeau's Fac-simile Reprint, 4to. Lond. 1861.

[4] *Anc. Myth.*, II. pl. 3, pp. 193–413.

and another is coming with the olive branch. The name *Noe* in Greek is seen on the chest, which is only another name for Bacchus, who was preserved in such an ark. The medal has occasioned much discussion among antiquarians, but when Eckhel decides that there are but two letters, *N Ω* in the name of *Noe*, we must accept his great authority. The *E* is doubtful on account of its extreme indistinctness. The late Cardinal Wiseman discusses it most satisfactorily;[1] so also does Taylor in his "Fragments of Calmet"; and Bryant vindicates its genuineness against all gainsayers.

Now, it is another remarkable fact that this ark of Noah, and the ark of the Covenant, which Moses was commanded to make for the Hebrew Tabernacle, is called *Κιβωτὸς*, in the Septuagint, *i. e.*, a chest or box;[2] and Josephus calls the one *Λάρναξ*, and the other *Κιβωτὸς*, both words meaning the same thing.[3] And our Lord Himself used the word *Κιβωτὸς* when He was speaking of Noah's ark, in His prophetic account of the last days of the world; (Matt. xxiv. 38, Luke, xvii. 28;) and so, too, it is used by the Apostles in the epistle to the Hebrews, ix. 4, and xi. 7; in the first epistle of St. Peter, iii. 20; and in the Apocalypse, xi. 19.

This same term was also applied to the sacred boxes or arks used by the Greeks in their Mysteries; and when they made any allusion to the ark in which the human race was preserved, they called it either *Κιβωτὸς* or *Λάρναξ*. Thus Deucalion, Perseus, and Dionysus, were preserved in such an ark. Adonis was hid in the same kind of an ark by Venus, and was thought to have been dead there for a year.[4] Osiris was also hid in a like chest on the Nile, on account of the enmity of Typho or the Devil.[5]

Another name for the ark, in Hebrew, was *Theba*, of unknown derivation, used also for that of Noah, in Genesis, as well as for the ark in which Moses was laid, in Exodus. And this is strictly the box or chest which the Septuagint and the New Testament call *Κιβωτὸς*, when speaking of Noah's ark. Hence we have the name Thebes as applied to several cities in Egypt, Greece, and Italy, so called out of regard to the sacred ark in which the human race was preserved from the Flood. The ancient name of Apamea, in Phrygia, was Kibotus, far inland at the sources of the river Marsyas, and given to it for the obvious reason just mentioned. Its people had preserved a more particular and authentic tradition of the Flood and Noah's ark than any others, unless it be in the farther East, as the recently discovered Chaldean account testifies. One of three brass medallions of Kibotus, or Apamea, containing this tradition, is that which I have reproduced above, in Fig. 137.

[1] *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Religion. Ninth.* Fifth ed. London, 1853.

[2] Gen. vi. 14; Ex. xxv. 9, &c.

[3] *Ant.*, I. 3, 2; and III. 6, 5. Hudson's Ed. pp. 10, 110.

[4] Bryant's *Anc. Mythol.*, II. p. 225, 2nd ed.

[5] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 39.

This chest or box, therefore, is that in which anything precious, sacred, or valuable is laid up for preservation and safe-keeping. In the Hebrew ark of the Covenant there were so laid up the two tables of the Law, a pot of manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, which budding is the lily-cross stamped on the subsequent shekel. Over this ark was the Divine manifestation in the two symbolical cherubim; and it was itself the symbol of God's power as there lodged; hence it was sometimes carried out to battle. It was the ark of holiness, because it contained the Law; it was the ark of life, because it contained the manna on which Israel fed in the wilderness; it was the ark of salvation, because it held the living sign of the Cross on Aaron's rod, the symbol of delegated priestly power. Noah's ark was also the same thing, for it was the means of preservation of all that was precious, sacred, and valuable to mankind in the Covenant which God established with our race through Noah, of which the rainbow was the sign, and the Dove with her olive branch, the pledge.

No wonder, then, that early Christian art, on all its monuments, adopted from such high considerations and authorities, the prevailing symbol of the box or chest, as that of the Church itself, the keeper, expounder, and defender of Holy Scripture; the depository of the life-giving and nourishing Sacraments; and the preserver of God's grace and power to mankind through the mystery of the Cross. of which the Christian ministry are the appointed standard-bearers, in the thickest of the fight with sin, Satan, and worldliness, and therefore the most exposed and suffering. It is the old Hebrew ark of the Covenant realized,—the Law interpreted and vitalized by the Gospel; the manna turned into the Eucharist; and the rod of Aaron blossomed into the loving and gentle persuasiveness of the real power of the Cross.

What is the proof of this ark being thus a symbol of the Church, aside from the monuments themselves? Cotemporary literature. All the Fathers of the early Church, who speak of this subject at all, speak of it in but one way, viz., Noah's ark as a symbol of the Holy Catholic Church. Tertullian, for example, in his treatise on *Idolatry*, says, "We will see to it, if, after the type of the ark, there shall be in the Church, raven and kite, dog and serpent. At all events, an idolater is not found in the type of the ark; no animal has been found to represent an idolater. Let not that be in the Church which was not in the ark."[1] Again, in his treatise on *Baptism*, the same author says: "Just as after the waters of the Flood, by which the old iniquity was purged, a Dove was the herald that announced the assuagement of Divine wrath; so by the self-same law of heavenly influence to our

[1] c. 24.

mortal and sinful nature after it comes from the font or laver of Baptism, after its old sins, flies the Dove of the Holy Spirit, bringing us the peace of God, sent out from the heavens, where is the Church, the typified Ark."[1]

Firmilian, Bishop of Cappadocia, in his letter to Cyprian, speaks of it more than once, in such language as this: "As the ark of Noah was nothing else than the symbol or sacrament of the Church of Christ, which then, when all without were perishing, kept those only safe who were within the ark, we are manifestly taught to look to the unity of the Church. Even as also the apostle Peter laid down, saying, 'Thus also shall Baptism likewise make you safe,' showing that as they who were not in the ark with Noah, not only were not purged and saved by water, but at once perished in that deluge; so now also, whoever are not in the Church with Christ will perish outside, unless they are converted by penitence to the only and saving laver of the Church."[2]

St. Cyprian himself says of St. Peter's words as to Noah's ark and Baptism: "They prove and attest that the one ark of Noah was a type of the one Church. If, then, in that baptism of the world thus expiated and purified, he who was alone in the ark of Noah could be saved by water, and not otherwise; so no man may now be quickened by Baptism, who is not in the Church, to which alone the right of baptizing is committed."[3]

St. Augustine is equally explicit: "Noah's ark built for the preservation of his family and the animals is certainly a figure or type of the City of God sojourning in this world, *i. e.*, of the Church."[4] And St. Chrysostom emphasizes the matter when he says of Noah, the ark, and the Dove: "They were types of things future; the ark (κιβωτὸς) was the Church; Noah was Christ; the Dove was the Holy Spirit; the Olive leaf was the goodness of God."[5]

I have already referred to the Venerable Bede and his picture of the ark; but I must cite what he says about it: "Noah in all things typified Christ; for as Noah alone of his generation was just, so Christ alone was without sin. With Christ there was a seven-fold Spirit of grace: with Noah seven righteous persons. Noah by water and the wood saved his own family; Christ by Baptism and the Cross saves Christians. The Ark was built of wood that did not decay; the Church is composed of men who shall live forever. For this Ark means the Church which floats on the waves of this world. . . . . Here indeed is collected together in the Church, the people that are saved, as the men and animals were saved in the Ark. And because the merit of all is not the same, all do not have the same place in the Ark.

[1] c. 8. [2] *Epist.* 75, 15, *Opera Gen.* Lipsæ, 1838. [3] *Epist. ad Mag.*, 69, 2.
[4] *De Civ. Dei, lib.* xv. 26. [5] *De Lazarus*, Conc. vi., tom. i. p. 959. Montfaucon Ed.

For although all alike in the Church are embraced in one Faith, and are washed with the same Baptism, yet all do not attain the same proficiency and promotion, as it is said, 'Thou, Lord, wilt save both man and beast.' The multitude of the irrational creatures, or beasts, is in the lower places; but they who live by reason and knowledge, are in the higher places, though they be very few,—'For many are called, but few chosen.'"[1]

And again, he says: "That the Ark of Noah without doubt is a type of the Church, because as the one was tossed hither and thither on the waves of the deluge, so the Church is beset with tempest and calamity in this stormy world and age; and as Noah's Ark was not only large enough to be the abode of both clean and unclean animals—for it had men in it and serpents—so is the Church of Christ a vessel of diverse kinds, some to honour and some to dishonour."[2]

This, then, must be the reason why the Church, in her organic unity, is uniformly represented, in Christian monuments and literature, from the second century down to the present time, by Noah's Ark. For still that symbol of her unity, peace, and safety, finds a place in her Baptismal service and hymnology:

"Behold the Ark of God,
Behold the open door;
Hasten to gain that dear abode,
And rove, my soul, no more.

"There safe thou shalt abide,
There sweet shall be thy rest;
And every longing satisfied,
With full salvation blest."

The Church should be true and faithful, or "on the square" with God, herself, and all mankind; and because she was meant so to be as a repository of truth and righteousness, her temples were made parallelograms after the first circular ones had ceased to exist. On the ancient Christian monuments, Noah as the type of Christ, is sometimes a youth blooming in eternal strength and beauty, as we have already seen, to signify the Presence of the Lord as Divine; the box is always square as embracing all the world and containing the Law of rectitude; and the Dove with her olive branch is the emblem of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of unity, peace, and joy promised to be with the Church to the end of time. The very altar of the Church is square, and no longer the circular Pagan tripod, signifying the Ark of a better Covenant, even that of eternal redemption in both soul and body through the sacrifice and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ, continually commemorated and mystically offered thereupon.

[1] *Opera. Com. in Gen.*, t. iv., p. 33.

[2] Id., t. ii. p. 350.

We have here the unmistakable monumental proof of the ark of Noah as a symbol of the Church in her office of salvation and eternal life. (See Fig. 138.)

I have reproduced this fresco from Bosio, who copied it in the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter. No. 1 is the usual Orante representing the Church. She is crowned and veiled, clad in a tunic with wide sleeves and ornamented with stripes, as a Bride adorned for her Husband; and she stands between the two trees of life and knowledge, in cross-like or praying attitude. Two apostles are on either side, to signify that she is not only one holy Catholic Church, but also Apostolic. No. 2 is the youthful Noah in his ark, which has the lid open, and the Dove is flying towards him. The sea is smooth. He also is an *Orante*. No. 3 is Moses striking the rock, significant of Christ whose blood is shed for the sins of the people and applied in Baptism for their cleansing. No. 4 is Adam and Eve in their transgression and shame. The whole grouping of subjects indicates how the Church is the repository

FIG. 138.—Noah's Ark and the Orante. Fresco. Second or third century.

of life through Christ, the medium of preservation as the ark, and the medium of regeneration and reproduction of spiritual life as the Bride of Christ, according to that mystic marriage of which St. Paul speaks, in his epistle to the Church at Ephesus. (v. 5.) In this fresco Noah's ark is exactly over the Orante, or Bride of Christ, and the two are identical in meaning. I now proceed to show how this is the case.

### *The Ship.*

The crescent-shaped boat of ancient commerce, still seen in the Venetian Gondola, and the canoe of the North American Indian, is also seen in the Christian

monuments as a symbol of the Church. Even among the Pagan monuments this moon-like boat appears on a wide waste of waters with the Dove and her olive branch flying towards it. The boat preceding this chapter is of this crescent shape. But here is one more strikingly so. (Fig. 139.) It is the device on an ancient Christian onyx ring, enlarged from the original drawing in Aringhi,[1] for the sake of greater distinctness. Otherwise it is a fac-simile. This boat rests on the back of a huge Fish, instead of the water; and we have seen that the Fish is an emblem of Christ Himself. The motive here obviously is to represent Christ as the foundation and support of His Church. A dove sits on the stern as the symbol of the Holy Spirit giving wisdom and encouragement to the helmsman, in his necessity and the raging of the storm. Another dove perches on the sail as the symbol of peace and safety. Peter, whose name appears, has left the boat, and is kneeling on the water before his Lord, who takes him by the hand and keeps him from sinking. The Greek letters *I H Σ* are the first three letters of the name of Jesus; and this is the first example of their use for the sacred name that I have met. The I H S of more modern times, interpreted as "Jesus, the Saviour of men," here revert to their original and true meaning. The whole device obviously refers to the account given by St. Matthew, xiv. 24–34, and teaches the truth of safety in the Church, and not out of it, even when impetuous and willful men venture on the troubled waters of schism and separation from the one holy Catholic Church, to go to Jesus. And this is Peter who does such a rash act, a most fitting type of the schism and division of Christendom caused by the Church of Rome that claims him as its Patron Saint. And Peter must get back into the old ship of the pure primitive ages of Christianity, or he will drown.

FIG. 139.—The Church as a Crescent-shaped Boat. Third century.

This seal ring reminds us again of the Alexandrian Clement's advice to his flock, that instead of having Pagan devices carved on their seals, they should have a dove, or a fish, or a ship scudding before the wind; for here we have them all.

[1] *Rom. Subt.*, II. p. 244.

Another example from Boldetti,[1] represents the crescent-shaped boat under full sail, with no other living being visible but the dove. (Fig. 140.) An invisible power is guiding the vessel, and the dove is hovering over it. Here is the Church as watched over by the Holy Spirit alone, as if all her voyaging through this tempestuous world was to be done by His sole influence and inspiration. It is to be a spiritual Church, and not political. This device is on the gravestone of one *Flavia Secunda*, who lived 33 years. Her husband Vitoranius set it up.

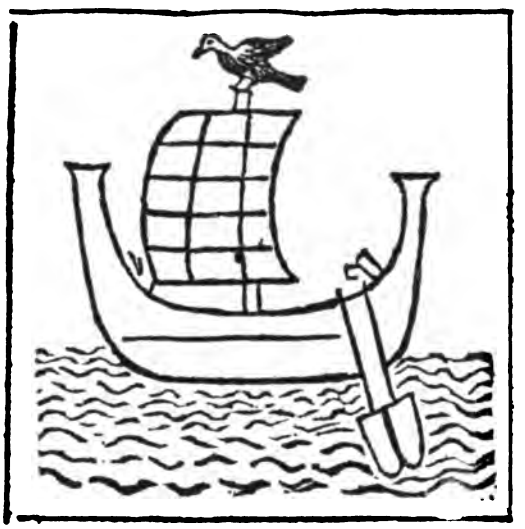


Fig. 140.—The Ship and Dove.

There are two other examples from Boldetti again,[2] the first on the gravestone of *Firma Victoria*, who lived 65 years; (Fig. 141;) and the other on the gravestone of a child named *Refricerius*, who lived 6 years, 8 months, and 5 days, who rests in peace. (Fig. 142.) The lighthouse resembles the Pagan structures sometimes seen in an apotheosis and cremation, but here indicates the end of life's long voyage, and the haven of rest where the Pharos throws out its bright beams to lighten the voyager into the Heavenly City. The ship that brought the aged matron there in safety with all sail set, is the Holy Catholic Church. And so the little child six years old, was a member of the same Church by Baptism, and her boat has the sign of the Cross all over its sides, while above is the sacred monogram of Christ. It was in the peace of Christ that this little church-member rested. We find in Boldetti, whose work on the Christian Catacombs is rich in inscriptions, the name of a child, *Seranilla*, whose age is recorded as that of only one year and one month, with two doves and a dismantled boat on the slab, and who also is said to lie within in peace.[3] Surely this child must

Fig. 141.—Ship and Lighthouse.

[1] *Osservazioni*, part II. p. 360. [2] Id. part II. pp. 372 and 346. [3] Id. p. 365.

have been a baptized member of the Church also, or this would hardly have been said, or the devices there inscribed.

Fig. 143 is a Pagan Sidonian coin copied from Lajard,[1] which shows the ancient crescent-shaped galley of commerce or war, presided over by the tutelary goddess of the city, or the Roman *Fortuna*, bearing a cross as the symbol of protection and prosperity. The crescent is simply the image of the young moon, regarded by all Oriental nations as the universal mother, and therefore it is a symbol of the female attribute of fecundity. It is the *Yoni* of the Hindus, as we have seen; the symbol of the corrupt Mohammedan power; of Isis and Juno; and of the Virgin Mary, who in her assumption, is sometimes seen with the crescent moon under her feet, like Juno. (See Fig. 144.) The ship of Isis was crescent-shaped, having the ark or shrine of God in the middle, as Pococke, Bryant, and Wilkinson give it in their plates; and it was customary to carry it in solemn processions, as a sacred symbol of preservation. Its name was *Baris*. It was in this that Osiris was preserved from Typho. The ship Argo was its counterpart in the Argonautic expedition. Sometimes the ark was represented in the shape of a huge fish, or the preserver, and called Cetus, probably from the great mother of Semiramis, who was changed into a fish, as the daughter was into a dove. Hence, as Bryant remarks, "in the mythology of the ark, and the Iönah or dove, there is continually some reference to the moon, ark and moon being synonymous terms; and the Egyptians regarded the moon as the mother of all things. For at the annual ceremony of burying Osiris, an ark was made in the shape of a crescent, in which the image of Osiris was concealed for a time, and then brought forth with shouts of joy."[2] This may refer to Noah, or to the resurrection, or to the natural preservation and production of life.

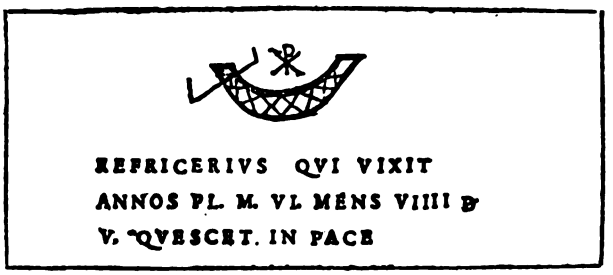



FIG. 142.—Ship and Monogram.

FIG. 143.—Sidonian Coin.

We learn from Spencer's *de Legibus Hebræorum*, and from Apuleius, Plutarch, and Pausanias, that not only the Egyptians, but also the Greeks and Romans had

[1] *Venus*, pl. 25. No. 5.

[2] *Anc. Myth.* II. pp. 332-3. &c. Plutarch's Isis and Osiris.

their *cistæ* or sacred boxes, in which precious images of the gods, or other mysterious symbols were kept, as significant of life and its preservation. The *cista mystica* of the Bacchic rites contained the most direct allusion to the great Progenitor of mankind; when it was not the god himself, it was the virile part of him; but, sometimes, a basket of early fruit or of seed corn was substituted.[1] This basket

FIG. 144.—The Samian Juno as Queen of Heaven. The Mystic Veil withdrawn.

of wicker work as a memorial of the Ark of Noah, or of Moses, thus containing seed, is significant of the preservation of vegetable life; and the box containing the *phallus* would be equally significant of the preservation of human life; and the more sacred Ark of the Covenant containing the Law of God, or His Word, which is

[1] Calmet, Taylor's *Fragments*, iv., p. 45.

seed, according to Christ's interpretation of the Parable of the Sower, is significant of the preservation of moral and spiritual life. In one of the ancient Pagan representations of the *Bacchanalia*, we see two of these wicker baskets with the lids partly open and a serpent within each one of them; and a huge *phallus* is carried on the shoulder of one of the priests, while a nude woman is standing directly over one of the baskets.[1] This was the debasement and perversion of the original idea, and altogether sensual and degrading. We have already seen for what reason these *Bacchanalia* were rigidly suppressed at Rome. We shall see presently how wicker baskets were brought back to their original meaning as symbols of the preservation of the higher and purer life, by the early Christian Church, in their use for the keeping of the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, just as the Ark of the Covenant contained the pot of Manna, the Law, and the budding lily-cross of Aaron's rod.

But here is a curious representation of the Dolphin and the chest combined, and another of the Dolphin alone as the Preserver. (Figs. 145, 146.) The mystic tree of life also appears in both examples. The immortality of our nature, represented by the nude child, is preserved in Hades like Jonah. There is no mistaking the meaning here. This mystic tree is the great Generator of life; the box is the womb of nature: and the Dolphin is the Preserver and Saviour.

FIG. 145.

FIG. 146.

Corinthian Coins.

Döllinger informs us that the Lar or Lord of the Etruscans gave rise to the Roman Lares or household gods, the souls of men that had risen into the Divine ranks; and that they personified the vital and procreative powers, assuring the duration of the family.[2] These two engravings illustrate that idea.

If I am not greatly mistaken, the same idea is expressed by the figure here

[1] Dom. M——'s *Explication*. &c., pl. 2, p. 39, &c.

[2] *Jew and Gentile*, ii. p. 60.

given. (147.) It is from Cyprus. discovered recently by Di Cesnola, at or near old Paphos, the ancient seat of the Phœnician cult of Venus Aphrodite. It is so dim with age that its features can hardly be traced. Other figures like it from Cyprus will soon appear, but of the Orante kind, forming the square cross. This is like the Caryatides which support the entablatures of the Persian Ark of the Covenant, already discussed. The arms form a crescent, just like the moon-like figure in the sacrifice of Mithra, with a cross on each point. If this image be that of a man, then the crescent arms denote the female principle, and it is androgynous. If it be that of a woman, then it is meant to signify the great Mother; and in either case, it has the significance of the chest and tree, or the chest alone as the Preserver. Found as it was in a tomb and placed there over the dead, its meaning is obvious. It would preserve the seed of life, and at length bring it forth into a new birth and sphere of immortal existence.

FIG. 147.—The Cypriote Preserver.

The Greek fable of Pandora illustrates the subject under consideration; and I here place before the reader an illustration of it, copied by Millin from a glass that had been in one of the windows of an old French chapel near Sens, of the days when Pagan imitations were prevalent. The artist was Jean Cousin, born near Sens, 1501. Without detailing the beautiful story of Hesiod's *Works and Days* as to the first woman, Pandora, so named because she was the *All-Gifted* in beauty of form and feature, grace and sweetness, and every other winning attraction and excellence that all the gods and goddesses of high Olympus could bestow upon her, let it suffice to say that the myth is thoroughly inconsistent with itself; first, that such a woman should be given to man as a punishment for Prometheus' fault of stealing the fire of heaven; second, that the box which she opened, out of sheer curiosity, should have contained Hope in it with all evils that escaped to afflict mankind; and, third and greatest of all, that the human race could have as yet existed at all without a

mother. Keightley's remark about it, therefore, is deserving of consideration; for he says: "This fable of Pandora is certainly not capable of being reconciled with other Hellenic myths of the origin of mankind; but incongruities little discomposed those ancient bards, and if a myth contained a moral that pleased them they were indifferent about its harmonizing with others. Contradictions, however, becoming apparent, Prometheus and his brother ceased to be looked on as the first men, but Pandora still kept her place as the first woman. Prometheus and Epimetheus were soon regarded as the symbols of Prudence and Folly, and were held to be gods; then Prometheus speedily rose to the rank of creator of mankind; and yet even Æschylus represents him only as its benefactor and instructor."

FIG. 148.—Eve as Pandora.

"Next came another corruption of the myth, viz.: the jar (πίθος), in which the evils were inclosed, and which lay in the house of the men, was changed into a box brought with her from heaven by Pandora. When higher notions of the Deity prevailed, this myth underwent a further change, and it was fabled that Zeus had inclosed all blessings in a jar, which he set in the abode of man. But, tormented with curiosity, man raised the lid, and all the blessings flew away to heaven, where they abide, shunning the earth. Hope alone remained, as he let down the lid before she had escaped."

"The resemblance between this myth and the Scripture narrative of Eve and

the forbidden fruit is so very striking that one might be induced to regard it as a rivulet derived from the original fount of tradition. The points of resemblance are these, viz.: Pandora and Eve as first of women; the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and the jar of evils; and the introduction of evil into the world by the first woman. But Eve was tempted, Pandora was not; the former was actuated by a noble instinct, the love of knowledge; the latter merely by vulgar female curiosity."[1]

It will be noticed that in the above representation of Eve as Pandora, the artist has sought to combine the two stories as given in Genesis and Hesiod. (Fig. 148.) She holds a branch of the fatal tree in her right hand, reclining as she does on a skull, the emblem of death, as the result of disobedience; her left hand is on a vase or box from which issues a serpent; and the mystic jar is close by from which go forth evils in the shape of foul human spirits. She is lying at the opening of a grotto from which the sea, temples, and pyramids are seen.[2]

Now, I apprehend, that this box contains Hope, and that the Serpent is the symbol of Wisdom which assists Eve in guarding it. For she is looking to the future for deliverance, comforted and assured by the promise that her seed should bruise that serpent's head which had tempted her. The Serpent here is not the Dragon or Tempter, but the emblem of the Logos or Wisdom, according to Christ's own comparison, "wise as serpents." (St. Matt. x. 16.)

### *The Orante-Bride of Christ.*

We are now prepared to consider the Church as symbolized by the female Orante preceding this chapter.[3] St. Paul compares the Church in her relation to Christ, with that of a wife to her husband, and calls it a great mystery, (Eph. v.;) and St. John more than once calls the Church, the Lamb's Wife. (Rev. xx. and xxi.) And here she is veiled again, clad in a tunic, standing in cross-like attitude, guarding her treasures or jewels, ready for the Bridegroom's coming. One of the boxes or *Scrinia* has a handle, the other and smaller one has not. These boxes contain the Old and New Testaments, or the Law and the Gospel, and the Sacraments doubtless, especially the Eucharist. We have seen her before, in this chapter, between two trees symbolizing knowledge and life, or the Law which reveals God, and the Gospel which gives life. The meaning here seems to be the same.

[1] *Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy*, 2d Ed., pp. 292–7.

[2] Millin's *Voyage Dans Les Depart. Du Midi De La France*, vol. I. pp. 117–19. Plate 1, No. 5.

[3] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.*, p. 95.

There are several examples of two such women as symbolizing the Church under the two dispensations of the Law and the Gospel, Jewish and Gentile, in the Christian monuments, as the reader has already seen them, in chapter VII., on the Good Shepherd. There again they stand between two trees, noble palms, to denote the perpetuity and glory of the Church on earth and in heaven. In the representation here given from the cemetery of St. Callixtus,[1] it seems to be more obvious that the two states of the Church are intended. (See Fig. 149.)

As Head and Lord of the Church, the Good Shepherd sits in dignity, with the sceptre or rod of power in one hand, giving the gesture of address with the other, between the two Orantes clad in tunics, one of which is veiled, and the other is not, but has an ornamented stripe on her tunic, as if to indicate the more ornate ritual and pomp of the Jewish Church. The tunic of the Orante on the right of Christ is plainer in its ornamentation, to denote the simpler and more spiritual worship of

FIG. 149.—The Jewish and Gentile Church, and the Good Shepherd. Second or third century.

the Gentile Church. I do not think that I can be mistaken as to this distinction and difference between the dress of the two Orantes, because we have another example that seems to put the matter beyond all doubt. It is that of a mosaic of the beginning of the the fifth century, in the Church of Sta. Sabina, at Rome, published originally by Ciampini,[2] and very lately by De Rossi.[3] It is here given from the former authority. (See Figs. 150, 151.)

The reader will here notice that the Church of the Circumcision and the Church of the Gentiles are expressly mentioned. Both have books in their hands, and both have the sign of the cross on their vestments, more distinctly shown by De Rossi than here. In Ciampini's drawing, too large for such a work as this, there appears over the female figure of the Church of the Circumcision, St. Peter as the

[1] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.*, p. 273.

[2] *Vet. Mon.*, I. pl. 48, pp. 191–5.

[3] *Musaici Christiani*, Fascicolo, iii. c. iv. Roma, 1873.

special Apostle to the Jews, and the one more inclined to the Law and the ritual of that Church; and over him again, the Divine hand appears giving the Law. Over the female figure of the Church of the Gentiles stands St. Paul, the great Apostle to the Gentiles, and the champion of the simplicity and spirituality of the Gospel. And over him again, in the spandrils of four arches marked with numerous square Greek crosses, are the symbols of the four Holy Gospels, viz., the angel for St. Matthew, the eagle for St. John, the lion for St. Mark, and the cow or heifer for St. Luke.

FIG. 150. Mosaic. Fifth century. FIG. 151.

De Rossi informs us that this Church of Sta. Sabina, on the Aventine, was built under the pontificate of Celestinus, A. D. 422–32; restored by Leo III., A. D. 795–816; and adorned by Eugenius II., A. D. 824–27. Had there been any special exaltation of St. Peter or of the Virgin Mary during all that long period, it is natural to suppose that some indication of it would appear in this mosaic; but as it is, Paul is on the same equality with Peter; and the Virgin Mary is not even identified as any one special Orante. Both Orantes are on the same equality, except that one is veiled and the other is not, just as in the preceding fresco of the Catacombs. They stand on a gold ground; their vestments are of a modest mode colour; the border is green and gold; and the inscription commemorating Celestinus as Bishop, not

Pope, and the Presbyter Peter of Illyrium, who founded the Church for the poor, is in gold on a deep blue ground. The fresco of St. Callixtus of the two female Orantes with different stoles, one veiled and the other not, here finds its counterpart and its explanation.

The contest begun by St. Paul at Antioch, when he withstood St. Peter to the face for his Jewish tendencies, and not walking according to the truth of the Gospel, (Gal. ii.,) is also intimated in this wonderful mosaic; for the two stand confronting each other with animated gesture and pointed finger,—a controversy ever since existing between what may be called the letter and the spirit, form and

FIG. 152.—Portraits of Sts. Paul and Peter. Second or third century.

substance, ritual and worship, Law and Gospel, or the Church's reason and imagination, intellect and sensibilities, taste and logic,—the two opposite arms of the Cross joining in the Centre of all its Life in Jesus Christ crucified, or the two opposing forces of nature, the centripetal and the centrifugal, acting in concert to produce the stability and harmony of the world.

And this brings me to the consideration of the one Holy Catholic Church as Apostolic, *i. e.*, as propagated and established throughout the world by this twofold influence and variety of gifts operating within the one organism, and not outside

[1] *Osser.*, p. 92.

of it, by the ordinance of Christ Himself. And I here place before the reader what I regard as portraits of the two chief Apostles, Paul and Peter. (Fig. 152.) Boldetti, from whose work it is copied, labors hard to establish precedence for St. Peter, by multiplying as many examples as possible where he is placed on the right of Christ, or His monogram; and says that where Paul is so placed, it must be owing to inadvertence. But we have seen already that Paul, for the most part, occupies that place, and deservedly so, because his Apostleship was denied in his own life-time; and the cases of Peter occupying that place are no more numerous than the other examples. Here, Paul is on the right, as in the sculptures of the sarcophagi; and the portraits are on the bottom of a crystal tazza or cup found in the cemetery of St. Callixtus. The portrait of Paul, as here given, answers Lucian's scoffing description of him: "I have before learned these things of that Galilean, with bald forehead, (*ἀναφαλαντίας*,) nose, *i. e.*, a long nose (*ἐπίρρινος*,) who, going through the aerial regions, penetrated even the third heaven, and there learned the most excellent of all things; he renewed us by water, and being delivered from the regions of the wicked, he placed us in the path of the just to follow in the footsteps of beatified spirits."[1] So says Triephon to Critias, in answer to a question as to what God should be worshipped and invoked; and the reply is: "The Great God, ruling the Heavens, Eternal, begotten of His Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One of Three, and Three of One; This own as Zeus, This acknowledge to be God." And how did Lucian, who lived in the time of Trajan, at the close of the first century and beginning of the second, thus know the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and of the Trinity, whose sacred names and persons were always invoked at Baptism? The *Disciplina Arcani* was not yet matured or in full force, and he must have learned the doctrine from the Apostle Paul at Rome. And so he knew how to describe his personal appearance, and it is here given on this glass tazza. Had he ever met with Peter, there can be no doubt that he would have described him also. This Galilean, with a bald head and long nose, cannot be Christ, as one of Lucian's commentators remarks, for Lucian could never have seen Him; nor is any such description of Christ ever made. Christ is spoken of in the *Philopatris* alone as the Son of God, the Light of the world, and the Creator of all things; His personal appearance is never alluded to in connection with His name; and inasmuch as Paul is the only one of the Apostles who speaks of being caught up to paradise or heaven, (II. Cor. xii.,) the conclusion is that Lucian is here describing him. I am well aware that the matter has been in dispute as to the precise person referred to in this passage; but if it is not Paul, who is it?

[1] *Philopatris*, vol. III., pp. 597–8.

But here is a most emphatic recognition of Paul's Divine apostleship and commission as one of the under shepherds of the flock of Christ, which I reproduce from the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian way, after Bosio.[1] (Fig. 153.) The Apostle is here on the left of his Lord as the Good Shepherd. He is not bald, however.

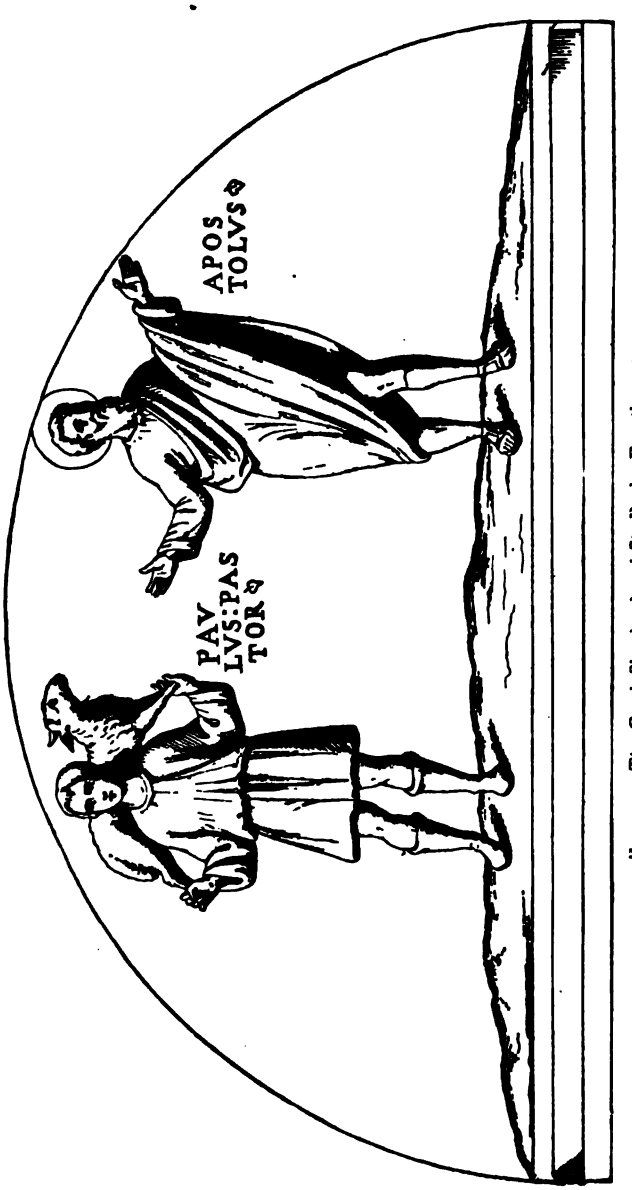



FIG. 153.—The Good Shepherd and St. Paul. Fourth century.

I regard this as one of the most positive denials of Peter's supremacy among the Twelve and in the Church at large, furnished by the early Christian monuments at Rome; first, because Paul here occupies the place so often and usually filled by Peter; second, because, to make assurance doubly sure, he is expressly named as Pastor and Apostolus; and third, because he is associated with the Good Shepherd, singly and alone. He is in the attitude of an Orante, clad in tunic and mantle; and the nimbus at once indicates saintship and the fourth century as the earliest period of the fresco, which is painted over an altar-tomb on the back wall of an *arcosolium*.

The examples of the Church as Apostolic, with these two representative men as her attendants and sup-

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, 519.

porters, are so numerous that one or two representations must suffice. Buonarruoti publishes, among others, one that will explain the engraving here given. (Fig. 154.)

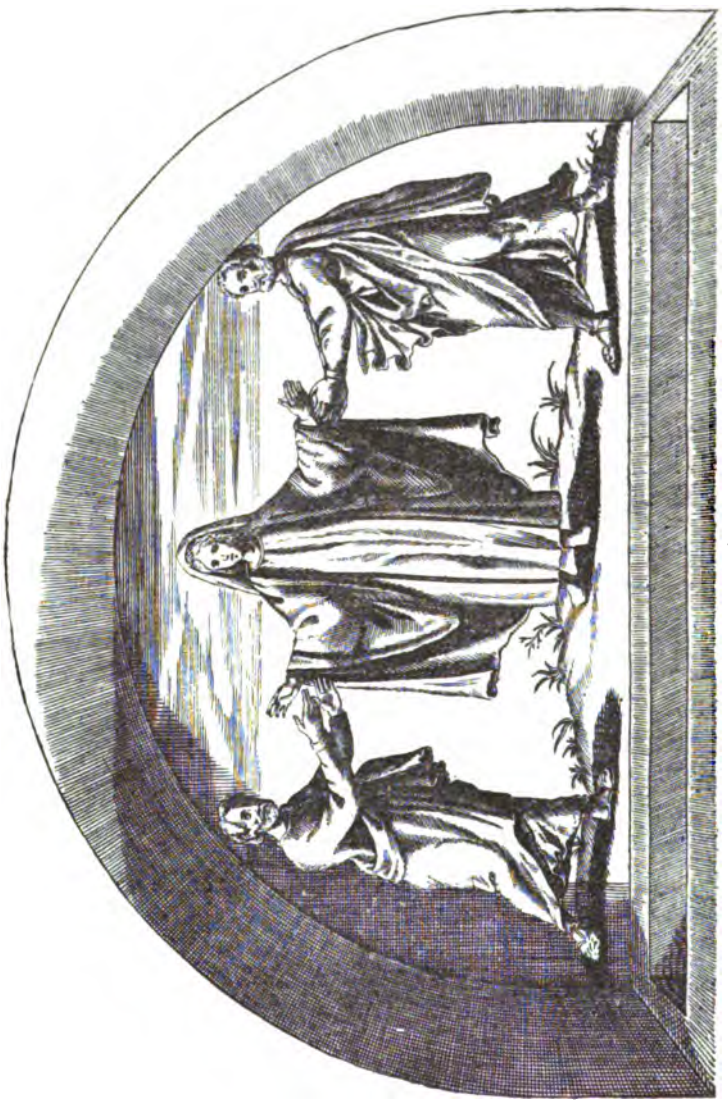


Fig. 154.—The Bride of Christ: Paul and Peter.

It is that of an Orante designated as St. Agnes, typical of the persecuted Church, with Peter and Paul on either side of her, expressly named. Peter is on her right, and Paul on the left.[1] I suppose, therefore, that in the representation here given of the subject, we must regard the two persons, who hold up the hands of the Orante, as Paul and Peter, just as Aaron and Hur stayed the hands of Moses in the decisive battle of Israel with Amalek. (Ex. xvii.) It is suggestive of the necessity which exists for an Apostolic ministry of various gifts and endowments for the very existence and perpetuity of the Church, to say nothing of her prosperity and usefulness. And these two repre-

[1] *Osser.*, pl. 14, No. 1

sentative and foremost men of dissimilar ability and religious preferences and tastes, that stay the hands of the Church with united action and power, were no novices and upstarts, turned into importunate mendicants and solicitors, as now, running hither and thither after alms and the scraps that fall from rich men's feasts to sustain themselves in their Apostolic work of founding the Church in new territories sparsely populated; but they were men of age and experience, and one of them a man of varied and profound learning, engaged in their appropriate work of sustaining the Church herself, knowing full well that hunger and thirst and weariness and labour with their own hands would be theirs very often; and that a common Church purse and treasury would yield an equal, though it might be a small, share alike to all; just as Christ and the Twelve had a common purse for their maintenance, of which

FIG. 155.—The Bride of Christ and two Priests. Second or third century.

the traitor Judas was the keeper. The modern mode of sustaining the Christian ministry, in this country, by the sale and hire of pews in Ecclesiastical establishments, of almost every name, is a defect and a sin; and its bad effects are seen in our large cities and towns in the abandonment, to a most shameful and alarming extent, of the poorer districts to the tender mercies of dram shops and worse places, or perhaps to some occasional mean little dingy chapel and its drowsy deacon; while the more fashionable quarters are crowded with elegant and exclusive rival Ecclesiastical drawing rooms for the more favoured and richer classes, instead of great open free churches everywhere for all the people. *Eheu! Eheu!* Endow-

ment and pro-rata taxation on all Church-members alike, and a common treasury for Bishops and the minor orders of the clergy, would in time help to solve the intricate problem of a just and adequate clerical support; but until these things exist, it must be expected that the clerical will be the most precarious of all professions in this land of ours; and that clergymen often will have no employment, or be turned adrift in their old age to die of a broken heart.

But that younger men of another order of clergy helped to sustain the Church, is also manifest from this representation, which I copy from Bosio. (Fig. 155.) This again is the Bride of Christ, crowned, veiled, and stoled, and fully adorned for her Husband, as sustained by more youthful Apostolic men than in the former picture in the Cemetery of Ciriaca.[1] This is from the Cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter.[2] Clad in tunic and toga, which latter is marked with the sign of Christ, these two persons staying the arms of the Orante in prayer and supplication, are not Deacons who invariably appear in tunics only; but they are Presbyters, whose order and office are essential to the organization and welfare of the one Holy Catholic Church. But of the three orders of the clergy of the primitive Church more will be said presently.

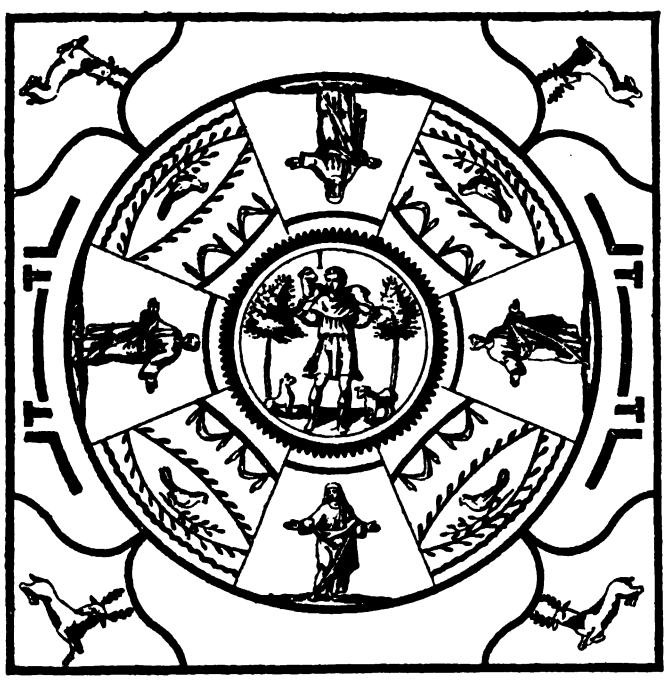


FIG. 156.—The Good Shepherd; Apostles and Orantes. Second or third century.

"O, mystic Wonder!" exclaims Clement of Alexandria. "The universal Father is one, and one is the universal Logos or Word; and the Holy Spirit is one and the same everywhere, and one is the only Virgin Mother. *I love to call her the Church.*"[3] And the above examples of the Virgin Orante illustrate the remark, and all that has been said about the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

But here is a complete union of the whole symbolical representation of Christ and His Apostolic Church

[1] *Bosio*, p. 405. [2] Id., p. 389. [3] *Paed.* I. c. vi., vol. I. p. 142. Ante-Nic. Lib.

. 1 is the Good Shepherd Himself as the one Supreme
vo opposite spaces above and below Him are the two
are two Apostles. In the four intermediate spaces are
ersal presence of the Holy Spirit in every part of the
e lambs reclining at ease, with palm branches for horns,
.ce of the Church with Christ in His Heavenly Fold.
t, like the two Orantes, represent the Jewish and Gen-
the one Shepherd and Bishop of souls; and the two
e two-fold ability and diverse gifts necessary for the
unity, pe... of the Church.

In view of all t... utterly absurd and foolish is any party claim in the Church to a monopoly of all Evangelical or Ritual truth; and how suicidal is departure from the Church because it has either too zealous Evangelicals, or too much Ritualism in it! Both existed in it from the start; have so existed ever since; and will and must necessarily so exist as long as the Church herself does, and human nature is the same as now constituted. Renegade bishops, clergy, and laity, would do well to lay this matter to heart, before they presume to disturb the peace or break the unity of the Church. As for ordinary schismatics, all that can be said is that they must be left to enjoy their own pride of opinion and superior sanctity The Church will probably exist a few years longer without them. Argument and entreaty are alike in vain to convince them.

Manifestly the object and purpose of the Church's existence as the chaste bride of Christ is to bear and rear spiritual children for her Lord. A barren Church, however aspiring or adorned, fails of its purpose. Even ancient Paganism understood the matter of the heavenly birth from the Great Mother, and had many divine men in its various systems of mythology. The oldest and most remarkable that I have ever seen are here presented. (Figs. 157, 158.) The resemblance of these Cypriote figures now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, to the Orantes of the Christian cemeteries, is most striking, and must have had a common origin in the idea of resuscitated life. Di Cesnola found these in an old tomb of Cyprus, at or near the ancient temple of Venus. We shall see the same kind of Orante standing over a corpse, in one of the Etruscan tombs, when the doctrine of the general resurrection is considered, just as we have already seen it in an Egyptian tomb, in the case of Anubis, in Chapter III. Surely these Pagan cruciform figures in Egypt, in Etruria, and here in Cyprus, have some meaning in common with the Christian Orantes, thus found as they all are in the tombs and cemeteries. They are not here and now the mere symbols of life, like the cross so often found on Scarabæi, and laid on the breast of Egyptian mummies, or in the hands of gods touching the dead man's

lips and making him start into life, as we shall soon see; but they are representatives of the life-giving Power itself, of nature and of the soul of man, the Power of reproduction personified. The main and essential difference in their meaning is, that Christianity reproduces or regenerates through the Church in Baptism, by the power of the Holy Ghost; Paganism reproduces only through the female principle. One is spiritual, the other carnal. One is subordinate, the other equal. One is the bride of Christ, the other is sister and wife of Zeus. Hence in these two Cypriote figures, we see on both the pointed cap of Buddha, of Mithra, of the Magi, and of Atys, the young shepherd-god of Phrygia and Cilicia.[1] The cap, then, is Oriental, not Egyptian; and the figures that wear them belong to the Asiatic domination in Cyprus. So much is clear.

FIG. 157.—Cypriote Orante.

But one of the figures bears the Platonic or heavenly cross with a circle at the intersection, and a necklace of phallic pendants encircles her breast. Moreover, she is in the attitude of the square or earthly cross. She unites in herself, therefore, two principles of life, the generating or active principle, and the reproducing or passive principle, symbolically represented; just as we have seen the same things figured in the effeminate Buddha, of the preceding chapter. The other figure literally presents this two-fold Power and Principle of life, for it is evidently androgynous. (Fig. 158.) It is a woman with a man's beard, as Venus is sometimes represented; and therefore it is to be considered as the Cypriote Venus, or the Great Mother. Lucian describes her statue in the temple of Hierapolis, as adorned not only with much gold, but also with precious stones, some of which are white, others watery, and others fiery red; Sardonyx stones, jacinths, and emeralds besides;

[1] See Barker's *Lares and Penates*, p. 174.

and that she seems to look every way the beholder may turn.[1] Juno is also there on lions, and Semiramis with the golden dove on her head; and this golden statue of Venus adorned with gems is between them. It is nothing more than the type of the modern Virgin Mary so bejewelled. And we have her here from Cyprus. For it is well known that Cyprus was first colonized from Asia, and that Paphos was its primitive city, well known throughout the world for the cultus of Venus Aphrodite. Or as Dr. Döllinger says, "The rich Cyprus, vieing even with Egypt in fertility and variety of produce, and, in olden times, divided into nine petty sovereignties, had a mixed population, in the Roman period, once pre-eminently Phenician, which, however, could not maintain their individuality when they came in contact with the intellectual superiority of their Hellenic neighbours, who had early settled as colonists in the island. The cities of Citium, Salamis, and Amathus, in particular, though of Phenician foundation, had become thoroughly grecised. The new Paphos, but three hours' distance from the old Phenician city of that name, was a harbour-town, adorned with beautiful temples."[2]

FIG. 158.—Cypriote Orante.

Old Paphos was near the south-western point of the island, and is reported to have been founded by a son of Apollo; it stood at the mouth of a little river named Bokarus, and was celebrated for its beautiful temple of Venus, built on the spot where she landed when she rose from the sea; there were 100 altars in her temple, which smoked daily with a profusion of frankincense, and though exposed to the

[1] *De Syria Dea*, p. 478, vol. III.

[2] *Jew and Gentile*, I. p. 16.

open air, they were never wet by the rain. Annual festivals were held here in honour of the goddess, and her oracle, which was connected with the temple, acquired for it considerable reputation. In fact, the whole island was especially consecrated to Venus because of her birth there.[1]

The first Phenician inhabitants were joined by the Greek colonists soon after the siege of Troy; the Egyptians afterwards obtained possession of it; then the Persian conquest of Egypt brought it under that domination; then Alexander subdued it; and at last it became the prey of the all-conquering Romans. And it is both curious and instructive to notice traces of all these various influences in the works of art and ancient monuments discovered by Di Cesnola, and now deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. They form a most precious and unique collection. The two figures above shown, obviously belong to the Phenician period, and, as I am informed, were found at or near old Paphos. One is the bearded Venus, and the other the same goddess without a beard, but wearing the phallic emblems, though not the usual phallic cross. This cross is the same as that which is sometimes seen on the breast of the Egyptian Pan, and therefore, in this example, must also be considered phallic in its signification. It is new and confirmatory evidence of that fact.[2] And to these old Pagans, the phallic emblems and the cross-like figures which they placed in the tombs of their beloved dead, had the signification of the Power which would restore them to life at some time; they were sacred, and not obscene to them; or as Sir William Jones remarks, "Venus, presiding over generation, and, on that account, exhibited sometimes of both sexes, (an union very common in the Indian sculptures,) as in her bearded statue at Rome, in the images perhaps called *Hermathena*, and in those figures of her, which had the form of a *conical* marble; for the reason of which figure "we are left," says Tacitus, "in the dark;" the reason appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of Hindustan; where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people that anything natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both Plato and Cicero speak of *Eros*, or the heavenly *Cupid*, as the son of Venus and Jupiter; which proves, that the monarch of Olympus and the goddess of fecundity were connected as *Mahadeva* and *Bahvani*."[3]

It is for this reason, and as derived from ancient Pagan customs, that conical stones are still sometimes seen at the entrance of our own graveyards; and that

[1] *Arrowsmith's Ancient and Modern Geography. Art.* Cyprus.

[2] For full proof of the Pagan crosses being phallic emblems, see R. P. Knight's work on the Phallic Worship, or Dulaure's.

[3] *On the gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, vol. III. p. 367.

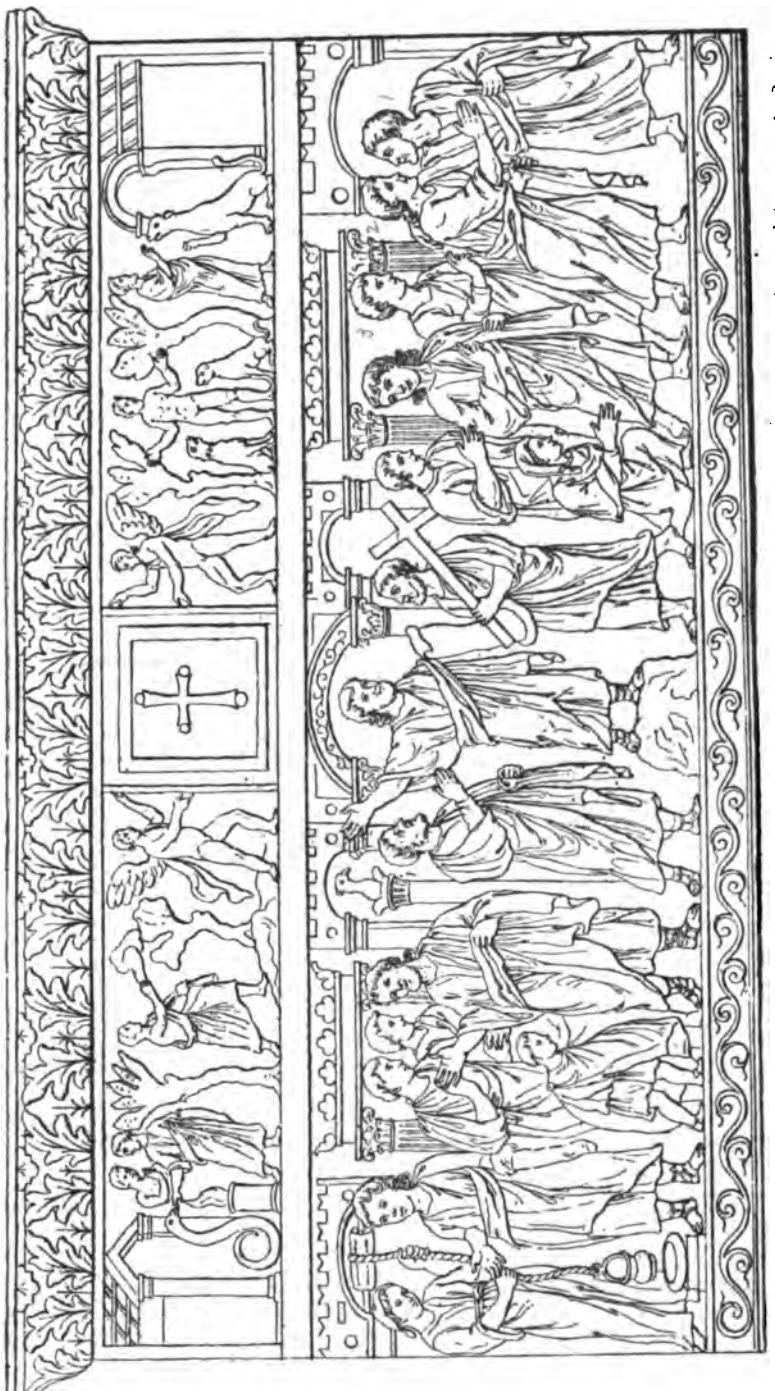


FIG. 159.—Christian Sarcophagus, with Phallic emblems.

phallic emblems have been found in some of the ancient Christian cemeteries. De Rossi found one such of coral, and says of it: "Sospetteri perfino, che fosse sepulchro di Cristiani, se il difetto di quasivoglia segno di loro religione, alcune lucerne con saggetti mitologici ed un *phallus* di corallo chiuso dentro una tomba, non persuadessero del contrario."[1] Bravo! And Maffeus publishes a Christian sarcophagus in his Museum Veronense,[2] on which the phallic emblems are in the form of the cross and occupy the central place, just as we have seen the monogram of Christ on another marble coffin of the Roman cemeteries. It is reproduced in Fig. 159. Any obscenely disposed mind may make the most of it. I am of Sir Wm. Jones's opinion, as expressed above.

This sarcophagus will bear examination. Two winged figures or angels are guardians of the cross of phallic emblems. Beyond them, on one side is Moses receiving the Law, and a scene of serpent worship; on the other side, we see Daniel in the lion's den, and another figure subduing the lion. Below the Cross, Christ stands on the mystic mount, pointing to a bird perched on a column, perhaps the dove, or it may be the fabled phœnix, with Paul on the right and Peter on the left. Beyond Paul and the bird is the scene of healing the demoniac child probably, and Christ at Jacob's well talking to the woman of the Living Water. On the other side, is the scene of healing the woman with an issue of blood, or the woman of Tyre interceding for her daughter. The last scene is uncertain; it may be that of Peter received into confidence, or that of Thomas. Altogether it is a curious mixture of Paganism and Christianity, and belongs to no very early period of Christian art, probably the fourth or fifth century.

But here is an altogether new revelation of the Orante Venus from Cyprus. (Fig. 160.) Any one who doubts the existence of such Pagan crucifixes as are given in Chapter VII. of this work, may look closely at this figure. It is the most astonishing one I have ever seen. One arm has been broken off, but the other reveals a ligature or two which bind it to a piece of wood, dimly traced underneath. The figure is that of a woman, veiled, and with a cap indicative of high Asiatic origin. The folds of the drapery are precisely those of the majestic and placid-looking priest of Venus that stands in the Di Cesnola collection, holding a dove in one hand, and a sacrificial wine cup in the other. This figure, therefore, belongs to the same cultus. But what is its signification? In the absence of cotemporary literature, it is difficult to decide. If I may hazard a conjecture, I would call it the *Crucifixion of the Great Mother herself*. But until other like examples come to light, we must wait for a more definite understanding of it. It is an Orante, and it was found in a tomb

[1] *Rom. Sott.* I. p. 309. [2] p. 484.

with the others, near old Paphos; in the original the bandage and the wood can be distinctly traced. Possibly it may be an *ex-voto* offering of some one who escaped crucifixion, the ancient Pagan mode of execution; but the priest-like drapery forbids such a supposition, unless it were a priestess of Venus. But what would an *ex-voto* offering be doing in a tomb? Such offerings were hung in the Pagan temples, just as we now see them in the churches of Rome. And the cross-like attitude, like the Orantes of the Christian Catacombs, leads to the supposition that it is an image of Venus herself as the Great Mother, placed over the dead, as suffering and groaning in her crucial travail to bring them forth again in the new and immortal birth. It seems to be the Pagan understanding of regeneration as well as its significant sign. I may be all wrong in this conjecture, and if so, will be glad to be set right.

FIG. 160.—Cypriote Crucifix.

I think that the way is now clear for a full comprehension, not only of the Orante figure that stands before this chapter, guarding her boxes of precious seed, which is God's Word; but also of the singular antique lamp, made in the form of a crescent-like boat underneath the Orante. I have copied the latter from the collection of Maffeus.[1] It is an antique bronze lamp from the Catacombs, and well

[1] *Mus. Ver.* On the first page of the dedication of his work to Pope Benedict XIV.

symbolizes the Church as the light of the world. The two apostles, Paul and Peter, are respectively at the helm and bow as joint navigators of the ship, indicating an Apostolic Church which needs their united management. The tablet on the sail bears this inscription: "*Dominus Legem Dat Valerio Severo Eutropi. Vivas,*" *i. e.*, "The Lord gives the Law to Valerius Severus Eutropius. May he live." This lamp was probably found at the grave of the person here named; and the inscription indicates that he was under the Law of Christ, which would warrant the exclamation and pious wish that he might live forever. And it also further intimates that the Church must have the Law of Christ for its chart, and an Apostolic ministry for its service and navigation. Bishop Münter publishes a lamp like this where Christ Himself seems to be at the helm, and Paul at the bow, with the same inscription.[1] This Law of Christ is His Gospel, first and foremost; then a Law of Apostolic ministry; a Law of Prayer and Sacraments; the whole Law of Christian

FIG. 161.—The one Fold and the one Good Shepherd. Sculpture.

Charity, which rejoices in the truth, and not in error and iniquity. As this Law of charity never fails, and is destined to be perpetual in its action and binding force, keeping the whole spiritual and heavenly world together in unity and concord; so in its integrity, it keeps the Church together here on the earth; and any separation from the Church, or injustice and oppression within it, are manifestly a violation of the Law of Charity. And therefore, they who have made divisions in the body of Christ have done more harm and have incurred greater guilt than any doubters or impugners of the Christian faith, known as heretics; because, first, Charity is greater than Faith; second, the foundation of all unity in the Christian society is destroyed or ignored; and third, because if Christian men do not love one another in the same household of Faith, Hope, and Charity, they do not and cannot love God as His true children. Schism is even a more deadly sin than heresy, because it leads eventually to an utter denial of the faith, and to all infidel-

[1] *Sinnbilder*, plate IV. No. 73.

ity and immorality, as its mournful history everywhere testifies. Accordingly I here place before the reader the fac-simile of an old sarcophagus found by Bosio in the cemetery of Priscilla.[1] (Fig. 161.) It is unique, and represents the fold of the Good Shepherd and two of His apostles, probably Paul and Peter.

The remarkable thing about this sculpture is the man holding a ram by the tail, and the Good Shepherd looking on very thoughtfully, if not sadly. What has this ram been doing? Or what does he mean to do? Why is this restraint necessary? Is the sheep whose head appears outside the fold tempting this ram to break out, or leap the barriers of the one safe enclosure? Or is the sheep without the fold anxious to enter and join the rest of the flock? Something of the kind must be intended, because the Greek inscription speaks of Paulina as having restored to peace her nurse, *i. e.*, either the peace of the Church after defection from it, or the peace of Christ, which amounts to the same thing. This is the inscription, as Bosio translates it into Latin.

HIC PAULINA
JACET BEATORUM
IN LOCO
QUAM SEPELIVIT PACATA
SUAM NUTRICEM
DULCEM
SANCTAM IN $\overline{\text{XRO}}$.

"Here lies Paulina in the place of the Blessed. Her sweet nurse sanctified in Christ, whom she restored to peace, she buried."

The place of the Blessed here spoken of is the Christian cemetery as a type of Paradise, where none but the blessed in Christ were permitted to enter and be at rest. The nurse whom Paulina restored to peace may have fallen from the communion of Christ and His church, and after restoration and death, was buried with her mistress. That is Christian charity indeed, in its best exercise, thus to look after the spiritual welfare of a servant in the household, and give her burial in the same grave with her lady. It was charity that could not bear to see defection from Christ and His Church even in this sweet nurse, and which found no rest until it restored her, and gave her a place, too, in the region of the Blessed, in the unity of all the departed in the faith and fear of Christ. Such a charity as this is of very rare occurrence now in a distracted and divided Christendom. The pride of some modern Christian ladies forbids such consideration and tenderness for their nurses. And the greater pride of opinion and worldly ambition keep up divisions and parties, so that any one place for Christ's blessed people to meet together in peace

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 513.

and charity, either in life or in death, is out of the question. How long shall the Lord's prayer for unity be unavailing? Will it never be answered until after the end of the present world? Must division exist forever, until all faith in Christianity itself perish from among men? "That they may be one," is in order that the world may believe. (St. John, xvii. 21.)

As the one ark of Noah: as the one ship or boat of crescent form; as the one Orante-Bride of Christ; and as the one fold of the Good Shepherd, is this one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church presented to our view in all the early monuments of Christianity, revealing as they do the absolute necessity of unity in order to faith and salvation, in the one bond of heavenly charity.

### *Orders of Clergy in the One Holy Catholic Church.*

I begin the investigation of this important and long debated subject of Ecclesiastical Orders, with directing the reader's attention to the two representations of one and the same subject on the annexed plate, and ask him to notice the difference. I have already referred to it in Chapter III. Fig. 162 is Bosio's drawing;[1] Fig. 163 is Garrucci's.[2] It represents an ordination, according to Bosio; while Aringhi thinks it is Christ placing His hand on the head of a youth. The Bishop is seated on his somewhat elevated *cathedra*, placing his right hand on the head of the young Deacon, whom he is ordaining, and holding the open roll of the Gospel in his left. Two Presbyters are presenting the Deacon to the prayerful consideration of the congregation. The Bishop and Presbyters are clad alike in tunics and togas, while the Deacon wears only the tunic.

In the lower representation we see the same figures all more youthful, and all without beards; while in the upper one the Deacon only is without a beard; and the Bishop, in Fig. 162, instead of placing his hand on the Deacon's head, is holding it at some distance above it, after the modern Romish mode of ordination. O Padre Garrucci! how could you presume to make such changes as these in a most precious and venerable monument of the third century? Did it not once occur to you that the Jesuitical device might be detected and exposed? Honest old Bosio, of your own Church, should have taught you better, and his drawing or copy should have been exactly followed.

As I am unable to appreciate such perversion of truth for the good of the Church, I have thus given a fac-simile of the true and original ordination scene as it was copied by Bosio in the Cemetery of St. Ermete, so as to nullify any possible

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 565. [2] *Storia Della Arte Christiana*, Tav. 82, No. 2., p. 90, vol. II. Prato, 1872-3.

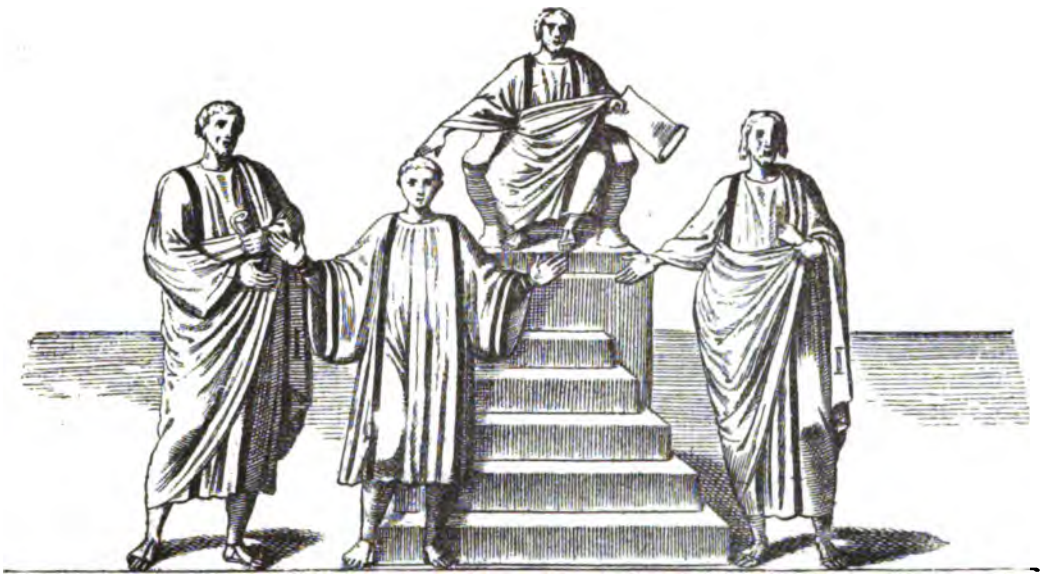


FIG. 162.—Ancient Ordination, after Bosio. 3d Century.

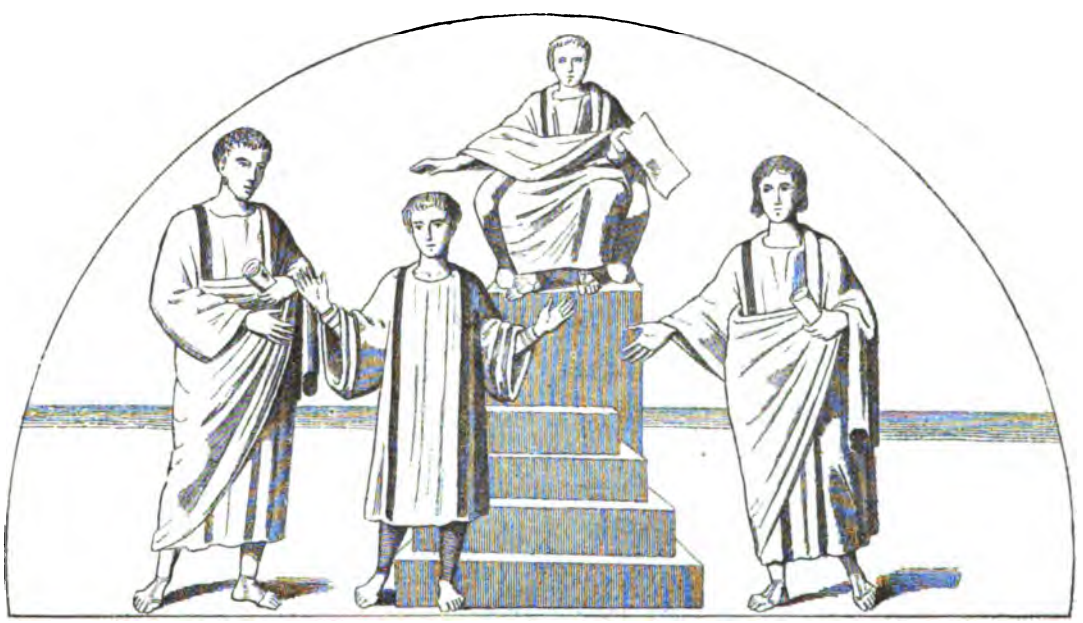


FIG. 163.—Ancient Ordination, after Garrucci.

bad effect of Garrucci's caricature. The scenes which surround this ordination, in the same chapel, are, (1,) the Three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace; (2,) the resurrection of Lazarus; (3,) Moses striking the Rock; and, (4,) Daniel in the lions' den, as reminders of Christ's aid and presence in times of trial and persecution, such as then existed; and of the final deliverance and recompense in the resurrection of the just.

As Nestorianism, in ancient times, was occasioned by the Alexandrian Cyril's bribes at the court of Constantinople, that same Cyril who had hounded Hypatia to a shocking death by his brutal monks; so Methodism in England and America is mainly due to the bad policy of a State Church, stiffened in every joint by a gouty formalism and a rigid orthodoxy of the letter of the law, which had also, from the time of the Charleses, during every successive reign, denied Bishops to the American Colonies, until the obstinacy of a foolish old King and his ministry drove them into revolution, after which the boon was reluctantly granted. Had it been granted sooner, according to the earnest entreaties of all true Churchmen here, who knows whether these Colonies might not yet have been part of the British empire? Or who knows whether the revolution might not sooner have taken place? It was the miserable do-nothing policy for the spiritual interests of the Colonies that was revenged by their loss. A missionary society of the Church of England had been trying to do something in this direction, and the good Queen Anne was personally interested in the matter; but neither this Propagation Society nor Queen Anne herself could organize the Church here on its primitive Apostolic basis. The Church herself must do that, and the Church was hindered by the State or State policy.

And so that zealous Presbyter of the Church of England, John Wesley, seeing the need of some efficient organization for the religious welfare of the Colonies, undertook the task himself. It was a bold undertaking, and its success on this continent makes him almost a second Prester John. He had read Lord King's fallacious book on the "Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church,"[1] and it convinced him that Presbyters and Bishops were of one and the same order, and alike endued with the powers of ordination. Here is his own statement of the matter:

"Lord King's account of the primitive Church convinced me many years ago, that Bishops and Presbyters are of the same order, and consequently, have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace's sake, but because I was determined, as little as

[1] Lond., 1713.

possible, to violate the established order of the Church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are Bishops, who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. So that for some hundreds of miles together, there is none either to baptize, or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America; as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vesey, to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a liturgy, differing little from that of the Church of England, (I think the best constituted national Church in the world,) which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

"If any one will point out a more rational or Scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken. It has indeed been proposed, to desire the English Bishops to ordain part of our preachers in America. But to this I object. 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one; but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would expect to govern them; and how grievously would that entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled, both from the state and the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty to follow the Scripture and the Primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand in that liberty, wherewith God has so strangely made them free."[1]

Dr. Coke gives a sorry picture, and perhaps a true one, of the condition of the Church in the Colonies, in his sermon at the consecration of Mr. Asbury to the office of a bishop, or superintendent as he was rather called, when he says: "The Church of England, of which the society of Methodists in general have till lately professed themselves a part, did for many years groan in America under grievances

[1] Hampson's *Memoirs, Life and Writings of the late Rev. John Wesley*, vol. II. pp. 177–80. Sunderland, 1791

of the heaviest kind. Subjected to a hierarchy, which weighs everything in the scale of politics, its most important interests were repeatedly sacrificed to the supposed advantages of England. The churches were in general filled up with parasites and bottle companions of the rich and great. The humble and most importunate entreaties of the oppressed flocks, yea, the representations of the assembly itself were contemned and despised. Everything sacred must bow down at the feet of a party; the holiness and happiness of mankind be sacrificed to their views; and the drunkard, the fornicator, and the extortioner triumph over bleeding Zion, because they were faithful abettors of the ruling power. After the revolution, parochial churches in general were vacant, and our people were deprived of the sacraments through the greatest part of these states, and continue so still."[1]

But this book of Lord King was so ably answered and its arguments refuted by Sclater in his "Original Draught of the Primitive Church," published in 1717, that its author was himself convinced of its mistakes. Whatever mischief it had done or is still doing was beyond recall. Wesley was mistaken; he was no Presbyterian, but a Churchman to the end of his life; and his superintendents are no Bishops. He mistook an independent order for a mere office, and in that mistake he appointed nothing more, at best, than Presbyters like himself to exercise Episcopal functions, which he had no right to do.

Let us see what cotemporary literature and early Christian monuments both tell us of the clerical orders of the Primitive Church.

It is natural to suppose that when the New Testament was written, generic Greek words had just as much a generic meaning as they have now, and that their indiscriminate use did not exist. *Episkopos*, *Presbuteros*, and *Diakonos* are such generic words, having no more relation to each other in meaning than beast, bird and reptile have, except as these words are all alike applied to men, but to men of different orders, functions, and stations. *Episkopos* is an overseer; *Presbuteros* is the comparative degree of Presbus, or an old man; and *Diakonos* is a servant. How much alike are these words in meaning? If they are uniformly applied to different kinds of men, and not indiscriminately used for the same persons, then it is clear that they mean to designate different kinds or orders of men.

It is a very curious and significant thing that such a profound scholar as Mosheim omits all mention of the testimony of St. Ignatius as to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the age impinging upon the Apostolic, when he discusses the Constitution and Order of the Primitive Church in his "Commentaries." He mentions St. Irenaeus once, and quotes largely from St. Cyprian. His candid admission as to the early

[1] *Hampson*, II. pp. 181–3.

necessity for Bishops must be cited: "As the congregations of Christians became every day larger and larger, a proportionate gradual increase in the number of the presbyters and ministers of necessity took place; and as the rights and powers of all were the same, it was soon found impossible, under the circumstances of that age, when every church was left to the care of itself, for anything like a general harmony to be maintained amongst them, or for the various necessities of the multitude to be regularly and satisfactorily provided for, without some one to preside and exert a controlling influence. Such being the case, the churches adopted the practice of selecting and placing at the head of the council of presbyters, some one man of eminent wisdom and prudence, whose peculiar duty it should be to allot to his colleagues their several tasks, and by his advice, and every other mode of assistance, to prevent as far as in him lay the interests of the assembly, over which he was thus appointed to preside, from experiencing any kind of detriment or injury."

The Presbyterian Moderators of to-day have no such powers as these of "allotting to their colleagues their several tasks, and of giving such advice as would prevent detriment or injury to the assembly;" they are merely presiding officers chosen to preach a sermon and to keep order, from year to year. The office is indeed permanent, but it is not filled by one and the same man of eminent wisdom and prudence permanently.

Mosheim then goes on to say: "It appears to me, however, equally certain that the churches did not long continue under the care and management of councils of presbyters, amongst whom there was no distinction of rank; but that in the more considerable ones at least, if not in the others, it came, *even during the lifetime of the Apostles, and with their approbation*, to be the practice for some one man more eminent than the rest to be invested with the presidency or chief direction. And in support of this opinion we are supplied with an argument of such strength in those "angels," to whom St. John addressed the epistles, which, by the command of our Saviour Himself, he sent to the seven churches of Asia, (Rev. ii. iii.,) as the Presbyterians, as they are termed, let them labour and strive what they may, will never be able to overcome. It must be evident to every one, even on a cursory perusal of the epistles to which we refer, that those who were therein termed "angels," were persons possessing such a degree of authority in their respective churches as enabled them to mark with merited disgrace whatever might appear to be deserving of reprehension, and also to give due counsel and encouragement to everything that was virtuous and commendable. But even supposing that we were to waive the advantage that is to be derived from this argument in establishing the antiquity of the Episcopal character, it appears to me that the bare consideration alone of the state of the Church in its infancy, might be sufficient to convince any rational,

unprejudiced person, that *the order of Bishops could not have originated at a period considerably more recent than that which gave birth to Christianity itself.*"[1]

"I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word,"—order of Bishops established almost at the birth of Christianity itself. Fas est ab hoste doceri.

Order of Bishops it is, then, and not a mere office or function, by every testimony of Christian antiquity, whether literary or monumental.

The epistle of St. Ignatius, one of St. John's disciples, to the Magnesians, written shortly after the Apostle's death, about the year of Christ 107, testified to by Eusebius, is explicit in its mention of a three-fold order of clergy at Magnesia, the Eastern or maritime part of Thessaly, where Ignatius touched on his way to Rome, under sentence of death by Trajan in the Amphitheatre; and whose Bishop, Presbyters and Deacon came to visit him and sympathize with him. As a result of this intercourse, Ignatius addresses a friendly letter to the whole Church there, in which this passage occurs: "Since, then, I have been esteemed worthy of seeing you, through Damas, your God-worthy Bishop, (*τοῦ ἀξιοθέου ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου*) and the Presbyters God-worthy (*πρεσβυτέρων θεοῦ ἀξίων*), Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow servant, Zotio, the Deacon (*διακόνου*), whom I have aided; seeing that he is placed under the Bishop and the Presbyters by the grace of God and the law of Christ."[2] This is followed by a charge to be dutiful and reverent to their Bishop, even though he was young in years; then the consequences of disobedience are depicted as of like kind with the punishment of Dathan and Abiram, when they rose up against their superiors, Moses and Aaron; and then this most remarkable passage occurs: "Since, then, in the persons just named, I have seen your whole multitude joined in faith and love, I exhort you that ye study to do all things in the peace of God; the Bishop presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the college of the Apostles, and the Deacons most dear to me, entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ. Let nothing exist among you that may divide you; but be united with your Bishop, and subject to God in Christ, through him. Therefore, as the Lord does nothing without the Father, so, also, do ye nothing without the Bishop, whether ye be Presbyters, or Deacons, or Laymen."

In his epistle to the Trallians, Ignatius repeats the injunction, "Be ye subject to the Bishop as to the Lord, for he watches for your souls as he that shall give account; for ye seem to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order that, by believing in His death, ye may, by Baptism, be made partakers of His resurrection. It is therefore necessary, what-

[1] *Commentaries*, I. pp. 226–7, III. pp. 207–28.

[2] Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, pp. 61–2.

soever things ye do, to do nothing without the Bishop. And be ye subject, also, to the Presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ, who is our hope. It behoves you, also, in every way, to please the Deacons, who are servants of the mysteries of Christ Jesus; for they are not ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God. Reverence all the Deacons, as Christ commands, and the Bishop as Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father of all, and the Presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and also the bond or assembly of Christ's Apostles. Without these there is no elect Church, no congregation of holy ones, no assembly of saints."[1]

The attempt to invalidate such and other like testimony as this, on the part of sceptical and schismatical Christians, is that which would utterly destroy the genuineness of Holy Scripture itself; for it rests on the same evidence as that which exists for primitive Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and, if I mistake not, the assaults made upon the books of Scripture and upon Christianity, in modern times, had their beginning in this crusade of Presbyterianism and Independency against Episcopacy. If there were men of old who denied even the Apostleship of St. Paul and separated themselves from the Church of Christ, it need not be wondered at that there should be men now conceited and wicked enough to deny the order of Bishops, and break the unity of the Church. If any such look into these pages, I commend to their special attention this citation of St. Irenæus, against heresies.

"It is within the power of all, in every Church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the Apostles, manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the Apostles instituted Bishops in the Churches, and to demonstrate the succession of these men to our own times; those who neither taught nor knew anything like what these heretics rave about. For if the Apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they were in the habit of imparting to 'the perfect,' apart and privately from the rest, they would have delivered them especially to those to whom they were also committing the Churches themselves. For they were desirous that these men should be very perfect and blameless in all things, whom, also, they were leaving behind as their successors, delivering up their own place of government to these men. Since, however, it would be very tedious to reckon up the succession of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vain glory, or by blindness and perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorized meetings, by indicating that tradition derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church, founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and

[1] Cureton, p. 76.

Paul; as also by pointing out the faith preached to men, which comes down to our times by means of the succession of Bishops. The blessed Apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the Episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement was allotted the Bishopric. This man, as he had seen the blessed Apostles, and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the Apostles still echoing in his ears, and their traditions before his eyes."[1]

And this very Clement himself says: "To the High Priest are assigned his own peculiar services, and their own proper place is assigned to the Priests, and upon the Levites devolve their own special ministrations." According to these Jewish orders, the Christian Church was constituted with Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, all of whom Clement mentions in his first Epistle as distinct orders.

No wonder, then, that Peter and Paul so constantly appear among all the monuments of the Roman Catacombs, and in the mosaics of the ancient churches. They jointly founded the Church there, and their memory was faithfully preserved.

Any one who will look through Asseman's "Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ," especially the five volumes on Ordination alone, will be convinced that ever since there was a written Liturgy in the Christian Church, some MSS. of which date back to A. D. 400, Bishops alone have exercised the power of ordination and consecration. These various ancient Liturgies and ordination services of Presbyters and Deacons, as well as consecration services of bishops, in every part of the known world where the Church was established, constitute valuable monumental evidence of the highest kind on this subject; because by no remotest possibility could such solemn formularies of devotion and pious acts be capable of doubt, misconception, or novelty. And that they all agree without exception, as to the Bishop having the sole power of ordination, assisted in the laying on of hands by the Presbytery in case of a Presbyter's ordination; and by other Bishops, two at least, in case of the consecration of a Bishop, is something marvellous, and points to the one truth as derived from Apostolic sources.

The Nestorian Church of the East still preserves its ancient Liturgy and customs, and an ordination service is expressly called "the imposition of hands." It is with the Nestorian Church, as with all other Episcopally constituted churches, the custom for the Bishop alone to impose hands upon the heads of Deacons. The rubrical direction at a certain stage of the ordination service is this, "Then the

[1] Book III. c. 3

Bishop shall lay his right hand upon the heads of those to be ordained, and extending his left hand in a supplicating posture, he shall say in a low voice:

"O our righteous God and all-merciful King, Who art rich in mercy, and Whose pity is overflowing, in Thy unspeakable grace Thou hast made me, O Lord, a channel of Thy gift to Thy holy church, that in Thy name I may impart the talents of the ministry of the *Spirit* to the ministers of Thy holy Sacraments. And now, behold, according to the Apostolic tradition which has descended in a chain to us by the laying on of hands of the ministration of the Church, we present unto Thee these Thy servants, that they may be elect deacons in Thy holy Church; and we all pray in their behalf, that the grace of the Holy Spirit may descend upon them to perfect them for the performance of this ministry to which they have offered themselves through Thy grace, and through the mercies of Thy Only Begotten, to Whom with Thee and the *Holy Ghost* we ascribe glory, honour, praise, and worship, (*aloud,*) now and forever and ever."

After being commended to the prayers of the congregation, the Bishop again places his right hand upon the head of each Deacon, and extends the left in another supplication for the gift of the Holy Ghost as to Stephen the first Deacon: that the Deacons before him may serve God's pure altar with a pure heart and upright conscience, shine forth in works of righteousness for the ministry of God's life-giving sacraments, and be made meet to receive the heavenly reward in the day of recompense, for their pure and holy ministry. Then the Bishop signs them, takes the stoles from off their necks, and places them over their left shoulder. The Epistles are then put into the hands of each Deacon, and another sign of the cross is made between the eyes by the Bishop's forefinger, drawn upwards from below, and from right to left, saying, in a loud voice:

"A. B. has been set apart, *consecrated,* and perfected to the work of the ministry of the Church, and to the Levitical and Stephenite office, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

All this not only has the true ring of Oriental steel, but also the rich flavour of a high, genuine antiquity. It exactly describes the ordination scene, given above; and its use of the term "Levitical," corresponds with the statement of Clement, that the Church was modelled after the Temple, so far, at least, as her three-fold orders of Clergy are concerned. We shall also find ancient inscriptions bearing this title as applied to Deacons, and the term *sacerdotes*, as applied to Presbyters. And these three orders of the Clergy were perfectly competent to manage the affairs of the Church, and did so manage them, without the intrusion of the Laity. They had the control of the cemeteries, even, and none could be buried there without their permission.

As to the many inscriptions found in the Roman Catacombs, it is to be said that they are not often dated, that is, the Consuls' names are infrequently given, or those of the Bishops. When these appear, the date is easily ascertained. Otherwise, we proximately judge of the correctness of the date, by the form of the letters, and the brevity and simplicity of the inscription itself. Episcopus or its abbreviation Ep. is generally applied to the Bishop. Sometimes Rector or Pastor is used. Papa or Father is not frequent in the early monuments as applied to a Bishop; and it is used for other Bishops than those of Rome, and even for superiors of monasteries. Cyprian and Augustine were called Popes; and Damasus and John XIII., Bishops of Rome, had the terms Pastor and Rector applied to them. *Prudens Pastor* is John's designation as found in a long inscription at old St. Paul's Basilica;[1] and *Damasus Rector* is that of a much earlier Roman Bishop.[2]

Not many years ago De Rossi found the broken fragments of a marble slab, in the Cemetery of St. Callixtus, bearing the name of *Cornelius Ep.*, the 22nd Bishop of Rome, A. D. 255–8.[3] He also gives a list, preserved in the Martyrologies, of 20 early Bishops designated by the term Episcopus or Ep., some of whom were buried in the Catacombs, with extant inscriptions.[4] Le Blant gives one of the sixth century thus: "*Dominus Papa pauper Episcopus*"[5]—a poor Bishop and yet a lord Pope. How would that be esteemed in England or America?

But here is an important citation from Bosio as to the consecration of Bishops in the Roman Cemeteries, by John III., 63rd Bishop of Rome, A. D. 563: "*Tunc sanctissimus Papa retinuit se in Cœmeterio Sanctorum Tiburtii, et Valeriani, et habitavit ibi multum temporis, ut Episcopos consecraret ibidim;*" *i. e.*, "Then the most holy Father kept himself in the cemetery of saints Tiburtius and Valerian, and spent so much of his time there, that he even consecrated Bishops in it." Two evils of the time would make this necessary; first, the covetous, lewd, and rapacious emperor Justin, a contemner of God and man to such a degree that his vices made him a fanatic; and second, Italy was overrun by the surrounding Barbarians, and in sore calamity. John repaired these cemeteries meanwhile, and his long residence there is accounted for.[6] Here is an early inscription of Damasus, 39th Bishop of Rome, A. D. 371–89, who did so much for the repairing of the cemeteries, and set up such beautiful inscriptions:

HIC CONGESTA JACET QUERIS SI TURBA PIORUM
CORPORA SANCTORUM RETINENT VENERANDA SEPULCHRA
SUBLIMES ANIMAS RAPUIT SIBI REGIA CAELI

[1] Bosio, *Rom. Sott.*, p. 163. [2] Id., p. 176. [3] *Rom. Sott. Crist.*, I. p. 293, tav. 1, &c.
[4] *Rom. Sott. Crist.*, II. p. 48. [5] *Inscrip.*, No. 404. [6] Ricaut's *Platina; Lives of the Popes*, pp. 95–96.

HIC COMITES XYSTI PORTANT QUI EX HOSTE TROPHAEA
HIC NUMERUS PROCERUM SERVAT QUI ALTARIA CHRISTI
HIC POSITUS LONGA VIXIT QUI IN PACE SACERDOS
HIC CONFESSORES SANCTI QUOS GRECIA MISIT
HIC JUVENES PUERIQUE SENES CASTIQUE NEPOTES
QUIS MAGE VIRGINEUM PLACUIT RETINERE PUDOREM
HIC FATEOR DAMASUS VOLUI MEA CONDERE MEMBRA
SED CINERES TIMUI SANCTOS VEXARE PIORUM.[1]

"Should you inquire what crowd of the pious dead is here collected together, bodies of the saints retained in these venerable sepulchres, sublime souls caught up to the heavenly mansion itself, I answer, here are the comrades of Xystus who bore their trophies from the enemy; here is many a leader who served Christ's altar; here is placed the priest who lived during the long peace; here are the holy Confessors whom Greece sent forth; here are young men and old, and innocent grandchildren; here is he who more than pleased to keep his virgin modesty; here I, Damasus, acknowledge the desire to lay my body down to rest, but I have feared to disturb the sacred ashes of the pious dead."

"Procerum" obviously means Bishops. The long peace of which Damasus here speaks is evidently that of Trajan, who was succeeded by Hadrian, during whose reign the persecution of Christians was renewed. Xystus or Sixtus I. suffered martyrdom with many others, soon after his December ordinations, when he made eleven Presbyters, as many Deacons, and four Bishops; and he was buried in the Vatican near St. Peter.[2] It was this Bishop of Rome who first instituted the *Trisagion* at the celebration of the Eucharist in the Roman Liturgy, and ordered that the *Corporal* should be of the finest linen. I have cited this inscription because the words *altar* and *sacerdos* or priest are used; and that, too, in the time of Julian, when the term Presbyter was still applied to the second order of the clergy. This word *sacerdos* had obviously come down from Apostolic times, for St. Paul himself uses the word in speaking of his own ministry, in Rom. xv. 16, when he says, "That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to you Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God;" where the word "minister" is the Greek *λειτουργὸν*, or Liturgist, and the word "ministering" is *ἱερουργοῦντα*, or exercising the priest's office; and both of these words are precisely such as Plutarch applies to the Pagan priests, when he says, *ἱερεῖς θεῶν λειτουργοὶ*, *i. e.*, Priests are the Liturgists of the gods. This word liturgist is again used by St. Paul in Rom. xiii. 6, where he speaks of kings as God's ministers; it is applied to Christ Himself as our Great High Priest, seated at

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 190.

[2] Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, p. 17.

the right hand of the throne of the Majesty on high, when He is called a Liturgist or minister of the sanctuary, or holy things rather; (Heb. viii. 2;) Paul and Barnabas are so called when it is said of them that they ministered or liturgised to the Lord, and fasted, at Antioch; (Acts xiii. 2;) the ministration of Zacharias, the priest at the Temple, is called by the same Greek name; (Luke i. 23;) and finally, the word priest is applied to Christ as offering Himself for the sins of men, in connection with His more excellent ministry or Liturgicism than that of Moses. (Heb. viii. 6.)[1]

When, therefore, Damasus employs the word *sacerdos* in the above inscription, it is according to Scriptural and Apostolic usage; and they who deny such a term as thus applicable to any order of the Christian ministry, have not carefully read their Greek Testament. Damasus also expressly says again of Callixtus, the seventeenth bishop of Rome, under Severus, according to Platina, but later according to others, "That he made another cemetery on the Appian Way, where many priests, (*sacerdotes*,) and martyrs rest in peace, which is called to this day the cemetery of Callixtus."[2] It was, therefore, the province of the Bishops of Rome to construct and adorn, and regulate all these public cemeteries, not only for the burial of the dead, but also for the worship of the living. They were under their entire control. And what these cemeteries reveal of the faith and practice of early Christianity, and of the constitution and polity of the Church, must therefore be a true condition of things as they then existed, and as sanctioned and authorized by the highest authority in the Church.

De Rossi gives an early inscription from the cemetery of Domatilla, bearing on this point of Church control over the Catacombs. It is this:

ALEXIUS ET CAPRIOLA FECERUNT SE VIVI;
JUSSU ARCHELAI ET DULCITI PRESBER.

"Alexis and Capriola made this for themselves while living, by the order of Archelaus and Dulcitius, the Presbyters."[3] Domatilla was no doubt their parochial burying-place, and none could construct a tomb there without the express order of these Presbyters. And then, on the same page of De Rossi's work, just under the above inscription, is this: "The Deacon Severus made this double cubiculum with its arcosolia and luminary, as a quiet mansion in peace for himself and his family, by the order of his Father in God, or Pope Marcellinus, where for awhile he keeps his body in sweet sleep for his Maker and Judge. The sweet Virgin Severa re-

[1] See Hick's *Christian Priesthood*, 3rd Ed., I. pp. 24–5. London, 1711.
[2] Bosio, p. 173. [3] *Rom. Sott.*, I. p. 208.

turned to her parents and handmaids on the 8th of the Kalends of February: whom the Lord commanded to be born in the flesh with wonderful wisdom and ability, which body here lies buried in peace, until it shall rise again with Him. And He who took her soul, purified by His Holy Spirit, will always keep it pure and inviolate, which the Lord shall again restore in spiritual glory. Who lived 9 years, 11 months, and 15 days: so was she translated from time."[1]

This was found in the cemetery of St. Callixtus, and the name of Marcellinus enables us to fix the date about the year of our Lord, 295. The cemetery of Domatilla, in which the other inscription was found, is the oldest of all, dating back to the time of Nerva, A. D. 96–98. So that, putting the evidence of both together, we have pretty early assurance that the Clergy of Rome were Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and that they had jurisdiction over the cemeteries.

Here is an inscription from the Cemetery of St. Sebastian, containing the name of Innocent, the forty-second Bishop of Rome, A. D. 408–24.

TEMPORIBUS SANCTI INNOCENTI
EPISCOPI PROCLINUS
ET URSUS PRESBB
TITULI BIZANTIS
SANCTO MARTYRI
SEBASTIANO EX VOTO FECERUNT.

"In the times of the Holy Bishop Innocent
Proclinus and Ursus, the Presbyters,
Of the Byzantine Title,
Made this ex-voto tablet
For the holy martyr Sebastian."[2]

Down to the fifth century, then, Episcopus was the interchangeable title of the Roman Bishop, and Presbyter was that of Byzantine priests who had come to Rome to honour the memory of Sebastian, the martyr.

And here is an inscription in which the word Rector is applied to Damasus, and Levite to a deacon, named Tarsicius.

PAR MERITUM QUICUNQUE LEGIS COGNOSCE DUORUM
QUIS DAMASUS RECTOR TITULAS POST PRÆMIA REDDIT
JUDAICUS POPULUS STEPHANUM MELIORA MONENTEM
PERCUI.ERAT SAXIS TULERAT QUI EX HOSTE TROPHÆUM
MARTYRIUM PRIMUS RAPUIT LEVITA FIDELIS

[1] This inscription is also more fully given, just as it now exists, on p. cxv. of De Rossi's great work of *Dated Christian Inscriptions*, only one vol. of which is published.

[2] Bosio, p. 177.

TARSICIUM SANCTUM CHRISTI SACRAMENTA GERENTEM
CUM MALE SANA MANUS PERICRET (VEL PETERET)
PULGARE (VULGARE) PROFANIS
IPSE ANIMAM POTIUS VOLVIT DIMITTERE CÆSUS
PRODERE QUAM CANIBUS RABIDIS CÆLESTIA MEMBRA.[1]

"Whosoever thou art, know the equal condition of two men, and that the Rector Damasus restored their inscriptions after their recompense. The Jewish people stoned Stephen to death, admonishing them of better things, who triumphed over the enemy: The first faithful Levite who suffered martyrdom. So when a strong hand wickedly attempted to expose Tarsicius to the profane people while ministering his part of Christ's sacraments; he was slain, choosing rather to give up his life than to make public the Divine Members or Body to mad dogs."

Here a comparison is drawn between two deacons, one the first of martyrs, and the other serving at the altar in the administration of the Eucharist. The Martyrologies mention the name of Tarsicius as having suffered death under Valerian, A. D. 254–57. If the *Cælestia Membra* refer to the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, as they seem to do, on the Scriptural injunction that holy things must not be given to dogs, then this is quite early testimony as to the elements of the Sacrament having been designated as the Divine Body. The *Disciplina Arcani* forbade any such exposure of it to the Pagan multitude, as was contemplated in the case of Tarsicius, who chose rather to be cut down on the spot.

During the reign of Diocletian, three Presbyters, named Marcus, Marcellianus, and Tranquillinus, suffered martyrdom, and were buried in that part of the great cemetery of Callixtus, bearing their name. Their monumental tablet was found and published by Bosio.[2]

But we have some inscriptions giving evidence that these Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Primitive Church were married men, according to Apostolic precept and God's ordinance. I cite the following from Gruter, p. 1173.

HUNC MIHI COMPOSUIT TUMULUM LAURENTIA CONJUX
MORIBUS APTA MEIS SEMPER VENERANDA FIDELIS
INVIDIA INFELIX TAMDEM COMPRESSA QUIESCIT
OCTOGINTA LEO TRANSCENDIT EPISCOPUS ANNOS.

"This tomb my wife Laurentia made for me,
Always respectful and faithful she suited my humour,
Hapless envy at last lies crushed,
Eighty years the Bishop Leo survived."

[1] Bosio, p. 176.

[2] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 186.

No matter what Bishop this was, whether Liberius, an Arian Bishop of Rome, who was also called Leo, or Leo I., who lived about 100 years afterwards, it is clear that he had a good wife.

Bosio gives this inscription of the Presbyter Basil and his wife:[1]

LOCUS BASILI PRESB. ET FELICITATI EJUS
SIBI FECERUNT.

"The place of the Presbyter Basil and his Felicitas
They made it for themselves."

Aringhi gives this:[2]

OLIM PRESBYTERI GABINI FILIA FELIX
HIC SUSANNA JACET IN PACE PATRI SOCIATA.

"Susanna, once the happy daughter of the Presbyter Gabinus,
Here lies in peace joined with her father."

While Dr. Burgon was chaplain of the English Church at Rome, he copied the following inscription:

GAUDENTIUS PRESB. SIBI
ET CONJUGI SUÆ SEVERÆ CASTÆ HAC SANE
FEMINÆ QUÆ VIXIT ANN. XIII. M. III. D. X.
DEP. IIII. NON APRIL. TIMASIO ET PROMO.

"Gaudentius, the Presbyter, for himself and his wife Severa, a virtuous woman, who lived 42 years, 3 months, 10 days. Buried on the 4th of the nones of April. Timasius and Promus being consuls."

There must be some mistake on the part of the Fossor who cut this inscription, for a wife only 13 years old is an extreme improbability; and so Dr. Burgon translates it as above.[3] The consular date is A. D. 389.

Here is a remarkable inscription, published by Bosio, of the wife of a Deacon or Levite:

LEVITÆ CONJUX PETRONIA FORMA PUDORIS HIC MEA
DEPONENS SEDIBUS OSSA LOCO
PARCITE VOS LACRIMIS DULCES CUM CONJUGE NATAE,
VIVENTEMQ DEO CREDI TE FLERE NEFAS
DP IN PACE III NON OCTOB. FESTO VC CONSS.[4]

"Petronia, the wife of a Levite, type of modesty. In this place I lay my bones; spare your tears, dear husband and daughters, and believe that it is forbid-

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 153.
[2] *Rom. Subt.*, II. p. 101.
[3] *Letters from Rome*, p. 241. Lond. 1862.
[4] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 151.

den to weep for one who lives in God. Buried in peace, on the third before the nones of October."

The names of three children appear on the same tablet, and are no doubt those referred to by Petronia as hers, with the consular dates of their burial. Her own interment was A. D. 472.

Gruter and Le Blant both publish a very long and elaborate inscription at Narbonne, A. D. 427, too unwieldy to be cited here, to the effect that Rusticus the Bishop, son of Bonosius, a Bishop; nephew of Aratoris, another Bishop, &c., in connection with the presbyter Ursus and the deacon Hermetus, began to build the church; and that Montanus the sub-deacon finished the Apse, &c.[1]

Here we have the three distinct orders of the primitive clergy mentioned together. with the addition of the sub-deacon, so seldom noticed because not of the regular order, but only a subordinate at the altar.

Le Blant also publishes a slab of some shrine to which pilgrimages were made, scribbled all over with the names of visitors, among which appear those of 21 Presbyters and 5 Levites, but no Bishops. It would not have been decorous for them to seek such cheap distinction. The monument belongs to the seventh or eighth century.[2] A bit of the broken sarcophagus of Concordius, Bishop of Arles, A. D. 374, still preserved in the museum of that city, records the circumstance that in his tender years and first ministry he distinguished himself as a reader, and afterwards as a Priest of the Divine Law, the word *sacerdos* being used.[3]

With another inscription in Venice, published by Gruter, I close this already protracted list. It is that of a deacon and his wife who beg not to be disturbed:

AUR. SATURNINUS DIAC. SIBI. ET
AURA VENERIAE. DULCISSIMAE
CONJ. DE PROPRIO SIBI. FECERUNT
ROGO. ET PETO, OMNEM CLERUM
ET CUNCTA FRATERNITATEM, NULLUS
DE GENERE. VEL. ALIQUIS. IN HAC SEPULTURA PONATUR.[4]

"The Deacon Aurelius Saturnius for himself and his dearest wife Aurelia Veneria. For their own use alone they made it. And I beg and entreat every clergyman, and the whole fraternity, that none of their number or anybody else be placed in this sepulchre."

A very earnest and sensible request, surely! The modern outrage upon the remains of the dead which cuts roads through some of our cemeteries for fast horses

[1] Gruter, p. 1059. Le Blant, No. 617.
[2] *Inscrip. Chrét.*, No. 609.
[3] Id. No. 509.
[4] P. 1050, No. 8.

and men, or turns them into speculative town lots, or makes them rich placers of business, would have caused this good deacon to turn in his grave and howl with despair. Ground was scarce in Venice, and he only feared that necessity might compel the opening of his grave for the burial of some one of his brethren. Hence his request, which, I doubt not, was religiously respected.

From these examples of monumental evidence, which cover the whole ground of clerical orders in the Primitive Church, we have every confirmation of both kinds of early literary testimonies adduced above in the writings of Ignatius, Irenæus, and Clement, and the early Liturgies. Many more of like kind might be added, but wherefore? If these are not believed, neither would the sceptic be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

Christianity and the Church rose together, and they must stand or fall together. I can no more conceive of any separation between them, than I can conceive of the Ark without Noah, or Noah without the Ark. There can be no family of the faithful children of God without the Bride, the Lamb's Wife, leaning on the arm and folded in the bosom of her Beloved. And to make the Church one with her Lord, and efficient in doing her proper work of making all men the true spiritual children of the one Great Father of all, she must have a ministry, Apostolic both in derivation and power, reflecting the threefold Personality as creative, redemptive, and sanctifying, of one God and Saviour, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

For it was at Cæsarea Philippi, the modern Baneas, one of the great sources of the Jordan, and the ancient seat of a Pagan worship, where the niches of the gods still appear on the face of the high limestone rock, out of which the spring flows, that this union of Christianity and the Church was avowed and made, in one of the most tremendous utterances ever spoken to mortal man.

Amid those scenes of nature's loveliness, so bewitching as to captivate a colony of Greek settlers who consecrated the spot over and around the great gushiug fountain to their god Pan, and called the place *Paneas* in his honour, still retained in the modern name Baneas; with marble temples about Him, devoted to the worship of natural powers and phenomena; with great Hermon towering above in his green livery and snow-capped splendours, and the beautiful plain of Huleh spreading out before Him, rich in golden grain and numerous flocks and herds; with the consciousness that Judaism had done all it could for God and man in upholding a pure Theism for so many generations by means of sacrifice and ceremonial worship, and the voice of prophecy; conscious, too, that Paganism had exhausted its resources in seeking the "unknown God," and all the spiritual and supernatural elements and powers of the universe through natural and sensible phenomena; and fully aware of His own great mission to mankind in uniting all things and all

people in Himself, Jew and Gentile, far and near, He, the one God-man, uttered that grand declaration, and put forth that sublime manifesto of unity and peace, the *magna charta* of universal human brotherhood, based on the abiding faith in His Divine character and mission, expressed by Simon Peter for all the disciples of Christ, "I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven." (St. Matt. xvi. 18 and 19.)

The monuments reveal what these keys are, viz., not those of arbitrary power and infallible self-will, but of God's revelation of truth, goodness, and love to mankind in the two Testaments, Old and New, the Law and the Gospel. Always on the Mystic Mount and in the mosaic of the Church of the Circumcision and of the Gentiles; where Christ appears among the Twelve, with Paul on the right and Peter on the left, or *vice versa*, He is giving this two-fold Book, which interprets the meaning of the two keys given to Peter for the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers, and its closing against unbelievers. In this one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, Judaism and Paganism should henceforth be united. The ceremonial should give way to the simple; the natural should become but the symbol of the spiritual; and no power of man, no flight of time, no decay of death and the grave, should ever be able to prevail against a Christianity and a Church so united and so universally prevalent.

"Christ, the Head over all things to the Church, which is His Body, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all."

*Eph.* i. 22–23.

"The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

*I. Tim.* iii. 15.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS: AGAPE AND EUCHARIST.

*The Communion of Saints, Agape and Eucharist.—When and why the clause was introduced into the Creed.—Prayers for the Dead.—Liturgies.—The Eucharist a Memorial Sacrifice.—Illustrations and Inscriptions.*

INASMUCH as that clause of the Creed relating to the Communion of Saints does not certainly appear in any formulary of the Christian faith until the seventh century, or with any probability only a century or two earlier, it becomes necessary to investigate the cause of this, and ascertain so far as possible the distinct truth which it enunciates. For this Communion of Saints is something more than the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, made up as it is of good and bad, saint and sinner, Judas and John, tares and wheat. It is a Communion of Saints only. The winnowing and sifting process has taken place, and the chaff has been blown away; the tares are in the eternal fires, and the wheat is safely stored in the garner: Judas has gone to his own place, and John is forever reclining in the Master's bosom at the banquet of heavenly love. It was Lord King who seems to have first originated the modern Presbyterian notion that the Communion of Saints and the Holy Catholic Church are one and the same thing, conjecturing as he does that this clause of the Creed was first inserted in the fourth century to meet and counteract the schism caused by the Donatists, as an explanation of the Holy Catholic Church as one communion and fellowship of saints.[1] On the exclusive Presbyterian theory of Election and Predestination, it is quite tenable and consistent that the Church here on earth should be a Communion of Saints only, secretly known to none but God; that any sinners should be of its number is untenable and inconsistent. But there is no Creed extant, according to the form now in use, earlier than the seventh century; and Lord King was simply mistaken in his supposition that the clause as to

[1] *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 323–37. Lond., 1737.

FIG. 165.—Melchisedek's Oblation of Bread and Wine. Mosaic of the 6th Century, at Ravenna.

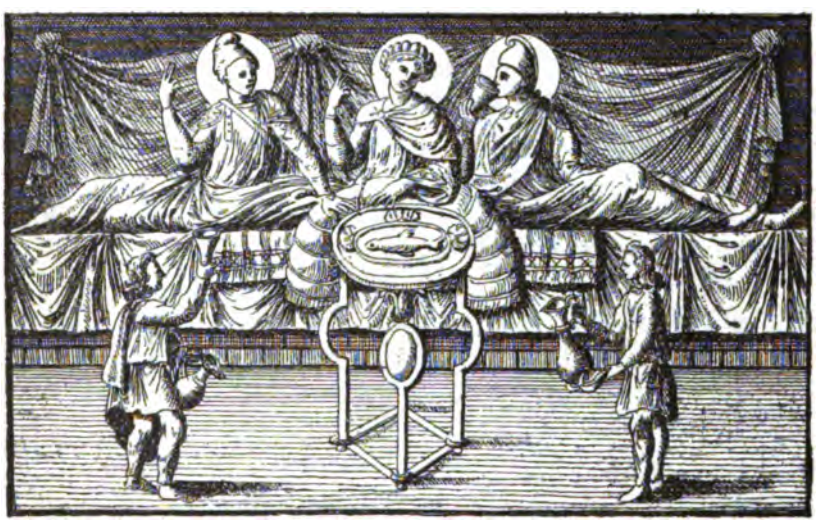


FIG. 164.—Pagan Triclinium; from an ancient Virgil Codex in the Vatican Library.

the Communion of Saints was inserted earlier. One of the earliest existing manuscripts of the Apostles' Creed, possibly the very earliest, is that which is found in a detached form, at the end of the famous copy of the Acts of the Apostles, given by Archbishop Laud to the University of Oxford, and preserved in the Bodleian library. It is in the uncial character, as the book of Acts is; and though written in darker ink and by another hand, it seems to belong to the same age. The antiquarian Hearne assigned it to the eighth century; Griesbach to the seventh or eighth, and Wetstein to the seventh. But it does not contain the clause as to the Communion of Saints.[1]

The very first and certain appearance of this clause in the Creed occurs in the Gallican Sacramentary, in the preparatory office of the Catechumens for Baptism; the manuscript of which Sacramentary was discovered by Mabillon, at Bobio, in north Italy, and which he supposed to have been written about the middle of the seventh century, and to have been in use in the province of Maxima Sequanorum, of which Besançon was the capital. It was before the time of Charlemagne, and before the Roman Order had supplanted that of the ancient Gallican Church. This Sacramentary contains two other Creeds, one of which assigns to the twelve clauses each, the Apostle who contributed the article; but the clause as to the Communion of Saints does not appear; and the other is the interrogative Creed, used at Baptism, which scarcely varies at all from our own Baptismal Creed I here transcribe from Mabillon's *Museum Italicum* that form of the Creed which is given in the office for preparing Catechumens for Baptism, and which is substantially the same as the interrogatory form used at the Baptism itself:

"*Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terrae. Credo in Jesum-Christum filium ejus unigenitum sempiternum Conceptum de Spiritu-Sancto, natum ex Maria Virgine; Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum, mortuum et sepultum. Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Ascendit ad cœlos, sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis: Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum-Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam. Sanctorem communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam, amen.*"[2]

The punctuation is just as I find it in Mabillon, whether his, or that of the manuscript, or both, I am not able to say; but a period separates between the Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints, shewing a distinction and a difference between them. In the interrogatory Creed the comma is used, thus, "*Credit in Spiritum-Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, Sanctorum communionem, remis-*

[1] Huertley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 60–64.

[2] *Museum Ital.*, I. p. 312.

*sionem peccatorum; carnis resurrectionem,*" etc., where the same punctuation separates between these two clauses, as between the Holy Spirit and the Holy Catholic Church, or between this latter and the Forgiveness of Sins.[1]

In the explanation of the Creed to the Catechumens, distinct mention is made of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father alone, in these words, "*Hic est enim Spiritus-Sanctus, qui egreditur a Patre, de quo ait Salvator beatis Apostolis suis: Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus-sancti. Non potest videri separabilis virtute, qui non potest in nomine separari.*" And again, in one of the Sunday celebrations of the holy Eucharist, the same thing occurs in one of the invocations, in these words, "*Pater ingenitus, Filius unus est generatus, Spiritus-sanctus unus est ex Patre procedens, Patri et Filio coaeternus.*"[2] And the learned editor honestly remarks on this, in a foot-note, "that it appears from this that this Mass was used before the *Filioque* was admitted into the Creed." It is not in the genuine Eastern creed; and its exclusion from this ancient Gallican Creed is proof that it forms no part of the faith of primitive Christianity.

Ever since the separation of the Communion of Saints as a distinct clause, from the Holy Catholic Church, by a period, every ancient and venerable formulary of the Faith, has separated it, either by a period, a colon, or a semi-colon, and never by a comma, except as the comma is used to separate other distinct clauses. I have examined all the Creeds accessible, in all the ancient Liturgies, Baptismal offices, and the Catechetical formularies; all the early Saxon and English Creeds; and in none of them do I find the alliance of the Communion of Saints with the Holy Catholic Church. It is always and everywhere a separate and distinct clause. And so it is in the present English Prayer Book, as well as in the early American one, ratified and set forth by the General Convention of 1789, two early editions of which now lie before me, viz.: that of 1794, New York, and 1795, Philadelphia, in both of which the punctuation is a semi-colon. And so, too, in Bishop Hobart's 4to edition of the Prayer Book, published with an explanation of the services, in 1805, New York, the semi-colon is used. But in the later Standard book, as it is called, published by the Harpers, New York, in 1845, the change of this punctuation from a semi-colon to a comma is first seen in any Creed of Christendom. Was the General Convention of a previous date anxious to stultify itself, and publish and authorize a book differing in this respect from its own authorized book ever since the organization of the Church on this continent? and differing, too, from every other Creed of Christendom? Or, was the committee of revision that had the correction of the book in hand, ambitious to bring the Holy Catholic Church into the

[1] *Mus. Ital.*, I. p. 313. [2] Id. p. 376.

narrow and exclusive category of the Presbyterian theory of the Church? Let those answer who best know. For my part, I do not pay the least attention to the comma when I recite my Creed, but adhere to the old landmark of the semi-colon. If this be heresy, make the most of it, who wills so to do.

There is a Creed attributed to Eusebius Gallus, gathered from two of his expository homilies, and some sermons usually attributed to him and others, at a period subsequent to the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451; but the matter is so uncertain that this creed is assigned by Heurtley to the sixth century, in which the clause of the Communion of Saints first occurs. It, too, is a Gallican creed; its author was once Abbot of Lerins, and afterwards Bishop of Arles; and the sermons seem to bear on the prevalent Eutychian heresy of denying a proper humanity to Christ after His birth, but that Christ and the Logos were one and the same, and that the Divinity of Christ both suffered and died. This was kindred to the heresy of Apollinarius in denying a human soul to Christ, and which occasioned the insertion of the clause as to Hades in the Creed. If Christ's body was a celestial and Divine thing, only passing through the Virgin as through a channel, and not a human thing like our own, composed of flesh, bones, and blood, then as our Elder Brother there could be no sympathy between us and no communion. Passed into the heavens to preside over and keep up the communion of saints, in His human body, I have no doubt that this article of the Creed as to the Communion of Saints had something to do in counteracting the heresy of Eutyches, and was then first made prominent for that express purpose. For the communion of saints is first of all with Christ their Lord as an Elder Brother, and then with one another as joined together in Him in one and the same abiding fellowship. He makes the Communion of Saints; and if He be not human as well as Divine, that communion is impossible. And, therefore, the comma in our American Prayer Book seems to sanction unwittingly this heresy of the fifth century, opposed by Eusebius Gallus in his sermons and Creed. To such absurdities may General Conventions commit themselves, where ignorant Laymen are permitted to legislate on the Liturgy and Discipline of the Church, and to make their boast of being able and willing to take the Church under their control, when Bishops and Clergy are already under severe Canonical discipline, with none for Laymen.

But there is another matter bearing on this clause of the Creed, which is now to be considered. It is that of the *Agape* or Love-feast of the ancient Christians, a Pagan illustration of which in the *Triclinium*, stands at the head of this chapter. (Fig. 164.) In the time of the Apostles and long afterwards there was a frugal and social meal called the Agape, partaken of in connection with the Lord's Supper, which was paramount. At first the Agape preceded the Lord's Supper; but owing

to some abuse, doubtless, it succeeded that more important celebration afterwards.[1] Jude gives us a hint of this abuse, when he says, "These are spots in your feasts of Charity, (ἀγάπαις,) when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear." (12 v.) And Paul evidently refers to the Agape when he speaks of the drunken revel made of it at Corinth, in I. Cor. xi. 20–23 vs., in the eating of a supper *before* the celebration of the Lord's. There is some confusion, as Bloomfield remarks, in the statements of early Ecclesiastical writers as to the position of the Agape in relation to the Lord's Supper, whether before or after; but there can be little doubt that in Apostolic times the Agape was first, and that owing to such abuses as those spoken of by Paul and Jude, it was made to succeed the holy Supper proper. For a long time the Agape was held in the Christian assemblies and churches; for we read in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, (ii. 44–46,) "That all who believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and divided them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart." But this community and division of goods, so natural in a small assembly animated by a first glowing love, could not long continue, after such duplicity and abuse as were shewn by Ananias and his wife Sapphira. But the breaking of bread from house to house in the Agape and holy Supper, which could not be done in the Temple at Jerusalem, was continued long after Apostolic times. At Troas, where St. Paul took leave of the Ephesian Presbyters, he celebrated the Agape and the Communion together. (Acts xx.) The many lights, so much insisted upon by mere Ritualists, were just as necessary for the one as the other. The custom of having the two in connection, may have originated in our Lord's institution of the Memorial Supper of Bread and Wine, in connection with the Jewish Passover, a feast not only celebrated publicly at the Temple in Jerusalem by the whole nation as the anniversary of its deliverance from Egypt, but also as a social festivity enjoyed by every Hebrew family at home. It was in this social manner that our Lord celebrated the Passover with His disciples, when He instituted the Holy Supper. It was in the evening, when all Oriental people took the principal meal of the day. Most likely, therefore, in imitation of this, and as a memorial of it, did the Apostles and early Christians celebrate the Agape and Holy Supper in the evening, though in Pliny's time it had become a necessity to forego this pious custom on account of

[1] Dr. E. Burton says: "This was evidently the case in the Corinthian Church; and it appears, that in the first and part of the second century the Eucharist was celebrated at the end of the feast; till a change was made in consequence of disorderly and intemperate scenes which took place, and the Sacrament was then administered before the regular meal was eaten."—*Bamp. Lect.*, note 65, p. 457.

spies and persecution, and change the time to the morning hour just before daylight.

The Agape was simply a bond of charity and good fellowship at first, where all Christians met together in common, poor as well as rich; and where even social distinctions were ignored and lost in the more exalted brotherhood of Christ. The jealous rivalries of rank and caste such as Pagan Hindustan and the proud state Church of England have in common, while the toiling and suffering masses of the unrecognized poor and obscure of these lands are alike comparatively neglected, were things unknown to the Primitive Church, or at least foreign to the spirit of Christianity, as the Sermon on the Mount and St. Paul's exposition of Christian charity give it voice. To this happy feast all contributed, the rich of their abundance, the poor of their scantier fare. The exceptional case, in Apostolic times, was at the luxurious and profligate city of Corinth, where some vulgar rich persons affected superiority and disdained their poor neighbors, by sitting apart by themselves and enjoying their own dainty food and drink, of which these poor had no share. This drew down the sharp rebuke of that Apostle who gave them the true idea of charity; and it was an utter perversion of the festival to selfish and uncharitable ostentation. Besides, the gluttony and drunkenness unfitted them for the proper celebration of the Eucharist. They were not able to discern the Lord's Body in it. Instead of abandoning the Agape, under such circumstances, its position was changed.

The next stage in the development of the Agape was its reservation for marriages and deaths; for in the days of persecution death was regarded as just as happy an event as a marriage. Then it came to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the martyrdom of distinguished servants of God, or that of personal friends or relations, at the tombs, the altar-like sarcophagus serving as a table. But when in the fourth century, as it is said, the Church, from the necessity of the case, substituted these Agapæ for some of the Pagan festivities, the abuse became so great that the council of Laodicea forbade their celebration altogether in the Churches. Its xxviii. canon enacts, "It is not permitted to hold love-feasts, as they are called, in the Lord's houses, or in Church assemblies, nor to eat and to spread couches in the house of the Lord." Its ix. canon is, "The members of the Church are not to meet in the cemeteries, nor attend the so-called martyries of any of the heretics for prayer;" which shows us that it was customary and lawful for the orthodox to meet at the cemeteries and celebrate the Agape and the Communion on the anniversaries of the martyrs' death, but not in company with heretics. And this is the Communion of Saints proper—this mystic intercourse and fellowship of the true members of the one Holy Catholic Church on earth, with those who have gone to Paradise in the

faith and fear of God. It is the almost entire neglect of this doctrine and practice, in the modern sceptical and extravagant Protestantism of our times and country, that has given rise to that monstrous sham and delusion known as Spiritualism. The human heart yearns with unutterable desire to know something of the condition of its dear departed ones, and to be in some kind of sympathy and fellowship with them; it does not wish to bury them like dogs, and to think that they are gone forever beyond all the bounds of existence and recognition. And therefore, if the Church gives little or no opportunity of gratifying and exercising this natural and holy instinct, the heart will invent its own mode of doing it, however wrong and absurd.

The Agape, then, celebrated in connection with the Holy Communion of Christ's Body and Blood, and as His more precious memorial, was that truly catholic element of ancient Christianity, as Maitland calls it, which did satisfy this heart-yearning and put the believer in full communion with those who had gone to Paradise. The days on which it was celebrated in honour of the martyrs were called *natalitia*, or birth-days, because the saints were "born to heaven from the world." "As long as persecution was likely to befall the Church, there was policy in commemorating annually the triumphs of her heroes. To meet by lamplight over the grave of a departed friend, and there to animate each other's faith by mutual exhortations; to partake together of the funeral meal before the tablet which inclosed his bones; in all this the faithful of that age found a constant stimulus to fortitude and zeal. But the *natalitia* celebrated after Constantine tended in a lamentable degree to secularize religious worship; the festival was thrown open in the hope of obtaining converts; and many of the Pagan poor, after having been fed at the expense of the Church, became suddenly convinced of the truth of Christianity." [1]

St. Augustine informs us of the reason and necessity that existed for substituting the Agapæ in place of the Pagan festivals, in his letter to Alypius, in these words: "After so many and violent persecutions, when peace was established, the crowd of Gentiles, desirous of embracing Christianity and entering the Church, were deterred by this consideration, viz.: that whereas they had been accustomed to pass the holidays in drunkenness and feasting before their idols, they could not easily forego these most pernicious yet ancient pleasures, it seemed good to our leaders (*majoribus*) then to favour this part of their weakness; and to substitute for those festal days which they relinquish, others in honour of the holy martyrs, which they might celebrate with similar luxury, though not with the like impiety." [2]

[1] Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 271.

[2] Epist. 29, *Migne*., II. p. 270–2.

This was a mistaken and fatal change in the Agapæ, as the event proved. Pagans converted to Christianity by the argument of feasting would not be likely to do much credit to their profession or to become very worthy members of the Church; and so we find that even in the fourth century the Agapæ were such a scandal to the Christian name, by reason of the drunkenness and licentiousness practised, that it became necessary to make the strong endeavour at their entire suppression. Bishops in their separate dioceses sought to do it; and even Councils of the Church at large laboured in vain. So popular were these festivals among the poor and ignorant classes of the Christian community; such a strong hold had they obtained on their hearts and lives, that it was an exceedingly difficult matter to suppress them altogether. The Canon law might forbid the celebration of these revels and orgies in the churches, but nevertheless they could be held in private houses, or in the cemeteries, and were so held for three centuries longer. For they were not thus entirely suppressed until the seventh century, when the Trullian or Quinisext council took the matter in hand. The council of Elvira had already forbidden women to pass the night in the cemeteries. At Cæsarea dances were held around the tombs of the martyrs. Chrysostom rebuked the abuses at Constantinople, and Ambrose suppressed them at Milan. Augustine did not spare them at Hippo, for he says: "These revels and this drunkenness are now thought so allowable as to be celebrated in honour of the martyrs, not only on the festivals, but every day."[1] "The martyrs hear your bottles, the martyrs hear your frying-pans, the martyrs hear your drunken revels."

Paulinus, the good bishop of Nola, laments that these festivities were carried on during the entire night. (*Per totam et vigiles extendunt gaudia noctem.*) "How I wish," he says in the ix. Hymn to Felix, "that their joys would assume a more sober character; that they would not mix their cups on holy ground. Yet I think we must not be too severe on the pleasures of their little feasts: for error creeps into unlearned minds; and their simplicity, unconscious of the great fault they commit, verges on piety, supposing that the saints are gratified by the wine poured upon their tombs." And so, if possible, to win and attract them from these grosser pleasures, the good bishop painted Scripture subjects all over his church for their instruction and edification. The above passage occurs towards the end of the hymn, in connection with the important testimony that the cup formed part of the administration of the Holy Communion:

> **Unus ubique calix Domini et cibus unus; et una**
> **Mensa domusque Dei.**[2]

[1] *Epist.*, 64, or 22.

[2] *Paulini Epis. Nolani Epistolæ et Pœmata*, pp. 292–3. 1516. Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 274.

Pagan feasts, indeed, had these Apostolic Agapæ now become, everywhere alike over the whole Pagan world and, they yet exist; and the funeral dinners or suppers yet lingering in some parts of England and America, of which I have myself partaken on more than one solemn occasion, are their more moderate and sober counterparts; but their true and faithful preservation remains in the Irish wakes of candles, tobacco, and whiskey, *ad libitum*. "Beginning," as Maitland observes, "as an Apostolic feast, perhaps held in imitation of our Saviour's last meal with His disciples, (at least that part of it distinct from the Sacramental institution,) it was afterwards interwoven with the *silicernium*, or feast of Hecate, or *cœna novemdialis* of the ancients, a funeral feast held nine days after death; during which first, at least, some of the food was laid upon the tomb, that the dead might seem to share the meal. Then the attempt to convert the Pagan poor by feeding them, and the substitution of martyr festivals for heathen solemnities, further lowered the character of the ceremony; at last we find it degraded to a mere revel; an opportunity for the commission of crime, mixed up with night-watchings, torch-lights and wine; proscribed by the Church, and entirely effaced from the ritual of Christendom."[1] The modern love-feasts of the Methodists bear no more likeness to the joyous and festive Agape of Primitive and Apostolic times than an Irish wake does; for its excess in another direction entirely forbids festive joy and gladness on bread and water only.

Pagan hearts believed in a communion of saints in their own way. The very savages of all this American continent do not lose their interest in the departed. Gifts of all kinds are still laid upon their graves. D'Acugna tells us that among the South American Indians of his day, it was customary to keep the dead bodies of their friends and families in their houses as long as possible. Among the 150 tribes that he visited, "some," he says, "keep their dead in their own houses and make feasts for them, so as to have them always before their eyes to be reminded of their own departure to join their company."[2] The same thing was customary in ancient Egypt. Sir G. Wilkinson says that "Diodorus and the Papyri show that it was not an uncommon thing to keep the mummies in the house, after they had been returned by the embalmers to the relations of the deceased, in order to gratify the feelings which made them desirous of having those they had loved in life as near them as possible after death. Damascenius states that they sometimes introduced them at table; as though they could enjoy their society; and Lucan, in his

[1] *Church in the Catacombs*, pp. 274–5. The *silicernium* and *cœna novemdialis* are described fully in J. Gutherius' learned work on Ancient Funeral Rites, p. 143–4. Paris, 1615.

[2] *Voyages and Discoveries in South America*, pp. 59 and 99. London, 1698.

Essay on Grief, says that he was an eye-witness of this custom. They were sometimes left in the house until the family could prepare a tomb for their reception; and the affection of a wife or husband frequently retained the body of a beloved consort, in order that both might be deposited at the same time in their final resting-place. A room was set apart for the purpose, the coffin being placed upright against the firmest of the walls. Many months often elapsed between the ceremony of embalming and the actual burial; and it was during this period that liturgies were performed before the mummy, which were afterwards continued in the tomb. An instance is mentioned where a child was retained a whole year; and some, for various reasons, were doubtless kept much longer."[1]

Among the Greeks of Homer's time, the funeral feast was customary; and his account of the one held in honor of Patroclus will bear a partial repetition:

> "My faithful comrades, valiant Myrmidons,
> Loose we not yet our horses from the cars,
> But for Patroclus mourn, approaching near,
> With horse and car; such tribute claim the dead:
> Then free indulgence to our sorrows given,
> Loose we the steeds, and share the evening meal.
> * * * * *
> His comrades round the ship
> Of Peleus' son in countless numbers sat,
> While he the abundant fun'ral feast dispensed.
> There many a steer lay stretched beneath the knife,
> And many a sheep, and many a bleating goat,
> And many a white tusk'd porker, rich in fat,
> There lay extended singing o'er the fire;
> And blood in torrents flowed around the corpse."[2]

This blood was to propitiate the manes of Patroclus, one of the special objects of *silicernium*. But the social meal was to be eaten as if he were present and enjoying it with them. And there can be no doubt that the many pious wishes for the dead expressed by the early Christians on their grave-stones and funeral tablets, such as *vivas*, or *vivas in Deo*, had a like meaning of manifesting a deep interest in their welfare, not of propitiating their manes, but of expressing the conviction that they were in safe-keeping, and that God would at length give them the full fruition of their bliss, both in body and soul, in His everlasting kingdom.

Shall Pagans, ancient and modern, or shall early Christianity, put our regard

[1] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, II. pp. 389–90.
[2] *Iliad*, 23, Lord Derby's.

for the Communion of Saints to the blush? By the hardest struggle of Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, was that part of the Liturgy proper retained in the American Service Book, which commemorates the departed in the great Oblation of Christ's Body and Blood. All Saints' Day is a reminder, but how many churches observe it with a celebration of the Holy Communion? And as for sectarian Protestants, it is doubtful whether one in a thousand ever hears of the Communion of Saints, in the sense above indicated. Is it any wonder that this land of ours is overrun with Spiritualism, Materialism, and Atheism?

So, then, we observe that it was during the seventh century that the Agapæ were suppressed; precisely the time when the clause as to the Communion of Saints first certainly appears in the Creed. Is it not something more than a coincidence? Whatever the Eutychian heresy may have had to do with its insertion in the homilies and sermons of Eusebius Gallus, preached against it in the fifth century, there was need of its more positive insertion in the Baptismal and Catechetical formularies, now that the Agapæ were gone, which had for centuries practically maintained the doctrine. That doctrine was now in danger of being forgotten, lost, or ignored; and so it must be kept by its positive statement in the Creed itself, that very ancient Creed always used for the instruction of Catechumens from the start. The doctrine of the Communion of Saints had been always held, as the earliest Christian monuments abundantly testify; and there had hitherto been no necessity for its express statement in the Creed; but now there was, just as in the case of Hades, only it was more urgent and imperative; and so what had always been a fundamental doctrine of Christianity was now simply stated in words to be such. The whole Church became aware of its necessity; and in the eighth century we find it everywhere established. If any one doubts it to be thus fundamental, let him turn to Matt. xvii. 1–7; Hebrews, xii. 22–23; or Rev. xix. 9–17.

Bishop Pearson, in his Exposition of the Creed, says upon this article: "The saints of God living in the Church of Christ are in communion with all the saints departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God;" upon which his learned editor, Dr. E. Burton, remarks: "This is that part of the Communion of Saints which those of the ancients especially insisted upon, who first took notice of it in the Creed."[1]

As in ancient Egypt, Liturgies were performed before the mummy, either in the house or tomb, so it was the Christian custom of performing some Liturgical service on or at the altar-tombs of the martyrs and others. And these Liturgical services were sacramental, however social or commemorative the Agapæ might be.

[1] Burton's *Pearson*, II. pp. 295–6, 3d Ed., Oxford, 1847.

And that these Liturgical services for the living and the departed out of this world were cotemporaneous with Christ and His Apostles, there can be little doubt on the part of any one who has paid due attention to the subject. Christ and His Apostles sang part of the Jewish Liturgy at the institution of the Holy Supper; and Neale has conclusively shown in his "Essays on Liturgiology and Church History" that St. Paul has, in several instances, quoted passages from these primitive Liturgies, in his Epistles; for on comparison of them, these passages are found in the Liturgies.[1] As an example of this Liturgical service, I here cite from the ancient Liturgy of Jerusalem, otherewise known as that of St. James, the first Bishop of the Church in the Holy City; and edited with great learning and care by Bishop Rattray, assisted as he was by other non-juring Bishops in their correspondence with the dignitaries of the Greek Church, when they were seeking union with it: the first instance of an edition of the Primitive Liturgies in Great Britain, and still the best, by the acknowledgment of the Rev. W. Trollope, whose edition of St. James' Liturgy was far advanced before he could obtain a copy of Rattray's, and to which he resorted "with no trifling advantage" in maturing his own.[2] Bishop Rattray, in his own arrangement of the Service, calls it "an office for the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, being the ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem." Stripped of all later additions by comparison with the acknowledged genuine Clementine Liturgy, and other ancient Liturgies and writings, this Jerusalem Liturgy, just before the Consecration of the Bread and Wine, says, "Holy Things for holy persons." The people respond, "There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, to whom be glory forever." Then the Deacon says, "For the Remission of our sins, and the Propitiation of our souls. For every soul that is in affliction or calamity, and stands in need of the mercy and help of God; and for the conversion of those that are in error; for health to the sick; for deliverance to the captives; and *for rest to our fathers and brethren who have gone before us.* Let us all earnestly say, 'Lord have mercy.'" People, "Lord have mercy." Here is the prayer and Oblation for rest to the departed, in the genuine text of this ancient Liturgy.

The choristers or singers then recite part of the Psalms, "I will always give thanks to the Lord—O taste and see how gracious the Lord is." Then we have this from the Clementine Liturgy: "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth Peace, good-will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God, and hath appeared unto us.

[1] See Chap. xv. and the Appendix. London, 1863.

[2] *Greek Liturgy of St. James.* Pref pp. vii and viii. Ed. 1848.

Hosanna in the highest." Christ was then and there present; and the Oblation of Bread, when given was accompanied by the simple words, "The Body of Christ;" and the Oblation of Wine was given with the words, "The Blood of Christ, the Cup of Life."

The Clementine Liturgy adds, just before the reception of the Oblation, and after the *Gloria in excelsis*, "After this let the Bishop receive, then the Presbyters, and then the Deacons,—and then all the people in order, with fear and reverence, without tumult. And let the Bishop give the Oblation," as above. This shows the early distinction between Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as separate orders of the clergy.

But this Oblation was offered for the "Holy Church throughout the whole world; for the Bishops, the city and country; for all who travelled by sea and land; for captives; for the sick; for all in any trouble or calamity; for all who laboured in the ministry of the Church; for peace and reconciliation in distracted flocks of Christ's people; for the removal of scandals; for the cessation of wars and the violence of heresies; for good weather and plentiful crops; for all who were mindful of the poor; for widows and orphans, strangers and indigent persons; for those then and there making oblations or alms; for the Deacons who assisted at the altar; for all that they might find mercy and favour, with all the saints, who from the beginning of the world have pleased God in their several generations, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Christ." And among these several special supplications, the Priest makes this: "Remember, O Lord, the God of Spirits and of all Flesh, those whom we have remembered, and those also whom we have not remembered, from righteous Abel even unto this day; do Thou give them Rest in the region of the living, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosoms of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished away, where the Light of Thy Countenance visits and shines continually. And vouchsafe to bring them to Thy Heavenly Kingdom."[1]

And just such a prayer as this is in every ancient and modern Liturgy extant, except that of the Church of England. She has no Communion of Saints, save as the Creed and All Saints' day remind her of its existence. What Bishop Rattray says of the matter is worthy of special attention: "Prayers for the dead, especially at the holy altar, is so very early a practice of the primitive Church, that undoubtedly it must have been derived from Apostolical tradition. See *Tertul. de Corona*, c. 3; *de Monog.* c. 10; *de Exhort. Cast.* c. 11; *Cyprian*, Ep. 1, 12, 39; *Origen*, l. 9, in Rom. xii.; *Arnobius*, l. 4, p. 152; *Cyril. Myst. Catech.* 5, § 6, &c., and all the ancient

[1] *Ancient Liturgy*, &c., pp. 48–87, and p. 119. 4to, London, 1744.

Liturgies. It is founded on that plain Scripture doctrine of an intermediate state betwixt death and the resurrection; and that the righteous are not to receive their crown of reward, (II. Tim. iv. 8,) nor to enter into the joy of their Lord in the kingdom of Heaven, till the Resurrection and Judgment. (Matt. xxv. 19, 20–31–34.) And that though they are to be judged according to their works, yet there is mercy to be found of the Lord in that day, (II. Tim. i. 18,) else if God should enter into strict judgment with His servants, no man could be justified in His sight. This prayer is here not to be so understood as if none of those here commemorated were as yet in rest in the region of the living; but as an acknowledgment that their present happiness is the free gift of God, not due to their nature or their merit; to congratulate the same; and to wish the increase of it; and the final consummation of their bliss at the last day."[1]

From this testimony of the ancient Liturgies as to the Communion of Saints, I now turn to the monumental inscriptions of Subterranean Rome. De Rossi divides these inscriptions into two classes, and has collected and classified such as have dates. The inscriptions of the first class are the earliest, characterized by brevity and simplicity, on account of the persecutions, which allowed little or no opportunity for elegant elaboration. They cover the whole period of the first construction and use of the Catacombs, until about A. D. 410. The inscriptions of this period often have nothing else than the bare name of the deceased person, no record of age, day of birth or death, nor any distinguishing title. Where any titles do appear in the more ancient hypogees, they are nothing more than various general symbols, and especially such as have an arcane significance. Greek letters are frequently used in these inscriptions, and sometimes the Greek ones equal or supercede the Latin. Others are commingled, either Greek or Latin, exhibiting a primitive simplicity and native elegance. Among these inscriptions of the first and oldest class, we have such as these: *Vivas in Deo; Vivas in Christo; Vivas in Pace;* and of the same tenour, such as these: *Pete pro nobis; Pete pro Parentibus; Pete pro Conjuge; Pete pro Filiis; Pete pro Sorore;* or *Refrigera; in Refrigerio; Spiritum tuum Deus refrigeret; Deus tibi refrigeret*, &c. "Live in God; live in Christ; live in peace. Pray for us; pray for parents, husband or wife, for children or for a sister; Be refreshed; be at rest; God refresh thy spirit; God refresh thee," &c.

Sometimes the souls of the departed are called *spiritus sanctos*, holy souls; and in this class of inscriptions we occasionally meet with some which have the age, date of birth and death, or burial, with some praise of the deceased, yet always with the sobriety and in the style of the ancient formulas. The grammar, diction,

[1] *Ancient Lit.*, p. 119, note.

and orthography of these epitaphs are often faulty, owing to the ignorance of the engravers rather than to any barbarism of the age.

The second class of inscriptions is far from being as pure and simple as the other. Inscriptions of this family rarely omit to mention the age of the deceased —how he or she lived—the day of death, and especially that of burial. The collocation of words is different; and the epitaph often opens with inflated and pompous praises of the deceased, such as, *mirae sapientiae innocentiae, sanctitatis*, &c. Other series of this class of inscriptions, substitute for the old formula, *vivas in Deo*, the more modern phrases now in use, as, *Hic requiescit in pace; Hic quiescit; Hic jacet; Hic positus est*, &c. The simple natural acclamations of a primitive age here almost entirely disappear; and in their place we have affectations, and the inflated diction of the rhetoricians peculiar to the iron age. Significant symbols bearing an arcane sense are seldom seen in epitaphs of this class; but the Constantine monograms, and especially the crosses and other marks of a triumphant Christianity, are everywhere conspicuous.[1]

Of the inscriptions of both these classes there are 11,000; of these 1,374 bear dates; about 6,000 belong to the first four centuries, and are from the Catacombs, of which about 4,000 belong to a period extending to A. D. 324; the rest were found above ground.

Among these earlier inscriptions we have only a few, as to the Communion of Saints, and prayers for the dead; but they are quite sufficient to prove the doctrine and practice. They are such as these:

ÆTERNALIS
ET SERVILIA
VIVATIS IN DEO.

"Æternalis and Servilia, may ye live in God." It is surmounted by the monogram. *Regina vibas in Domino Jesu.* "Regina, may you live in the Lord Jesus." Two palms are on the slab. Here is one found in the Saone, inscribed on a seal ring, *Vivas In Deo Asboli*, with a palm branch, "Asbolus, may you live in God;" and is of the third or fourth century. This *vivas* is of most frequent occurrence in the pious acclamations.

But we have such as these: *Pete pro Filiis Suis;* "Pray for thy children." *Pete et Roga Pro Fratres et Soboles Tuos;* "Pray and entreat for your brothers and children." *Ora Pro Parentibus Tuis;* "Pray for thy parents." *Vibas in Pace et Pete Pro Nobis;* "May you live in peace and pray for us." *Vibas in Deo et Roga;*

[1] *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ.* Prologomena, c. v. sec. 5, pp. cx–xi. Romæ, 1861.

"May you live in God and pray." *In Orationibus Tuis Roges Pro Nobis Quia Scimus Te in Christo;* the monogram is used for Christ. "In your prayers, ask for us, since we know you are in Christ." And in a badly composed epitaph of A. D. 380, an orphaned child cries out to a sainted mother in Paradise, *Pro Hunc Unum Ora Subolem Quem Superistitem Requesti Eterna Requiem Felicitas Causa Maneris;* "Pray for this thine only child whom thou hast left behind. Thou wilt remain in the eternal rest of happiness." Why was not the prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary, if she were then considered as a mediatrix?

These inscriptions are from Gruter, Boldetti, Le Blant, and De Rossi; and others of like kind are published by Lupi and Buonarruoti. Some may be found also in Gerbet and Rock's *Hierurgia.* The Rev. W. H. Withrow has also collected many of them, in his recent book on "The Catacombs of Rome."[1] It is needless to multiply examples. These are in strict accord with the ancient Liturgies, and are proof positive that the doctrine of the Communion of Saints was cotemporary with the existence of Christianity itself, at Rome. They cannot be explained away, ignored, or belittled, without casting a like slight upon other monuments revealing fundamental doctrine. Because Romanists abuse the doctrine which these monuments teach, by too much praying to the Virgin and the Saints as intercessors with God, shall it be given up entirely? And because Romanists pray at all, shall we blaspheme? If we may ask our friends on the other side of the Atlantic to pray for us, is it a crime to ask our departed friends on the other side of a darker and more mysterious flood to remember us in their prayers? Is not this a real and practical faith in the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, instead of a mere hope, or conjecture, or theory? No man dislikes the perverted and corrupted Christianity of the Romish Church more than I do; but when a primitive and fundamental doctrine like this of the Communion of Saints is involved, I accept it most cordially, despite its abuse by modern Romanists. The Greek Church, of course, holds the doctrine; and so does every other Apostolic and Episcopal Church of Christendom. And all they who reject the doctrine, in so far, separate themselves from the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Besides these inscriptions we have ancient fresco paintings and mosaics which reveal the doctrine. The copy of Ciampini's representation of the mosaic in the Church of St. Vitalis, at Ravenna, of the date A. D. 547,[2] which stands at the head of this chapter, showing Melchisedek in the act of offering Bread and Wine, is significant of the doctrine, in the highest degree. For Abel who there appears was

[1] New York, 1874.

[2] *Vet. Mon.*, II. c. ix. pl. 21, pp. 65–71.

no cotemporary of Melchisedek. He had died long before. He is therefore to be taken as a type or representative of all the righteous gone to Paradise from his day onward. And this ancient Priest of the Most High God, to whom Abraham paid tithes, is here standing at the altar-table, (for it has feet,) offering the oblation, with righteous Abel joining in the pious act. It is, therefore, that part of the service which contemplates the departed in the Oblation or Sacrifice, as we have seen it in the Liturgy of St. James. In the original drawing, too large for insertion in this work, two angels hover over the altar, bearing in their hands a circular tablet, on which is the Latin cross, with Alpha and Omega, on either side, near the foot. It is this Divine Symbol towards which Melchisedek lifts his hands and eyes. Matthew and Mark are in the corners; and below we see Moses receiving the Law, and the Good Shepherd with His flock, and the prophet Elijah. The altar-table has upon it two cakes and a flask of wine, but no candles, cross, or crucifix. They had not yet come in. Melchisedek, clad in alb, girdle, and chasuble, stands be-

FIG. 166.—Agape and Eucharist. Second Century.

hind the altar, in the presence of Abel, or the congregation of saints, making his Oblation. This must have been the position of the Priest, so late even as the sixth century, or it would not be so represented. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 168, speaks of Melchisedek, in his letter to Autolycus, thus: "At that time there was a righteous king called Melchisedek, in the city of Salem, which is now Jerusalem. This was the first priest (ἱέρευς) of all the priests of the most High God; and from his time, priests (ἱερεῖς) were found in all the earth."[1] But his priestly office was concerned in the simple offering of Bread and Wine, and not of animals; and, therefore, they who now make the oblation of Bread and Wine in the Christian Church, are as much priests as he was.

I here reproduce from Bosio, an extraordinary picture of the Agape and

[1] Lib. II. c. 31, p. 121. Cantab., 1852.

Eucharist, which he copied in the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter.[1] (Fig. 166.) It belongs to the second century, according to Agincourt who gives a drawing of it.[2] Five persons are seated at a semi-circular table, two of whom are men, and the others women. In front is a circular table or tripod, on which are two loaves of bread, a lamb, and two knives. A young Deacon stands beside it with a chalice in his hand; and a flagon of wine is near by, on the floor. The two inscriptions in Greek are, translated, "*Peace, give me warm water;*" and, "*Charity, mix me a drink.*" Peace and Charity are evidently personified in the two females sitting at the ends of the table. The female sitting between the two men, may be Miriam, as a type of the Jewish Church, between Moses and Aaron, her founders and leaders; or it may be the female type of the Christian Church, between two of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. I incline to the former idea; and suspect that the whole is intended to represent the entire Church of God on earth and in paradise as one, where Peace and Charity preside over the Communion of Saints. I am led to this supposition by observing on the head of the man who is laying his hand on the Deacon's head, two projections that look like the horns usually given to Moses, and such as Michael Angelo gives him in his famous statue of the Prophet, at Rome. If I am correct in this, then here is a most full and explicit representation of the entire doctrine of the Communion of Saints, as early as the second century.

The two doves are simply symbols of the Holy Spirit as the source of inspiration and holy life in both dispensations or stages of the Church's existence, on earth and in Paradise. The other grouping of the picture, not here shown, is the Good Shepherd above; and Jonah as disgorged, on one side, and Jonah reclining under his gourd, on the other. In other words, the whole picture illustrates the unity of Christ's ransomed flock here, with that part of it which is at rest in Paradise, in Himself as having come to seek and to save the lost sheep; as well as that more complete unity and fellowship that shall be after the resurrection. Peace may not be till then the presiding mistress of the feast, and as for Charity, we know that it is greater than faith and hope, and shall never fail. It is the eternal bond of the heavenly Kingdom, as well as the preserver of the militant Church. Charity, the Love of God in Christ, makes the Communion of Saints. Compare this representation with the *Triclinium*, at the beginning of this chapter.

I think that we have in Figure 167, an illustration of the Parable of the Virgins, as given in Matt. xxv. 1–14. It is from the ancient Cemetery of St. Agnes, reproduced from Bosio,[3] and is in the style of the second or third century. No. 1 is the Good Shepherd, with the lost sheep or the sacrificial lamb on His shoulders,

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 391. [2] Painting, pl. VI., No. 5. [3] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 461.

and His two-fold flock of Jew and Gentile at His feet. No. II. is the fatal tree of Knowledge and the fall of our first parents. No. III. is Daniel in the den of lions, No. IV. is the Agape or marriage feast. No. V. is the company of the five Wise Virgins. No. VI. is the Orante, typical of the Church, with the dove at her feet, just ready for a flight, or just alighted. Two of the ancient *tau* crosses appear. The open grave or sarcophagus is seen, at which the Communion may have often been celebrated. The grouping is intentional, obviously, and signifies the marriage feast in heaven, to which only the pure and wise shall be admitted; for there are just five corresponding persons at the table. The Church is the door of entrance; the Holy Spirit is given to aid and purify; and the Good Shepherd stands over all as Saviour and Leader of all the fallen race of Adam and Eve, able to overcome our greatest foes, sin and death, like Daniel, His ancient type. Here again, is the Communion of Saints joined together in Christ, and saved from every evil, through His sacrifice and mediation.

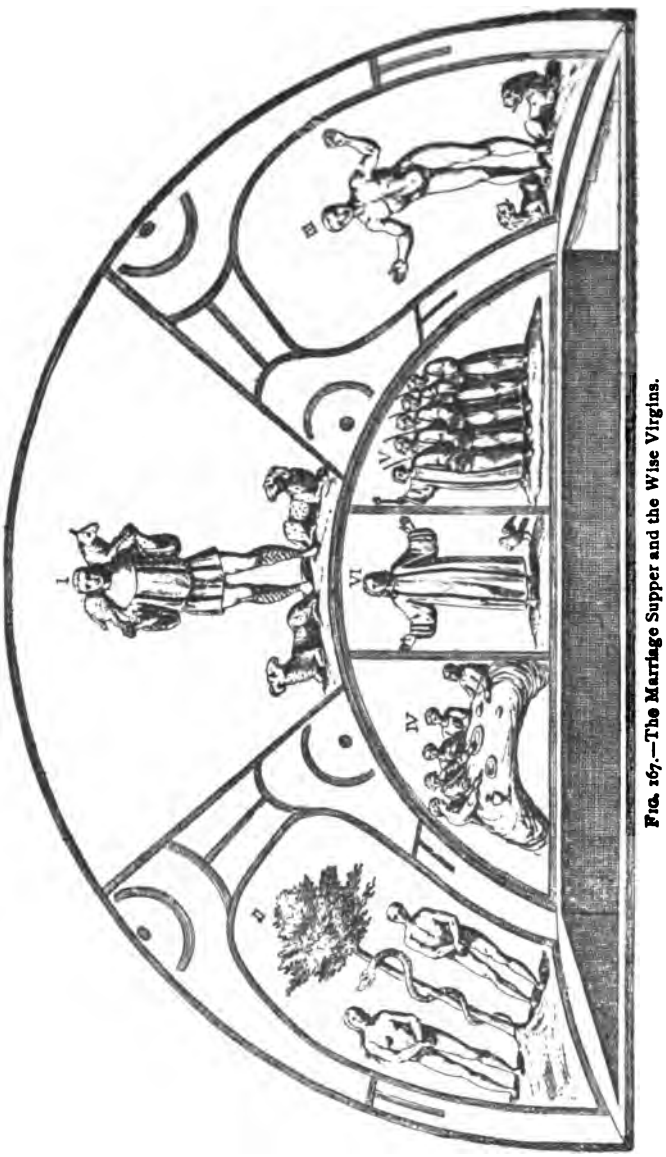


FIG. 167.—The Marriage Supper and the Wise Virgins.

And this brings me to the consideration of the great Eucharistic Sacrifice proper—the memorial sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. I said in the first

chapter that it was a symbol. But a symbol is the expression of truth. It is not the truth itself. A memorial sacrifice is not the original one. But that original sacrifice, to be of any benefit to mankind, must be accessible. It cannot be made every day, in every part of the world. It was made but once, and for all time. How shall we avail ourselves of its benefits? By meditation and memory alone? Then why was the Holy Supper instituted at all? By a simple act of faith, can we derive benefit from the one Sacrifice made on the Cross? Faith is not all of the spiritual life; there must be love. The symbolical sacrifice must be set before us to awaken or increase that holy principle, just as it was set before the eyes of the Galatian Christians, as though Christ was crucified among them. (Gal. iii. 1.) The holy Eucharist is like the sun, a symbol of God's power or light. But the sun is not God. What power resides in the sun to make light and warmth, upon which all the life of the world depends, whether vegetable, animal, or intellectual, we do not know. That some power is there, acting through it, is certain; but in order to life, there must be properties of soil and climate on the earth itself, suitable to the reception of the sun's influences. Nothing can grow on a bank of sea-side sand, or on a bare rock. So of the Eucharist. Some power resides in it or acts through it, to beget or nourish spiritual life; but there must also be the receptive influences of faith, hope, and love in us, in order to the production and growth of that life. At least, there must be some desire to have these holy principles established within us. We must receive whatever influences the love of God in Christ, as set forth in the sacrifice of the Cross, may have upon us. And this love is tendered to us in the Eucharist, as the symbol of the one only availing sacrifice made for sin. Christ is there by His Spirit, offering himself to our acceptance. And when the Oblation of Bread and Wine is made, it is the memorial sacrifice of Christ Himself, according to His own institution and His exposition of the Bread that came down from Heaven, of which, if a man eat, he shall live forever, and if he refuses to eat of it, he can have no life in him. (Jno. vi.) It was Bread and Wine that Melchisedek offered as typical of Christ's Body and Blood; and Christ was a Priest after the order of Melchisedek; the offering then was a typical sacrifice, just as it now is a memorial one.

Now, if we can find any early Christian representation of a typical sacrifice, other than that of Melchisedek, say that of Isaac, the most striking of all the ancient types of the sacrifice of Christ, in connection with the Agape or the holy Eucharist, it would seem to be conclusive that there is now just as much a sacrifice in the one as there was in the other. There is a two-fold early representation of a basket of bread with a bottle of wine in it, on the back of the fish, which is obviously Eucharistic. The ship on the back of a huge fish, is the Church upheld by Christ;

and the basket of Bread and Wine on the back of a fish, is the sacramental symbol, supported by the Reality. It is Christ and the Eucharist together and inseparable.

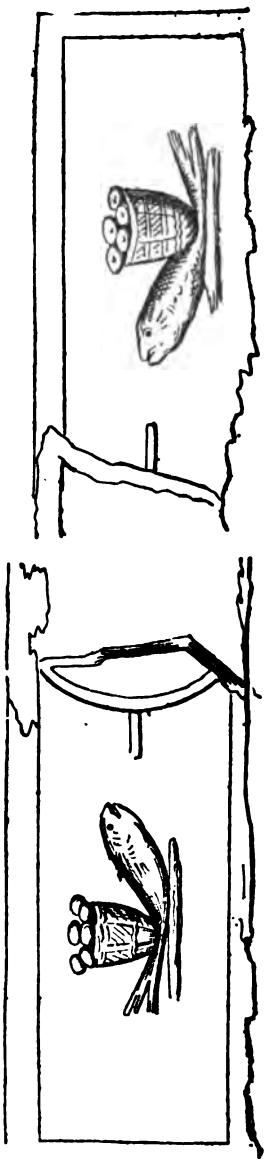


FIG. 168.—Symbols of Christ and the Eucharist.

I here give these two representations from De Rossi, who discusses the subject somewhat in his *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, vol. I., pp. 348–51. They were found between two *loculi* of the crypt of Lucina, one of the oldest parts of the cemetery of St. Callixtus, and date as far back as the second century. In the original there is some red colour in the middle of the basket to indicate a glass of wine. The fish, in every example, seems to be alive, or, as Paulinus of Nola says, "Christ is the true Bread and the Fish of the living water." We have already seen what this Fish signifies, whether Carp or Dolphin, in Chapter VI. As Carp, it was for man's nourishment; as Dolphin, it was for his preservation and salvation. And here it is the Carp, and must, therefore, be sacramental, and intended to represent Christ, just as in the case of the ship and the Fish. Inasmuch as in both sacraments there is the outward and visible sign or symbol, and the inward or spiritual grace: and as that outward and visible sign of the Lord's Supper, is Bread and Wine, and the inward and spiritual thing signified, is the Body and Blood of Christ, spiritually taken and received by the faithful, we have in this ancient arcane fresco an exact representation of the whole nature of the Eucharist, outward and inward, the symbol and the Reality. The Discipline of the Secret was now in full force, and the matter had to be concealed under this hidden symbolism. Later, when it was relaxed, after persecution had ceased, we find on the Sarcophagi, Christ Himself, blessing the fish and bread among His disciples. Dr. Northcote has discussed the whole matter fairly, after De Rossi, and arrives at this conclusion: "We have been accused of attempting to connect the fish with the doctrine of Transubstantiation. What we have really done is, to prove, by abundant testimonies, that when fish and bread were represented together on ancient Christian monuments, there was meant a secret reference to the Holy Eucharist, of which the bread denotes

the outward and visible form, (*sic*) and the fish the inward and hidden reality, viz., Christ Jesus our Lord."[1] This is according to the definition given in the Catechism of the Church of England and America, which Dr. Northcote substantially adopts.

Fortunately, among De Rossi's recent discoveries, we have a representation of the matter, both typical and memorial, which I here reproduce.[2] (Fig. 169.) I have been permitted to see it with my own eyes, and can vouch for its correctness. The central figure of a semi-circular table, at which seven persons are seated, with two dishes of fish and eight baskets of bread before them, is no doubt the Agape, or Communion of Saints. On the left of it is the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac, where both father and child are seen in cross-like attitude, as two orantes. The lamb for the real sacrifice is under the tree of life, and a bundle of faggots lies at its foot. On the right of the table, and occupying the post of honour, as Paul usually does at the side of his Lord, is a circular tripod or Pagan altar of incense, on which are a fish and a loaf of bread. A priest is in the act of consecration, for he is laying his right hand upon the fish, not elevating it; and an Orante, the Bride of Christ, is lifting up her hands to heaven, as though assisting in the Oblation, just as Abel does at the sacrifice of Melchisedek. What the sacrifice of Abraham typified of Christ's real and effectual one, this Oblation of fish and bread memorialized and set forth. And one is just as much a sacrifice as the other. The seven persons obviously denote the complete number of God's elect in the Communion of Saints. The eight baskets have reference to the miracle of the multiplication of bread,

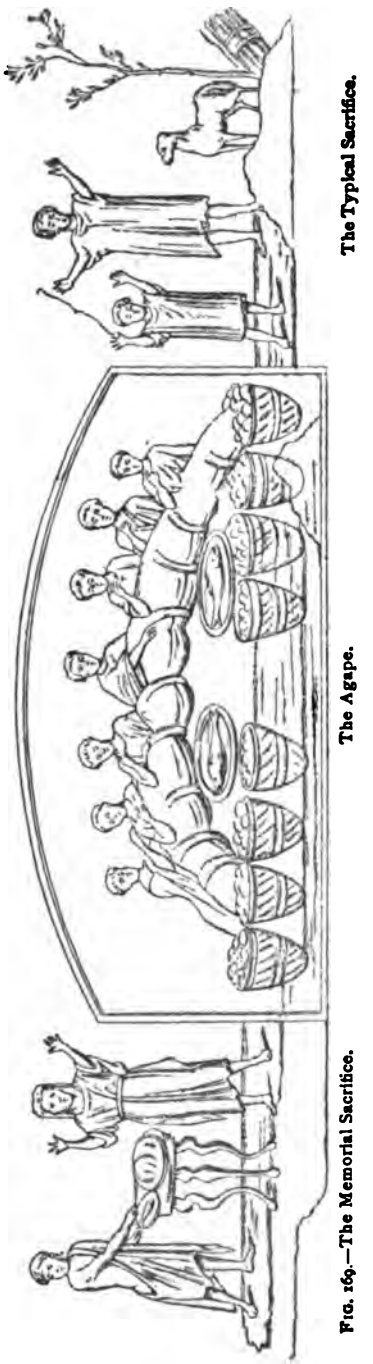



FIG. 169.—The Memorial Sacrifice.

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 222. Lond., 1869. [2] Id., II. plate 16

when the disciples took up seven baskets full of the remainder of the increase of their own basket of seven loaves and a few fishes, after the multitude was fed. (Matt. xv. 32–39.) Sometimes twelve baskets are represented, and sometimes seven, often only four or five, or two. St. Jerome speaks thus of the poverty of some churches: "Nothing can be richer than one who carries the Body of Christ in a basket made of twigs, and the Blood of Christ in a chalice of glass;" and this remark illustrates the matter of the basket of Bread and Wine on the back of a fish, as well as the baskets of bread which always appear at the Agapæ. Such baskets, too, were used in the Pagan Mysteries, only they were closed.

That this whole fresco represents the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, both typical and memorial, as the Communion of Saints, is evident, from what is found in connection with it, in the same *cubiculum*. It is the sacrament of Baptism, which will be given when that subject comes under review. Moses striking the rock is seen; the paralytic is carrying his bed; and Jonah, as typical of Hades and the resurrection, is there. Both sacraments seem to be intended, but no more so-called sacraments. Of these there is no trace in the monuments of early Christianity. We find only Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

FIG. 170.—Eucharistic.

I here reproduce, from a St. Sebastian sarcophagus, as published by Bosio and Aringhi,[1] *one* out of a great number of like examples, of Christ blessing fish and bread. (Fig. 170.) There are the two fishes as usual in all such cases, as held by an Apostle, and a basket of bread is held by another, most likely Paul and Peter; while five baskets are at the youthful and Divine Lord's feet. As usual, too, these little cakes or loaves of bread are all signed with the cross, as significant of the Living Bread that came down from heaven. These Apostles must break it to men all over the world. Just below it, on the same sarcophagus, Christ is represented turning water into wine, at the marriage of Cana, as if to signalize and make plain the whole matter of the Eucharist. No historical incident in our Lord's life is ever given, even in the new Testament, that has not its moral and spiritual significance, beyond the mere act. The miracle at Cana, and the mul-

[1] Bosio, p. 295; Aringhi, I., p. 351.

tiplication of bread and fish, look higher than a mere gratification of the animal nature; they were intended to affect the mind and soul. So here, this blessing of fish and bread, is more symbolical than actual, and reveals Christ Himself as the Bread of Life. There is a most remarkable example of this symbolical significance in a fresco of St. Callixtus, where Christ is represented with six loaves of bread crossed, in the fold of His toga and held up to His bosom, pointing to Moses and seven baskets of manna, which he, as the type of Christ, is touching with his rod; and our Lord is in the act of blessing after the Roman mode, as if saying, in contradistinction from Moses and the manna, "I am the Living Bread, which came down from heaven."[1] St. Paul calls this manna spiritual meat, and the water of the smitten Rock spiritual drink; (I. Cor. x. 3–4;) and, therefore, if both were typical of Christ in the two sacraments, He must be the spiritual food and drink of His people now in those sacraments.

This symbolical mode of representing Christ as the Bread of Life, appears to perfection in the "*Biblia Pauperum*," and in the "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*," as derived from the primitive ages of Christianity, and intended to instruct the poor of the times by pictorial representations of the leading truths of our religion. In the *Biblia* we have this: A central scene of the last Supper of Christ with His Disciples; on the right of it Melchisedek offering Bread and Wine to Abraham and his soldiers, the priest being clad in Papal canonicals, with chalice and wafer, and Abraham and his followers in the regimentals of the middle ages; on the left of the Holy Supper, the manna is represented as raining down from heaven, with Moses holding up his rod, and the Israelites gathering up the manna in baskets. In the *Speculum*, the same thing is represented in four scenes, viz.: (1) beginning on the right, is the Holy Supper; (2) the fall of manna and the people gathering it; (3) the Passover celebration, where the lamb is seen on the table, and the people standing round it with their staves in their hands; and (4) Melchisedek giving bread and wine to Abraham, who is here alone.[2] Nothing can be more suggestive and telling than these strong, simple old wood-cuts of Scripture story, made for the people at a time when Bibles were inaccessible. They learned truth as the primitive Christians had learned it before them, from pictorial symbols, whether they were able to read books or not.

In the last chapter of St. John's Gospel, we have an account of our Lord's third appearance to His disciples after His resurrection, in the miraculous draught of fishes, and in breaking bread with them. Bosio, from whom I copy this picture, (Fig. 171,)

[1] Bosio, p. 245.

[2] Berjeau's Reprints.

says that it may be a representation of the seven sons of St. Felicitas, the martyr, who was buried in this cemetery, (Priscilla) or perhaps of our Lord's meal with His disciples, as above indicated. Northcote adopts the latter view, and considers it Eucharistic, showing how all the Fathers, without exception, so interpret it,[1] citing Augustine especially, to that effect, and Prosper Africanus, who says of our Lord in that appearance and act, "That Great Fish who satisfied from Himself (*ex Se Ipso*) the disciples on the shore, and offered Himself as a fish (*ΙΧΘΥΝ*) to the whole world." The seven baskets of bread before the company; the seven loaves crossed, and the two fishes: the kneeling down of all, while one youthful figure is holding out His hands in benediction, do not look like an actual historical scene of mere dining, but has the symbolical appearance of the great Eucharistic supper. The reverent attitude is suggestive, but surely it is not the Lord adoring His own symbols of fish and bread. It is rather the prayer of gratitude and love to the Father of all for His bounty and mercy, the Eucharistic act proper—the oblation of a loving and pure heart, soul, mind, and body, as offered to God for His glory and the good of men, just before His ascension, and the dispersion of the Apostles to preach the Gospel and distribute the Bread of Life among all nations.

FIG. 171.—Christ at the Sea of Galilee.

Before all this Liturgical and monumental evidence as to the nature of the Eucharist, Cudworth's theory of a "Feast upon a sacrifice," falls to the ground; and the looser opinions of Zuinglians, and social meal persons, must need be confounded. If it is not a memorial sacrifice, with Christ in it by His power and Holy Spirit, offered to God by priest and people, it is nothing but an empty ceremony. "Take heed," says Ignatius to the Church of ancient Philadelphia, "that ye have but one Eucharist. For there is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one chalice in the unity of His blood. One Altar, as there is one

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, pp. 216–217.

Bishop, with the Presbyters and Deacons, my fellow-servants." (c. 4.) And to the Church at Smyrna, he says: "See that ye all follow the Bishop even as Jesus Christ does the Father, and the Presbyters as ye would the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons, as appointed by God. Let that be deemed a proper and safe Eucharist which is either administered by the Bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. It is not lawful without the Bishop, either to baptize, or to celebrate the Communion or Agape. If any man follow him who makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God." (c. 8 and 3 ad. Phila.)

With St. Augustine, it is to be believed, "That the sacrifice of Aaron is taken away, and the sacrifice according to the order of Melchisedek has begun to be. Our Lord Jesus Christ has willed our salvation to be in His Body and Blood. But whence has He commended to us His Body and Blood? From His humanity; for except He were humble, He would not be eaten and drunk. The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. Angels feed on Him, but He humbled Himself that man might eat the bread of angels. He became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross, that from the Cross might be commended to us the new sacrifice, the Flesh and Blood of the Lord."[1] And the solemn words of a far Greater than any of these are to be pondered and weighed most religiously, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you."

As an early example of the variety of vestments used, take this example from a St. Agnes' sarcophagus, of the fourth century, which I copy from Bosio.[2] There is another like it, in the same author, of Abraham and Isaac so clad, with the lamb at hand.[3] I conclude, therefore, that these must be intended as sacrificial vestments. Here our Lord seems to be giving some charge or commission to His two chief Apostles, or blessing both with arms extended as an Orante. There it is the typical sacrifice, with both Priest and intended victim in sacrificial robes. It is the exact modern chasuble, with stripes outside, and is a fresco of an earlier date than the one here given. In the mosaics of the oldest Byzantine churches, the same vestments may be seen, as

FIG. 172.—Christ and two Disciples.

[1] *Opera Omnia*, Migne, IV. pp. 303–4. [2] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 429. [3] Id., p. 503.

published by Texier and Pullan. Marriott has collected the most of them in his excellent work on Church vestments.

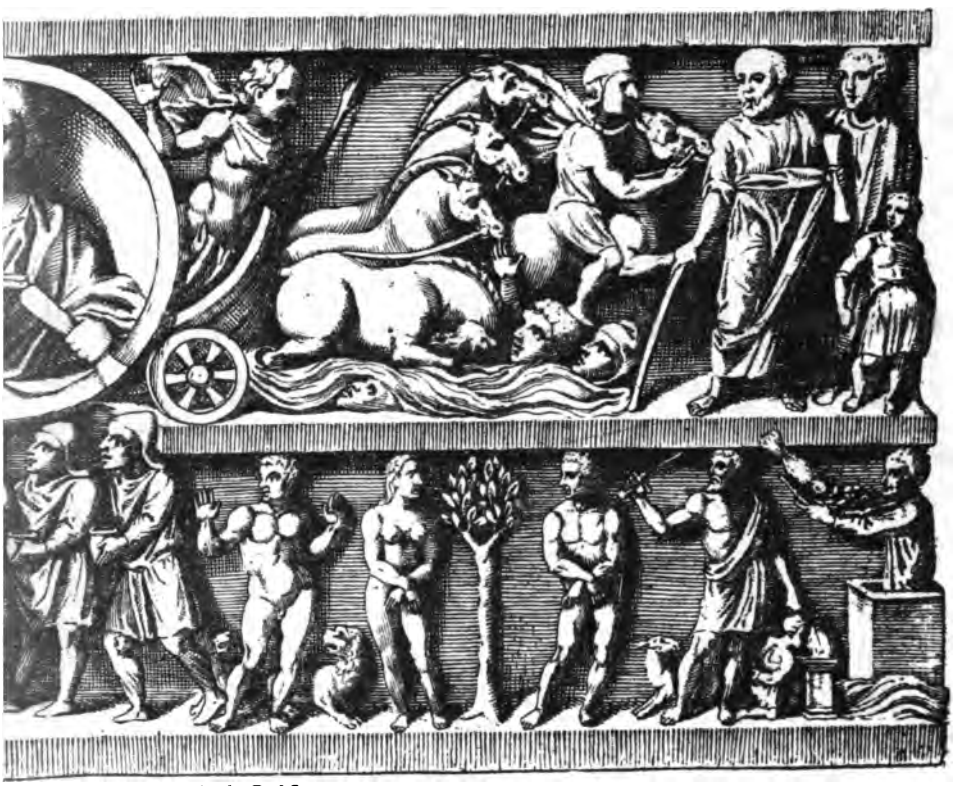
"Ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God."

*Eph.* ii. 19.

"Our conversation is in heaven."

*Phil.* iii. 20.

FIG. 173.—Christ blessing Bread and Fish. The M



The Magi. Baptism in the Red Sea.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS: BAPTISM AND ABSOLUTION.

*Baptism, or the Forgiveness of Sins.—Nature, Subjects and Mode of Baptism.—Confirmation and Absolution.*

BAPTISM is to be considered under the twofold aspect of a death to sin and a resurrection or new life to righteousness. The Flood was such a Baptism to the old world, and the Red Sea was another to Pharoah and to Israel; death to the one, life to the other. In Baptism our old Adam gets his death-blow, and the new man begins to exist. Sin, our one great enemy, must be drowned, strangled to death as Pharoah's host was, before we have gone very far on life's journey to another country. Otherwise, the journey will not attain its object of spiritual peace and abundance.

All ignorance as to the real nature and object of Christian Baptism, may learn a lesson from St. Paul, if it will, when he says, "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ." (I. Cor. x. 1–5.) Or St. Peter may be consulted with advantage, when he says, "The long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. The like figure whereunto baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." (I. Pet. iii. 20–1.) Here we see how the same water that destroyed, also saved; it caused death, and it gave life; it was figurative and it was real; the cloud or Shekinah was there with God's presence and power; and the ark was pervaded by a Dove-like Influence that kept all within it safe and at peace, while the

sin of the world was being washed away. Besides, immediately after the baptism at the Red Sea, Israel began to subsist on manna. Christ gave spiritual life through Baptism; and that life was nourished from the start by His own spiritual meat. All, therefore, whether young or old, whether infants at the breast or those who had attained their full growth and maturity of mind and body, were alike baptized and alike partook of this heavenly manna. Otherwise, they must have perished. Baptism and the Eucharist, therefore, are for infants, just as much as for adults; and the Eucharist was given to infants in the universal Church until the Council of Trent abolished the practice. Rather, it was the common use in the two Churches of the East and West down to the twelfth century, when the Latin Church began to discontinue the practice, until its official abolishment by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. It was the twenty-first session of that Council, the fifth under Pius IV., that decreed an anathema against all who held or taught that both species of Bread and Wine were necessary to the validity of the Eucharist, coupling with this the anathema against the communion of infants. The first canon of that session is this: "*Si quis dixerit, ex Dei præcepto, vel necessitate salutis omnes, et singulos Christi fideles utramque speciem sanctissimi Eucharistæ Sacramenti sumere debere; anathema sit.*" "If any one shall say, from the Word of God that it is necessary to salvation for each or all the faithful of Christ that they ought to receive both species of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, let him be accursed." And then follows canon IV., which is this: "*Si dixerit, parvulis, antequam ad annos discretionis pervenerint, necessarium esse Eucharistæ communionem; anathema sit.*" "If any one shall say, that the communion of the Eucharist is necessary for children before they come to years of discretion, let him be accursed."[1]

The Greek Church still retains the primitive and universal practice of communicating infants, while the Latin Church and all Protestantism are one in rejecting it. May it not be asked, in all reason, if infants are to receive one sacrament before they come to years of discretion, why may they not receive the other? Shall the dogmatism of the Council of Trent always suspend and abolish this ancient practice, in all the Churches of the West?

In the sculptures of the Vatican Sarcophagus, reproduced from Bosio in the annexed plate,[2] (Fig. 173,) we have the Apostolic teaching on this whole subject brought out and illustrated most clearly and emphatically. The central medallion contains either a portrait of the person occupying the sarcophagus, or of our Lord, with the roll of His Gospel in one hand, and giving a blessing with the other. On either side of this the two Sacraments are depicted, viz.: the Baptism of Israel in the Red Sea,

[1] *Canones et Decreta*, &c., pp. 129–32. 1st Ed., Romæ, 1564. [2] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 99. Aringhi, I. p. 199.

and Christ blessing the Eucharistic Bread and Fish. His triumphal entry into Jerusalem is beyond this, with Zaccheus in the Sycamore tree. Right below the medallion is the Nativity and the three Magi presenting their gifts to the infant Jesus. Daniel in the Lions' den, Adam and Eve at the forbidden tree, the sacrifice of Abraham, and Noah in his box receiving the Dove, are seen on one side; while on the other, we have Peter and the cock, in the denial of his Lord, of which there are two scenes; and Moses striking the Rock. Here is a whole epitome of the Bible, from the fall of man to his restoration by Christ's Incarnation and triumph, the benefits of which are given and received through the two Sacraments of the Church, figuratively and actually represented. Let the reader study the picture well, and then draw his own conclusions.

When I read such declarations respecting Baptism as the following: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;" (St. Jno. iii. 5;) "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved;" (St. Mark, xvi. 16;) "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, as many as the Lord our God shall call;" (Acts, ii. 38–9;) "So many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death. Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death; that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also should walk in newness of life;" (Rom. vi. 3–4;) "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ;" (Gal. iii. 27–8;) or see how Baptism is in the same high rank of fundamental doctrine with the resurrection and eternal judgment, (Heb. vi. 1–2,) or listen to the solemn voice of the ascending Lord from Olivet charging His Apostles, "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," (St. Matt. xxviii. 19–20,) I am led to believe that Baptism is something of vastly more importance than a sceptical and negligent Protestantism, in our land and day, is willing to accord to it.

Or when I consider how enthusiastic the early Church was about the Sacraments, and what great care she took to prepare her Catechumens for their proper reception, receiving as she did all her teaching and practice as to Baptism fresh from Apostolic hands, I must deplore the coldness and neglect which now characterize not a few Christian bodies, to an extent which suffers a whole year to go by without a single baptism. Can infidelity and rank atheism go further than this? Is it any wonder that New England Puritanism especially, has turned to Pantheism and Scepticism to such an alarming extent? I do not wonder that some intelligent religious

minds there fly to Romanism for relief, as I have known them to do, just as the Schlegels did, during the prevalence of German Rationalism, in the last century.

I select almost at random, such passages as these on the subject, from early documents: Justin Martyr, A. D. 114–165, says: "As many as are persuaded and believe that what we say and teach is true, and undertake the Christian life, are instructed to pray and entreat God, fasting, for the remission of their sins past, we praying and fasting with them. Then we bring them to water, and they are regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter the kingdom of God.'"[1] St. Clement, third Bishop of Rome, A. D. 92–101, St. Paul's fellow-labourer, speaks of Baptism thus: "This is the service which God has appointed, to worship Him *only*, to trust only in the Prophet of truth, Christ, and to be baptized for the remission of sins; and by this pure baptism to be born again unto God by saving water."[2] Or again, "From inferior things learn the cause of all, reasoning that water makes all things, and water receives its life-giving properties from Spirit, and the Spirit has its beginning from God, you ought to have reasoned, and so by reason attain to God; so that, knowing your origin and being born again by the first-born water, you may be made heirs."[3] To an objector he says: "But perhaps some one will say, what does it contribute to piety to be baptized in water? First, because it is pleasing to God; second, being born again to God of water, by reason of fear you change your first generation which is of lust, and thus you are able to obtain salvation."[4]

The Apostolical Constitutions, usually ascribed to Clement, and of authority at least as to the early condition, doctrines, and customs of the Church, say this: "Baptism is given into the death of Jesus; the mention of the Father as of the Author and Sender; the Holy Ghost as Witness; the descent into water; the dying with Christ; the ascent out of the water, the rising again with Him."[5] These Constitutions expressly direct, "That either a Bishop or a Presbyter under him, shall in Baptism name over the Catechumens, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; and shall then dip (sic) them in water; after which the Bishop anoints them with ointment, or thus confirms them."[6] Again they direct: "Do you also baptize your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, for He says,

[1] *First Apology*, c. 61. [2] *Hom.*, c. 8. [3] *Hom.*, c. 24.
[4] *Hom.*, c. 26. [5] Book iii., c. 17. [6] Book vi., c. 16.

'Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.'"[1] Then as now, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were part of the Baptismal service, with the renunciation of Satan, and all his works, pomps, worships, angels and inventions, and all things under him.[2] "We command that a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, who receives the Baptism or the Sacrifice of heretics be deprived; and that there shall be a threefold immersion of the Catechumens in the one admission, corresponding to the Three Persons of the Trinity as one God."[3]

Hippolytus speaks of the purifying power of Baptism, and like St. Paul calls it "the washing or laver of regeneration, when the devil is renounced and the person is joined to Christ; he who puts off the bondage of sin and puts on the adoption of freedom, comes up from Baptism brilliant as the sun rising out of the sea, flashing forth the beams of righteousness; he returns a son of God and joint heir with Christ."[4] Tertullian's celebrated passage as to the Catechumens being born in water like fishes, has been already cited; and I here close this early documentary testimony as to the twofold nature of Baptism with these remarks of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, A. D. 350–86: "Man's nature is twofold, soul and body, twofold also is his cleansing; the spiritual for the spiritual, the material for the body. The water cleanses the body, the Spirit seals his soul. Now then thou art to descend into the waters, consider not the bare element, look for its saving power by the operation of the Holy Ghost; for without the two thou canst not be made perfect. This is not my word, but the Lord Jesus Christ's, who has power to do it. He saith, except a man be born again, and He enlarges, of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Neither he who is baptized with water, without the privilege of the Spirit, hath the gift entire; nor be he ever so virtuous in his deeds, shall he enter into the kingdom of heaven, except with the seal vouchsafed through water. A bold word, but it is not mine; Jesus hath uttered it, and here is the proof of it from Holy Scripture. Cornelius was a just man; he was honoured with visions of angels; he had raised his prayers and alms in the sight of God as a goodly monument in the heavens. Peter came, and the Spirit was poured on them that believed, and they spake with other tongues and prophesied. Yet after the gift of the Spirit, the Scripture saith that Peter commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ; that the soul having been regenerated through their faith, the body also, by means of water, might share the gift."[5] In other words, external Baptism was necessary to complete the act of regeneration in the whole man, body and soul.

[1] Book vi., c. 15.
[2] Book vii., c. 41.
[3] Book viii., c. 46, &c.
[4] *The Theophania*, II. c. 10
[5] *Cat. Lect.*, III. c. 4.

Moreover, when the various names given to Baptism by the early Greek and Latin writers are considered, it will be obvious, at a glance, what was their concurrent doctrine as to its twofold nature. We find such as these: "Immersion, Holy Baptism, the Water, the Living Water, the Water of Life, Regeneration, (*Παλιγγενεσία*,) the New Birth, (*Αναγέννησις*,) the Grace, Illumination, the Gift, Filiation or Adoption, Salvation, the Bath, Perfection, the Ransom of Captives, Unction, the Symbol of Sanctification, the Great Circumcision, the Seal, the Bath of the New Birth, the Renovation of the Holy Spirit, the Remission of Sins, the Death of Sin, the Initiation." Thus do the Greek Ecclesiastical writers of the first four or five centuries designate Baptism.

The Latin writers of the same period call it, the Bath, the Water, Immersion, (*Immersio*,) Ablution, the Sacrament of Regeneration, the Sacrament of Illumination, the Price of Redemption, the Sacred Fountain, the Gift of Grace, the Filiation, Perfection, the Symbol of Sanctification, the Haven of Innocence, the Shipwreck of Sins, (*Peccatorum naufragium*,) the Unction.[1]

I like the old Scotch Presbyterian definition of Baptism, as given in the "*Directory for Public Worship*," set forth and published in Edinburgh, A. D. 1645, as follows: "Baptism is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; it is a seal of the covenant of Grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with Him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal; the water in Baptism representeth and signifieth both the blood of Christ which taketh away all guilt *of* sin, original and actual; and the sanctifying virtue of the spirit of Christ, against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful nature;"[2] because it has the rich and wholesome flavour of truth and antiquity about it, which it might be well for Knox's degenerate followers of the present day to hold somewhat closer to their lips. Calvin's Liturgy and the Westminster Confession are precisely to the same effect. And what now has become of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, in the whole Presbyterian body? Banished out of all sight and hearing, like predestination and all the rest of it, except as the voiceless and mouldy Catechisms and Confessions are reminders of what once sought to be a power for good.

Of the Baptism of Israel in the Red Sea as a death to their bondage and their enemies, and the beginning of their new and better life, Tertullian says: "When the people as freedmen escaped the violence of the Egyptian king, by crossing over through water, it was water that extinguished the king himself, with his entire forces. That figure is more manifestly fulfilled in the Sacrament of Baptism? The nations

[1] *Science Des Religions, Le Bap.* Berzoles, pp. 57–9. Paris, 1874.
[2] *Sprott and Leishman's Ed.*, pp. 304–5. Edinburgh, 1868.

are set free from the world by means of water—from the devil, their old tyrant who is left behind, overwhelmed in the water." And again he says, speaking of the smitten Rock, so universally depicted on the monuments: "This is the water which flowed down continually for the people from the Accompanying Rock; for if Christ is the Rock we are to see Baptism blest by water in Christ. How mighty is the grace of water in the sight of God and His Christ, for the confirmation of Baptism."[1] Augustine speaks of it in the same way a dozen times or more, and says that as the Red Sea freed Israel from Egypt, so Baptism in his day freed men from Idolatry; as Pharoah was drowned in the sea, so is the devil drowned in Baptism. He calls Baptism expressly the Sacrament of the death and resurrection of Christ;[2] the sacrament of faith and repentance; the sign of conquered death; (*Signum est evictæ mortis;*) an image of the future resurrection, (*futuræ resurrectionis imago.*)[3] Bede, in his exposition of Exodus xiv., says, like all the rest, that "The Red Sea signifies Baptism, consecrated by the blood of Christ. The rod which touches the sea is the Cross of Christ, received in Baptism; for we are buried with Him by Baptism. The enemies accompanying the king and all the dead behind us are our sins, drowned with the devil in the spiritual laver, *i. e.*, suffocated in Baptism."[4] And in another place he speaks of it thus: "Moses first baptized in the cloud and in the sea as a type and figure. The sea signified the form of Baptism, the cloud the Holy Spirit, the manna the Bread of Life. For Christ baptized them with the Holy Spirit. (*Primus baptizavit Moses in nube et in mari, et in typo et in figura. Habuit enim mare formam baptismi, nubes vero spiritus sancti, manna panis Vitæ. Christus namque in spiritu sancto baptizavit.*)[5]

And according to these literary testimonies as to the twofold nature of Baptism, is the monumental evidence in every instance where the subject occurs.

The subjects of Baptism, from the earliest times of Christianity, have been infants as well as adults, by the concurrent testimony of primary documents and the monuments. It is necessarily involved in Christ's own act of receiving and blessing little children, and in His commission to baptize all nations. Irenæus speaks of it thus: "Being thirty years old, Christ came to be baptized; He came to save all through Himself—all, I say, who through Him are born (*renascuntur*) again unto God, infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men."[6] And again, as to the meaning of "born again" here, he says: "Giving to His disciples the power of regeneration into God, He said to them, Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"[7] where the

[1] *De Pap.*, c. 9. [2] Tom. X., p. 1845. [3] VI., p. 775. III., p. 2275. V., p. 2070. Migne.
[4] Tom. IV., p. 122. [5] Id., p. 657. [6] *Haer.*, l. ii., c. 22, 4. [7] Id., l. iii. c. 17, 1.

power of regeneration and Baptism are synonymous. Augustine speaks, several times, of the necessity of infant Baptism to take away the guilt of original sin;[1] and Origen, earlier, expressly says "that the baptism of infants at the breast was an Apostolical tradition." Tertullian, indeed, once advises that infant Baptism be deferred, but only because it might expose the sponsors to danger, and the children be left without any to teach them or care for them.[2]

The Greek Church has a curious custom of baptizing infants *in extremis*, in the air, by trine-immersion, *i. e.*, by lifting the dying child up and down in the air three times, and repeating the formula of baptism; and this is regarded as valid and salutary.[3]

A curious custom, too, prevailed in the primitive Church of baptizing the dead through some living person taking the responsibility. St. Paul alludes to it, in his great argument on the resurrection, (1 Cor. xv. 29,) but neither condemns nor approves the practice. A century and a half later the Marcionites also denied the resurrection of the body, as they of St. Paul's day did; and Tertullian in twice speaking of it, says: "No matter what the practice was, the *Februarian* lustrations will perhaps answer him (Marcion) quite as well, by praying for the dead. Do not then suppose that the Apostle here indicates some new author and advocate of this custom. His only aim in alluding to it was that he might all the more firmly insist upon the resurrection of the body, in proportion as they who were vainly baptized for the dead resorted to the practice from their belief of a resurrection. We have the Apostle in another passage defining but 'one Baptism.' To be 'baptized for the dead,' therefore, means, in fact, to be baptized for the body; for it is the body which becomes dead. What, then, shall they do who are baptized for the body, if the body rises not again?"[4] In another passage, he says this: "But inasmuch as 'some are also baptized for the dead,' we will see whether there be good reason for this. Now it is certain that they adopted this practice with such a presumption as made them suppose that such vicarious baptism would be beneficial to the flesh of another, in anticipation of the resurrection; for unless it were a bodily one there would be no pledge secured by this process of a corporeal baptism." "Why are they then baptized for the dead," he asks, "unless the bodies rise again which are thus baptized? For it is not the soul which is sanctified by the baptismal bath; its sanctification comes from the answer of a good conscience."[5]

So, then, we infer from these two statements that the practice of baptizing for the dead was wholly in the belief of a bodily resurrection, as a substitute for the

[1] *Sermo*, CXV., c. 4. *De Gen.*, l. 8, c. 14. [2] *De Bap.*, c. 18. [3] *Science Des Religions*, Bezoles, p. 93.
[4] *Marcion*, lib. v., c. 10. [5] *De Res. Car.*, c. 48.

Pagan lustrations and prayers for the happiness and welfare of the dead, whom surviving friends never hoped to see again in a resurrection body. This Pagan custom was observed on the 15th of February. But the practice of baptizing for the dead was discontinued by the Council of Carthage, at the end of the fourth century.

Another important matter as to Baptism is the primitive mode of its administration. The concurrent testimony of early documents and monuments favours nude trine-immersion. Our Lord stands nude in the Jordan, in the Catacomb fresco, of which there is a representation at Chapter IV.; and among the more recent discoveries of De Rossi is the one herewith presented.[1] (Fig. 174.) It speaks for itself. The child is nude; he has perhaps had his third and last plunge, and is receiving confirmation, which in primitive times always accompanied Baptism, as it still does in the Greek Church. One is fishing, doubtless Christ, significant of our new life as drawn from water; or as Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 120, says, in his comparison of the fifth day's creation of fishes with Baptism: "The things proceeding from the waters were blessed of God, that this also might be a sign of men's being destined to receive repentance and remission of sins, through the water and laver of regeneration (*διὰ ὕδατος καὶ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας*)—as many as come to the truth, and are born again, and receive God's blessing."[2]

As to the nudity of the Catechumen, now initiated and illuminated, we learn someting of it from St. Chrysostom, who says, in his first Catechesis to the Illuminated: "I wish above all to speak to you, wherefore our fathers, passing by all the other parts of the year, have ordained that, at this particular season, the children of the Church shall be initiated; and that after your instruction and preparation by us, being unloosed and unclothed, they send you, with only a shirt along, *naked and barefoot*, after the sounds of the Exorcisers;" remarking further, that

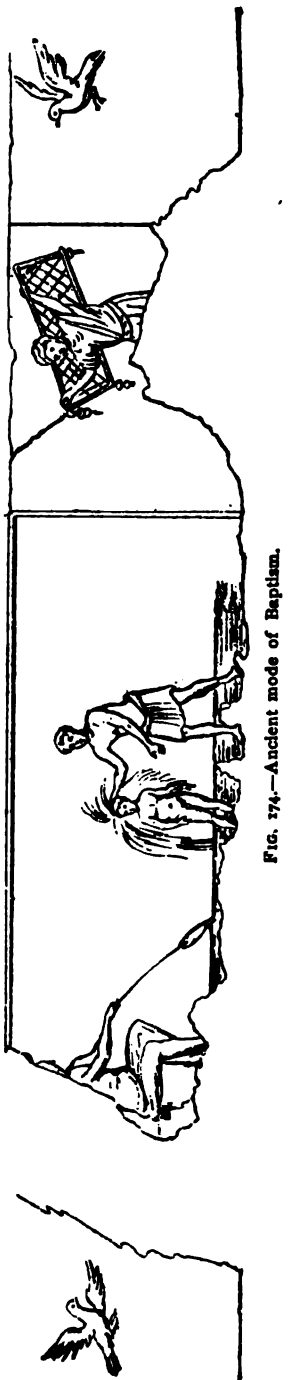


Fig. 174.—Ancient mode of Baptism.

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, II. pp. 333, pl. 15.

[2] *Ad. Autol.*, II. c. 16.

both the season, perhaps Easter or Whitsunday, and this nude condition, had an arcane and mystic signification, which he proceeds to explain by giving the names of Baptism itself, as above, and the nature and obligations of the Sacrament.[1] And this golden-mouthed father again refers to this nudity of the candidates for Baptism in his homily on the Baptism of Christ, when he says that John, in speaking to those Jews who came to be baptized of him, rather exhorted them to bring forth fruit meet for repentance than to take off their clothes and bathe the body.[2] The paralytic carrying his bed, whose sins were forgiven by the Lord's gracious absolution, is suggestive in connection with this baptismal scene, of that clause in the Nicene Creed, which acknowledges "one Baptism for the remission of sins." The doves here suggest the presence and power of the Holy Ghost in the Baptism, just as they do elsewhere, as, for example, on the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. If the Fisherman here be intended for God the Father, and the Fish for the Son, then we have the whole Trinity most arcanely represented at this Baptism, which dates as far back as the second, or early part of the third century.

FIG. 175.—Baptismal Regeneration.

We have here, in Fig. 175, another variety of the scene of nude trine-immersion as practised in the earlier times of the Christian dispensation, bordering upon the days of the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan. It is from the oldest part of the Cemetery of

[1] *Opera Omnia*. tom. II. p. 268. Gaume. [2] Id., p. 437.

St. Callixtus; and, like the other, is one of De Rossi's recent discoveries, from which it is copied.[1] The Dove, with a leaf in her mouth, flying over the head of the illuminated person, now undergoing initiation into one of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, is simply and only the symbol of the presence and power of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, making it Regeneration to the recipient. It is just possible, however, that this fresco may be a representation of our Lord's Baptism in the Jordan; yet even so, Water and the Holy Spirit are together, one and inseparable; just as in the other sacrament we have seen Christ and the Bread and Wine together. Evidently the nudity was symbolical of putting off the old corrupt nature and putting on the new man, created now in Christ Jesus, otherwise symbolized by the white tunic or shirt, spoken of by St. Chrysostom above, which white vestment was worn in token of purity, innocence, and glory, after the immersion, on the more solemn and stated seasons of Easter and Pentecost.

In these Baptismal frescoes, the matter is obviously represented as that of a bath. The Catechumens plunged themselves into the sacred stream or flood and swam about. It was a real washing—a thorough cleansing. The Orthodox Greek Church, inheriting this ancient custom, plunges the naked infant three times into the font, at each plunge pronouncing the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The sacred annual bathing of Palestine pilgrims in the river Jordan, is the same now as it was in John the Baptist's time; and precisely the same as it is and always has been in the sacred rivers of Hindustan. It is a custom far older than Christianity, and universally prevalent. John the Baptist simply adopted and practised the universal custom of sacred bathing for the remission of sins. Christ sanctioned it; the Church inherited it from His example. Tertullian speaks of the heathen baptism of his day to an objector thus: "Well, but the nations, who are strangers to all spiritual powers, ascribe to their idols the power of impregnating the waters with the same efficacy as in Christian Baptism. So they do; but they cheat themselves with waters that are widowed, (*i. e.*, without the presence and power of the Holy Spirit.) For by washing (*lavacrum*) is the initiation into certain sacred Mysteries, as of Isis or Mithras, which gods themselves they also carry to the baths. Besides this, they sprinkle their villas, houses, temples, and whole cities, carrying the water round everywhere and thus making expiation; at least they are dipped during the Apollinarian Games and in the *Eleusinia*. And this they presume to do for their own regeneration and impunity of perjuries. So, too, by the ancients, whoever had defiled himself with murder, expiation was sought in purifying water. If, therefore, on account of the nature of water alone, which is the appropriate material of wash-

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, I. pp. 323–4, tav. 14.

ing, men are flattered with the hope that it is an omen of purification, how much more truly will waters thus avail through the authority of God, by whom all their nature has been constituted? If they think that water has this medicinal property by religion, what religion is more effectual than that of the living God?"[1] In the same treatise on Baptism, Tertullian says, "That we enter the font but once; and that once are sins washed away;" obviously contemplating but the one Baptism which ought never to be repeated; for in another place he distinctly says: "It is not once only, but three times, that we are dipped (*tinguimur*) into the Three Persons, in the use of the Three Names."[2]

Inasmuch as in Fig. 173, the water is poured or sprinkled over the head of the child standing in the stream to receive it: and inasmuch, too, as the Baptist lays his hand on our Lord's head, after the same manner, in the baptism at the Jordan, I think that all confusion as to immersion, aspersion, and sprinkling, can be obviated by this single remark or two of Tertullian, which seems to clear up the whole matter: "A man having been let down in water and dipped between a few words rises again not much if any cleaner, than as the incredible consequence of eternity is estimated.[3] . . . . . Then the hand is laid on us invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through the Benediction. Shall it be granted possible for human ingenuity to summon a spirit into water, and, by the application of hands from above, to animate their union into one body so as to produce sound; (hydraulic organs are here referred to;) and shall it not be possible for God, in the case of his own superior organism, (man,) by means of hands, to produce a sublime spiritual harmony?"[4] And to complete the matter as to the imposition of hands, in Baptism, Tertullian again says, "That the right of giving it, the High Priest, who is the Bishop, has; then the Presbyters and Deacons, yet not without the authority of the Bishop, for the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is kept."[5] But in the same connection he also says that laymen have the right, when only *necessity* compels, in the absence of the Clergy, or for other urgent causes, as, for instance, in cases of extreme illness.

This imposition of hands, or the application of the unction also spoken of, must have been Confirmation and the last act of Baptism itself; and so the Greek Church, in its substituted unction, and the Lutheran, by imposition of hands, allow confirmation by others of the Clergy than Bishops; while the Latin Church and the churches of England and America restrict it to their order. The early monuments of Christianity and the Church are not always clear as to such absolute and entire restriction.

[1] *De Bap.*, c. 5. [2] *Adv. Prax.*, c. 26. [3] *De Bap.*, c. 2. [4] *De Bap.*, c. 8. [5] *De Bap.*, c. 17.

*a.*

*b*

FIG. 176, *a* and *b*.—*a*. Baptism and Confirmation. *b*. Baptism by Aspersion.

There can be no doubt that water was poured over the heads of the immersed to signify the cleansing power of the Holy and Heavenly Dove descending in copious effusion; for we have examples of it in early mosaics at Ravenna. In one of Ciampini's plates, we have the scene of the Lord's Baptism in the Jordan, much like the one already given from the Roman Catacombs, where John is seen pouring the water on the head of Christ from a shell, who stands naked in the river up to His waist. The Dove is just over Him, as if about to alight. The Jordan is personified by a river-god holding a twig of some kind over his left shoulder; and the Latin cross is in the background. Ciampini's remark about it is: "It will be noticed that the mode of baptism is both by immersion and aspersion."[1] The date is A. D. 441.

Another and later one, A. D. 553, of the same subject, represents the nude Christ standing in the sacred stream; and John, clad in camel's hair about his loins, applies the unction or confirmation with a small shell. The Dove is pouring down the Divine afflatus from his beak on the head of our Lord; and the river-god *sits* on the bank of the stream, with a palm branch in his hand, perhaps with reference to the victory over sin, or the triumph of Christianity over Paganism.[2]

In the annexed plate (Fig. 174, *a* and *b*) are two representations of the ancient mode of Baptism and Confirmation, as Ciampini gives them, from whom they are here reproduced in fac-simile. The first or upper one is copied from a mosaic, on the right of the altar, in the chapel of St. Pudentiana, in Rome, and represents nude trine immersion and Confirmation together. The legend is significant enough. "Here in the living font the dead are born again." Alcuin, who, in the eighth century, saw this mode of Baptism, says this of it: "Baptism is performed in the name of the most Holy Trinity by trine immersion (*submersione*), and rightly so, because man, being made in the image of the Holy Trinity, is restored to the same image, and because he fell into death by a three-fold gradation of sin, he thrice rises from the font to life through grace."

The second or lower picture represents St. Laurentius baptizing the blessed Romanus, and is taken from the Church that bears the name of St. Laurentius, beyond the walls of Rome. Here the mode is by aspersion, as being too far away from the Tiber, or from any other large enough stream of water for immersion, or in the absence of a font. Ciampini, citing ancient authorities, says, that "The Baptized were immediately (*statim*) confirmed after Baptism in ancient times, and that therefore, necessarily, the Bishop both baptized and confirmed; but when the Bishop was absent and the Baptism was performed by another, confirmation was administered by the Bishop as soon as possible." Moreover, "It was customary

[1] *Vet. Mon.*, I. pl. 70, p. 235. [2] Id., I. pl. 23.

for the Bishop to give the white garments to the candidates after their immersion, together with the blessing and the kiss of peace; and wherever it was possible, Baptism must be by immersion; but when there were no streams or springs or other waters large enough to admit of this mode of Baptism, then the water was poured over the head of the candidate.[1] When the Priest baptized, he laid his hand lightly upon the head of the candidate, to intimate that his whole body had been plunged under the water."[2] And this remark explains the above cases in the Catacombs, where the Bishop may not always be the celebrant, as well as all other examples of like kind.

Ciampini also gives a large plate, representing the Baptism of Agilulf and Theodelinda, King and Queen of the Longobards, A. D. 591, where they both appear naked in the font, with nothing but their crowns on; and the water is poured over their heads from a pitcher.

In speaking of the waters of Baptism, Tertullian says, "It makes no difference whether a man be washed in the sea or a pool, a stream or a font, a lake or a trough; nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber. All waters, in virtue of their pristine and original power, after invoking God over them, attain the sacramental power of sanctification; for the Spirit immediately comes from heaven and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and being thus sanctified, they imbibe at the same time the power of sanctifying."[3] And, lastly, this African father says, "When we are going to enter the water of Baptism, but a little before, in the presence of the congregation and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we renounce the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed (*mergitamur*), making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel. Then we are taken up, and taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the bath for a whole week."[4] As new-born babes they tasted this milk and honey, in token of humility and innocence.

Now as Baptism of some kind has been the universal custom of all religious nations and peoples for purification and regeneration, it is not to be wondered at that it had found its way from high Asia, the centre of the old world's religion and civilization, into the American continent. So great was the resemblance between the two sacraments of the Christian Church and those of the ancient Mexicans; so many other points of similarity, also, in doctrine existed, as to the unity of God, the Triad, the Creation, the Incarnation and Sacrifice, the Resurrection, &c., that Herman Witsius, no mean scholar and thinker, was induced to believe that Chris-

[1] *Vet. Mon.*, II. plates 4 and 6. [2] Id., ch. IV. [3] *De Bap.*, c. 4. [4] *De Corona*, c. 3.

tianity had been preached on this continent by some one of the Apostles, perhaps St. Thomas, from the fact that he is reported to have carried the Gospel to India and Tartary, whence he came to America. Whether this be so or not, and making all due allowance for Spanish enthusiasm at detecting resemblances where none might exist, but such resemblances, too, as the poor Lazarite Huc and his companion noticed between some of the religious ceremonies of the Tartars and those of the Roman Church, for publishing which he was expelled from the order, and died of a broken heart; yet the fact remains, as acknowledged by such men as Humboldt, and our own Prescott, who were certainly no religious enthusiasts, of a very close similarity between some of the doctrines and practices of the ancient Mexican religion and Christianity. I give the more compact statement of Witsius, as he makes it from original Spanish authorities: "American priests were found in Mexico beyond Darien, baptizing boys and girls a year old in the temples at the cross, pouring the water upon them from a small pitcher. They were also discovered, celebrating among themselves, the most holy supper; nay, even certain rudiments of the adorable Trinity were noticed; but when they were asked whence these and other like things were derived, they answered, 'Once a most formidable man crossed the sea. who left them to us.' Reference is also made to the existence among these Mexicans of such things as the worship of the true God Himself, the creation of all things, the lapse and ruin of mankind, and other like heads of Christian doctrine, to which the greatest attention was paid for more than two hours' discourse and explanation, on the part of the priests, when some one of the Spaniards asked the same question as to the derivation of these doctrines and practices; and an old Mexican priest answered, that they had them from the account (*relatu*) of others, thence handed down from ancient times; and that many years before, a man, clad after the Spanish fashion, and bearded, came into their country, and tried to lead them to the obedience of God, with like teaching; but when some of their chiefs would not receive this faith, another came, who brought them a sword, the symbol of evil, since which time wars and perpetual dissensions have existed among them."

Another Spanish authority cited by Witsius says, "That many and evident Christian rites exist among the Mexicans, such as Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Trinity, and Confession. Among the Yucatans there is a fast of 35 days. The Mexicans call their High Priest Pope. The worship and priestly dress of the Peruvians are the same as of Christian Bishops. Herrera says that the Yucatans call Baptism *Regeneration*, and that it is administered to infants at three years of age. The parents prepare themselves for it by fasting and retirement; confession is used, and *unction on the forehead*, or *confirmation*. Crosses were found in Gozumal and Yu-

catan by the Spaniards; and a man brighter than the sun was seen by them, suffering on the Cross. The Peruvians believed in the resurrection of the dead; and hence they deprecated the violation of their graves by the Spaniards, because the disturbance of their bones might hinder their resurrection." And from all this and other like testimony, Witsius concludes that Christianity was brought into Mexico and Peru by some of Christ's Apostles. He discusses the question ably in two whole chapters of considerable length, in his learned Miscellanies; and really believed in the Apostolic origin of the old Mexican and Peruvian religions.[1]

Humboldt says of Baptism: "In the paintings of the Mendoza collection we trace the ceremonies practised on the birth of a child. The midwife, invoking the god Ometeuctli, and the goddess Omecihualt, who reside in the abodes of the blest, sprinkled water on the forehead and the breast of the new-born infant; and after pronouncing different prayers, in which water was considered as the symbol of the purification of the soul, the midwife bade the children draw near, who had been invited to give the child a name. In some provinces a fire was lighted at the same time, and the infant was seemingly made to pass through the flame, and undergo the double purification of fire and water. This ceremony reminds us of usages, the origin of which, in Asia, appears to be lost in the darkness of remote ages."[2]

John the Baptist said that Jesus Christ would baptize the people with the Holy Ghost and fire, (St. Matt. iii. 11,) who, as we have seen, was the Lamb of God typified by the old Vedic Agni; and hence this double fire and water baptism of the ancient Mexicans may have reference to Agni, the incarnate god of fire and light. Illumination, then, is the main idea, which purifies from ignorance and sin, as well in the Vedas as in the Gospels. Prescott is more circumstantial in his account of Mexican baptism than Humboldt: "A more extraordinary coincidence may be traced in Christian rites, in the ceremony of naming their children. The lips and bosom of the infant were sprinkled with water, and 'the Lord was implored to permit the holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world; *so that the child might be born anew.*'"[3] Here is a trace of the old doctrine of the pre-existence of souls and their sin, already noticed in chapter VIII. Prescott proceeds with his description of Baptism, thus: "When everything necessary for the baptism had been made ready, all the relations of the child were assembled, and the midwife, who was the person that performed the rite of baptism, was summoned. At early dawn they met together in the court-yard of the house. When the sun had risen, the midwife, taking the child in her arms, called for a little

[1] *Miscellanea Sacra;* Exercitationes, xiii., xiv. 2 Toms., 8vo. *Lug. Bat.* 1736.

[2] *Researches*, &c., vol. 1, p. 185. Lond., 1814. [3] *Mexico*, I. p. 64. N. Y., 1848.

earthen vessel of water, while those about her placed the ornaments which had been prepared for baptism in the midst of the court. To perform the rite of baptism, she placed herself with her face towards the west, and immediately began to go through certain ceremonies. . . . . After this she sprinkled water on the head of the infant, saying, 'O my child! take and receive the water of the Lord of the world, which is our life, and is given for the increasing and renewing of our body. It is to wash and purify. I pray that these heavenly drops may enter into your body and dwell there: that they may destroy and remove from you all the evil and sin which was given to you before the beginning of the world; since all of us are under its power, being all the children of Chalchivitlycue,' (the goddess of water, or Venus.) She then washed the body of the child with water, and spoke in this manner: 'Whencesoever thou camest, thou art hurtful to this child; leave him and depart from him, for he now liveth anew, and is born anew; now is he purified and cleansed afresh, and our mother Chalchivitlycue again bringeth him into the world.' Having thus prayed, the midwife took the child in both hands, and, lifting him up towards heaven, said, 'O Lord, thou seest here thy creature whom thou hast sent into this world, this place of sorrow, suffering, and penitence. *Grant him*, O Lord, *thy gifts, and thine inspiration*, for thou art the Great God, and with thee is the great goddess.' Torches of pine were kept burning during the performance of these ceremonies. When these things were ended they gave the child the name of some one of his ancestors, in the hope that he might shed a new lustre over it. The name was given by the same midwife, or priestess, who baptized him."[1]

Here, then, are nudity, washing, sprinkling, exorcism, renunciation of Satan, and confirmation, in one and the same baptism, just as in the Primitive and Greek Churches. And yet it cannot be Christian Baptism, unless the ancient Mexicans had relapsed into Asiatic paganism between the advent of some Apostle and that of the Spaniards. For their great water goddess is only the counterpart of Aphrodite, all the Asiatic world over.

The formidable bearded man who came across the sea and taught the Mexicans their religion and their civilization, and then retired with the promise of return, was doubtless the incarnate deity Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air, who, while on earth, taught them the use of metals, agriculture, and the arts of government, and made the golden age of Anahuc. He it was that some of the Spanish antiquaries and Witsius thought to be St. Thomas; while others more truly discerned in him a type of the Messiah, such as we have already found in Agni, Krishna, Mithra, Horus, and Apollo.[2] Their Eucharist was like every other Pagan one, viz., bread of corn

[1] *Mexico*, III. Appendix I, note 26, pp. 385–6.

[2] Id., III. pp. 382–3, and I. p. 59–60.

meal mixed with blood, consecrated by the priests, and given to the people, who ate it with humility and penitence as the flesh of the deity.[1] Their great annual sacrifice was one in honour of the god Tezcatlipoca, the soul of the world and its creator, depicted as a handsome man, endowed with perpetual youth. The most beautiful young captive was reserved for a whole year for the sacrifice, which was performed on the top of a temple or pyramid standing at the margin of a lake, across which he was taken in one of the royal barges. On the sacrificial stone he was stretched out in the form of the cross by the priest, while a scarlet-robed sacrificer opened his breast, took out his heart, and held it up to the sun, the object of worship, and then cast it at the feet of the deity, while the people bowed in humble adoration. It was the type of human destiny, beginning in joy and ending in sorrow.[2] Here is the old story of Prometheus crucified on the Caucasus, and of all the other Pagan crucifixions of the young incarnate divinities of India, Persia, Asia Minor, and Egypt, as types of Christ, whose blood shed for the salvation of men is applied in holy Baptism.

### *Repentance and Absolution.*

But how shall men be assured of the pardon of sins, committed after baptism? And how shall that pardon be conveyed? The answer is, through repentance and absolution in the Christian Church. Repentance and remission of sins were part of the great commission of Christ to His Apostles, when He sent them to preach the Gospel among all nations; and when He breathed on them in the gift of the Holy Ghost, and said: "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."(Luke xxiv. 47; John xx. 22 and 23.) If this was not an unmeaning ceremony, and these great words have no significance, then absolution upon repentance still has its place in the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

The first notice of the article in the Apostles' Creed as to the Forgiveness of Sins, is in one of St. Cyprian's epistles (70) to the Bishop of Numidia, on the occasion of answering certain questions touching the invalidity of heretical baptism as practised by the Novatians. Novatian himself was a Roman presbyter, who procured schismatical consecration to the Episcopate, in opposition to Cornelius, the lawful Bishop of Rome. He made a schism and a sect, known in Church history for its exceeding severity against all Christians who sinned or fell away after bap-

[1] *Mexico*, III. pp. 384–5.

[2] Id., I. pp. 75–6.

tism. Their great doctrine was, that there was no mercy for any who thus fell away after Baptism. God would not pardon them, nor could the Church receive them into her Communion again. They must be forever excluded from her society, and be left to the judgment of God. The sectarian Montanists and Basilidians held the same view of the matter. They were all the first Puritans of Christendom. The fathers of the Church, with one consent, warmly inveighed against this severe and uncharitable spirit, as dishonourable to God, prejudicial to the Church, contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, and destructive to the souls of men; and so, it is no wonder that there and then, A. D. 255, they ordained that the article in question should be constantly repeated in the Baptismal Creed, thereby declaring that, not only sins committed before Baptism, but also that all sins committed after Baptism, were pardonable and remissible, upon the renewal of repentance and faith, both by God and the Church; and that, as God would not exclude the penitent from heaven, so the Church must not banish them from her Communion on earth. The one sin against the Holy Ghost was excepted.

St. Augustine says: "Let us not hear those who deny that the Church of God can forgive all sins. I wonder that any one should be so obstinate as to deny repentance to the lapsed, or pardon to the penitent, when it is written, 'Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works;' and again it is written: 'Charity delivereth from that death which the blood of Christ hath once extinguished in the salutary water of baptism, and from which the grace of our Redeemer hath saved us; but also from that which afterwards crept in by sin.'"[1] And again he says: "As for great sins to be remitted in the Holy Church, the mercy of God is not to be despaired of by those who repent according to the measure of their sin."[2] "The loosing of sins is deservedly given through the Church, (per Ecclesiam;"[3]) and in that remarkable passage, where he speaks of Peter and Judas as the representatives of the good and bad members of the Church, he says "That it was not to Peter alone that the Lord said, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;' for if it had been said to him only, then the Church cannot do it. But if it was also said to the Church, and it can be done by the Church, that whatsoever is bound on earth is bound in heaven, and whatsoever is loosed on earth is loosed in heaven; then when the Church excommunicates, the excommunicated person is bound in heaven; and when one is reconciled by the Church, he is loosed in heaven. If, therefore, this thing is done in the Church, because Peter re-

[1] *Sermo de Temp.*, 181. Migne, V. p. 979, &c. [2] *Enchiridion*, c. 65. Migne, VI. p. 262.
[3] *Ennar in Ps.*, 101, Ser. 2, IV. p. 1306.

ceived the keys, it signifies the holy Church as represented by him, and not by Judas."[1]

And all this doctrine of absolution by and in the Church is the one taught by all the Greek and Latin fathers, who have spoken of the subject, as it is so well shown in Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*, and in Maskell's *Enquiry into the Doctrine of the Church of England upon Absolution*, to which the reader is referred.

Inasmuch as St. Augustine speaks of absolution in connection with excommunication and restoration, I am glad to be able to cite a Presbyterian form of absolution from John Knox's Liturgy, or "Book of Common Order," originally published in Edinburgh, A. D. 1611. It is this: "In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the minister of His blessed Evangel, with consent of the whole ministry and Church, absolve thee, N, from the sentence of excommunication, from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same before, according to thy repentance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven, and thee to be received again to the society of Jesus Christ, to His body the Church, to the participation of His Sacraments, and, finally, to the fruition of all His benefits: *In the Name of The Father, The Son, And the Holy Spirit. So Be It.*"[2] Again I say, here is the trumpet tone of the Discipline of the Church militant as it was in the Apostolic and Primitive ages of Christianity, summoning the whole negligent Protestantism of our times to its restoration; so that stragglers may fall into line, the cowardly be stimulated with courage, the insubordinate be taught obedience to orders, laymen be made to know and keep their proper place in subjection to lawful authority, and traitors to Christ and his Church be disposed of by excommunication, or the penitent be restored to duty and privilege in fighting their Lord's battles.

And this is the true Charity which makes an end of sins,[3] or as St. Peter expresses it, "Charity will cover the multitude of sins;" (I. Pet. iv. 8;) and which, also, while it suffereth long, and is kind: yet seeketh not her own, and rejoiceth not in iniquity. (I. Cor. xiii.) If parental discipline in the family is based in love; and if God Himself loves those whom He chastises, surely the Church has need of some godly and parental Discipline for the exercise of Her Charity towards Her children.

The early Church, on every monument where the Orante Bride of Christ is shown, was careful to exhibit her Charity, in this respect; for that loving Mother of us all stands with arms ever wide open to pronounce her absolution and

[1] *Tract. in Jon. Evan*, 50, c. 12, III. pp. 1762-3. [2] Reprint, Edin. 1868. p. 69.
[3] St. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, c. 121, VI. p. 288.

receive her penitent and returning lapsed ones; nay, weary in the gracious and constant work of so doing in the days of persecution, the Apostles hold up her flagging hands, as Aaron and Hur did those of Moses. But now an erring brother or a fallen sister is dropped, and allowed to sink into contempt, obscurity, and ruin. Shame and sin, this is, for which some severe reckoning is in store.

I pass now to the consideration of sin as represented in both Pagan and Christian monuments. The sin which caused the fall of our first Parents was, doubtless, sensuality, inordinate lust, known in Scripture as "evil concupiscence," and as prompted by vain and idle curiosity.[1] Eve, like Pandora, would know more than God saw to be good for her. The limit of human knowledge was fixed in Eden, and with her husband. Evil suggestions came from some other quarter, and she was not satisfied with restrictions. The imperfect nature was enticed to explore the mysteries of the perfect Being of God and of all His Creation. It was part of the vanity of all sciences, which, Cornelius Agrippa says, "Are evil as well as good, and bring us no other advantage to excel as deities, more than what the serpent promised of old, when he said, 'Ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.'"[2] What *Gods?* There is but one Living and True God. What other god could there be? Again Agrippa answers, "The Serpent, type of fire and of medicine, of Vulcan and of Esculapius, the sensual god, worshipped from the beginning among human kind, whose science was proffered to our first Parents. Let him then boast the authority of this Serpent, that boasts in worldly knowledge." Worldly knowledge, mere science, idle curiosity, disconnected from religion and virtue, always leads to luxury, sin, and vice. Boys and girls who read the obscene literature of the day, in preference to a pure one, are corrupted; women who spend their time in novel reading, gossip, flirtation, and attendance on plays of questionable character, are not made better mothers and sisters, wives and daughters thereby; and men of a science wholly materialistic, soon learn to doubt the existence of a Personal God, and question the truth of Christianity itself. "This Serpent god, then, who boasts himself in knowledge, which we read the Heresie of the Ophites not a little unbeseemingly to have done, who worshipped a Serpent, amongst the rest of their superstitions, as being the creature that first introduced the knowledge of Virtue into Paradise."[3] This mere knowledge was then reputed to be the true wisdom—virtue itself; it was that vain philosophy of St. Paul's day, and of all time, which misled the conscience, inflated the imagination, darkened the heart and made such fools of men, that they not only became gross idolaters, but corrupted themselves

[1] See Donaldson's Jashar. [2] Vanity and Uncertainty of the Arts and Sciences, cc. 1 and 101. Lond. 1569.
[3] Agrippa, c. 3.

with unbridled and unnatural lust. (Rom. I. 21–24.) And the same kind of intelligent and refined sensuality still characterizes many a rich man and woman in all the cities of Christendom, who do too much reading and too little thinking—reading only to kill time, and thinking only how best to amuse themselves. The Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse, or the Balaamites, were such refined sensualists; and the Ophites or Serpent worshippers, of the second century, were their descendants.[1] There was a good serpent and a bad one, which made sects and parties even of the Ophites. The garden of Eden was the original scene of serpent worship, and Adam and Eve were the first Ophites. A fallen angel of God, and His subordinate agent, was permitted to be its author. The tree and the serpent have been its symbols, or fire and the serpent, in all countries where it has existed. This Babylonian cylinder of yellow earth, (Fig. 177,) published by Lajard,[2] is a very early representation of the whole subject, perhaps even older than the Mosaic account of it in Genesis. Fergusson makes light of its age, but its archaic style speaks for itself.[3] The man and woman are seated, as if about to pluck the forbidden fruit. The serpent rises up behind the woman, as the more apt to be enticed and persuaded. Seven branches of the tree would seem to indicate the seven spirits that wait on the chief deity of Babylonia. It is, therefore, a tree of knowledge and of life, in that impure system of idolatry, of which Satan is the chief minister and guardian.

FIG. 177.—Babylonian Tree and Serpent.

The Greeks sought after wisdom, we are told, *i.e.*, worldly wisdom, mere knowledge; and it is here represented in a very remarkable manner. (Fig. 178.) Jupiter, with just such a mantle as the Good Shepherd of the Catacombs sometimes wears, stands on one side of the tree, lifting up the *fulmen* in one hand, and holding to a vine with the other. His left

FIG. 178.—Greek Tree and Serpent.

[1] Burton's Bamp. Lect. V. note 64. King's Gnostics, pp. 26–33.

[2] *Mithra*, pl. 16. No. 4.

[3] Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 75. 1st Ed.

foot is on a rock, with his nurse, the she-goat Amaltheia, under it. Minerva is on the other side of the tree, with her helmet on, but without her ægis, and clad in tunic and robe; and she seems to be pointing to the serpent at the base of the tree, biting it. Two horses, two lions, and a bull are below, and two birds are in the tree, one over the head of Jupiter, and the other over Minerva, probably the Eagle and Owl, sacred to each, respectively. But the most remarkable thing about this precious agate is the Hebrew legend all round the border, which is this: "The woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes," (Gen. iii. 6,) which Lafitau discusses at some length, and decides that the whole is the work of Paganism, and anterior to Christianity Jupiter being substituted for Adam, and Minerva for Eve.[1] The esoteric meaning is not hard to find. Like the Apamean medal respecting the flood, this is a Pagan Greek embodiment of the story in Genesis respecting the fall of Adam and Eve. That representation is of such frequent occurrence on the Christian monuments, that I here select one, somewhat unique, to illustrate the subject. (Fig. 179.) It is the only one I find which shows Eve receiving the fruit; all the rest represent the after consequences. I copy it from Bosio,[2] as he found it in the Cemetery of St. Callixtus. The guilty pair always thus appear together at the fatal tree, not one to the exclusion the other; and, therefore, historical accuracy is not observed. It is meant rather to indicate the equal guilt of both, as though both were present together at the same moment. The narrative in Genesis gives us a

FIG. 179.—Adam and Eve taking the forbidden fruit.

FIG. 180.—Hercules and Cerberus: Tree and Serpent.

[1] *Mœurs Des Sauv.*, &c. I. pl. xi. and Explication.

[2] P. 273.

different impression. For it says that Eve was first tempted, and took the fruit, and that she gave it to her husband; and St. Paul expressly says that, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression." (I. Tim. ii. 14.)

Another Pagan conception of the matter is given above from Lafitau,[1] who copies it from Montfaucon.[2] (Fig. 180.) On his return from Hades, Hercules here leads the monster, Cerberus, whether Dog or Dragon, it matters not, but here it is a dog, with three heads, symbol of the trinity of evil; and the fatal tree and serpent are here, with a man, and a woman holding a cup or vase in her hand as if to receive something, or as an offering. Can all this be a type of what is so often grouped together on the Christian monuments, Christ, after his resurrection, subjugating the powers of darkness, and doing His work of human restoration in founding His Church by Apostolic commission to preach the Gospel to all nations, and thus undoing the effects of the first human transgression? As Samson, in carrying off the gates of Gaza, is a type of Christ removing the gates of Hades, so Hercules, carrying his two columns to erect at the straits of Gibraltar,[3] may have some reference to the Hebrew story; just as Hercules was three days in the belly of the fish as the Pagan counterpart of Jonah. Whatever may be intended, certain it is, that here is Hercules, after his descent into Hades, at the fatal tree, as if to counteract its evil effects.

I have already given an example of serpent worship, from a Christian Sarcophagus, in Chapter XI. Fig. 158, and here produce another of about the same date. It is on a Vatican Sarcophagus, probably of the fifth or early part of the sixth century, and copied from Bosio.[4] It is grouped with such scenes as Christ healing the woman who touched the hem of His garment; Christ multiplying Bread and Fish; the Orante Bride, jewelled, and occupying the central panel; Christ, at what seems to be the tomb of Lazarus; Christ laying His hand on the head of a child; and Christ turning water into wine, at Cana. It is just as strange a mixture of Christianity and Paganism as in the case above alluded to; and the sarcophagus was probably the design of some Ophite, or half-converted Christian. For it represents a young priest or priestess offering cakes to a serpent coiled round a palm tree, over a blazing altar. Surely the toleration must

FIG. 181.—Serpent Worship.

[1] *Mœurs*, &c. pl. xi. and *Explication*.
[2] *Antiquity Ex.*, I. p. 126; part II. pl. 63, No. 12.
[3] *Antiquity Explained*, I. p. 137; part II. pl. 66, No. 6.
[4] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 57.

have been ample and far too generous, which allowed such a thing as this in a Christian Cemetery; but the secular court and a now secularized Church may have relaxed the discipline of earlier and purer ages, when the Church was poor and persecuted and free. And yet it must be said, that these are the only known or published examples. Thousands upon thousands of such like monuments, executed during four centuries of unbridled surrounding Pagan depravity and licentiousness, and only two or three tainted! What a record of purity for the Primitive Church, as she was taught the Word of God chiefly by symbols; fed by a weekly Eucharist; celebrating the Communion of Saints by solemn Liturgies at the tombs of the martyrs, and with prayers for the faithful departed; believing in Baptismal Regeneration; holding fast to the faith and order of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; and abhorring heresy and schism with all her might.

"Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word."

*Eph.* v. 25–28.

"According to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost."

*Titus*, ii. 5.

"He said unto them (the ten lepers), Go shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that, as they went, they were cleansed."

*St. Luke*, xvii. 14.

FIG. 182.—The Royal Good Shepherd, 2d Century.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### RESURRECTION: LIFE EVERLASTING.

*Egyptian representations.—Christian monuments and cotemporary literature.—The Judgment in Eden as a type of the Future Judgment.—Cupid and Psyche.—The Phœnix.—The Peacock.—Conclusion.*

I DEVOTE this concluding chapter to the honour and glory of the Good Shepherd, herewith presented in a most unusual manner. Only His Pagan type, Orpheus, is so depicted, as in the frontispiece. And this combination of circle, square and octagon, must have some meaning beyond the purpose of mere adornment. The two trees, each with only three branches, like the Hindu tree of all existence, and like Buddha's tree of *nirvana*, and like Krishna's tree of Incarnation, must also have some significance. The original fresco is in the old cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter, here reproduced from Bosio.[1] It most probably belongs to the second century, or early part of the third. The Pagan Pan's pipe is in the hand of the Good Shepherd, and he wears the royal cloak of Jupiter, as seen in Fig. 178. Hence I have ventured to call this the Royal Good Shepherd, King of heaven and earth. He rules over all in both spheres of existence in virtue of His Incarnation. And this is indicated by the circle, square, and octagon. The circle is the symbol of God and of the heavenly or eternal world; the square is this world, as including the Church, otherwise figured by Noah's square box; and the octagon is the union or combination of both in the Incarnation of Christ as God and man, as heavenly and earthly. The two trees, in contradistinction from the one tree of Paganism, indicate knowledge and life—Divine illumination and spirituality, proceeding from God as a Triad of Persons, and existing in man's intellect, will, and affections, and producing Faith, Hope, and Charity. The *Syrinx* or Pan's-pipe is the Gospel, with

[1] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 351.

whose sweet sounds He has gathered together and folded His universal flock of Jew and Gentile. The lamb on His shoulders is the whole of our redeemed humanity, crucified with Him, and now risen into the new and better and endless life.

Inasmuch as the General Resurrection is in order to this Everlasting Life in soul and body as redeemed from all evil and imperfection, I shall here consider them together. Abraham believed that God could raise Isaac from the dead; Job knew that his Incarnate Deliverer would restore him; Daniel prophesied the general resurrection, when he said, "Many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt;" (xii. 2;) Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones springing up into life, is a type of it, (xxxvii. 4–10;) the resurrection of Lazarus and our Lord's own resurrection are the pledges and warrants, "That all who are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." (Jno. v. 28–9.)

In all the representations of the resurrection of Lazarus on the early Christian monuments, some of which are scattered through this volume, Lazarus is seen standing at the door of his tomb, like an Egyptian mummy; and Christ is touching him with a wand, just like that which Moses always uses in smiting the Red Sea, the Rock, and touching the pots of manna. This same wand is also seen in the hand of Christ when he turns the water into wine, and multiplies the bread in the wilderness. It must, therefore, have some significance, especially when applied to the mummy figure of Lazarus. That significance is nothing more or less than that of life-giving power, otherwise symbolized by the cross, which early Christianity did not use on her monuments, during the ages of persecution. In the case of Moses, we have already seen that the wand or rod signified the cross, according to Bede's interpretation of it; and in all cases of ancient Egyptian monumental scenes of the resurrection, it is the *crux ansata* which is in the hand of the god who restores the dead to life. The rod of Moses, used in his miracles before Pharaoh, was, no doubt, this *crux ansata*, or something like it, also used by the Egyptian priests.

The figure herewith given, (183,) illustrates the subject, and the reader is requested to compare it with Fig. 21, in the second chapter, of Anubis as guardian of the dead, where the same Lion-like bier is used as in this example, and as indicative of the Lion-like power of Him who alone can restore the dead to life. Denon copied this figure at Philae,[1] from whom it is here reproduced.

Wilkinson informs us that this Hawk-headed deity is Horus, who pierced the head of Aphophis or the evil one; the same as Apollo, who overcame the serpent,

[1] *Egypt*, II., pl. 40, No. 8, p. 54, Lond. 1803.

Pytho; and still again, the same as Krishna, the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, who slew the terrible serpent Caliya, or the Scandinavian Thor, who bruised the head of the serpent with his cross-like mace. The peculiar or distinguishing title of the younger Horus is, "The support or defender of his father, Osiris;" and to him the Kings of Egypt were likened, when, in the proclamation issued at the coronation, they were said to "Put on the crown of Egypt like Horus, the son of Isis." A like complimentary formula is used on the Rosetta stone, relative to the benefits conferred on the country by Ptolemy Epiphanes—the King being compared to "Horus, who assisted his father, Osiris; and these, with numerous other legends,

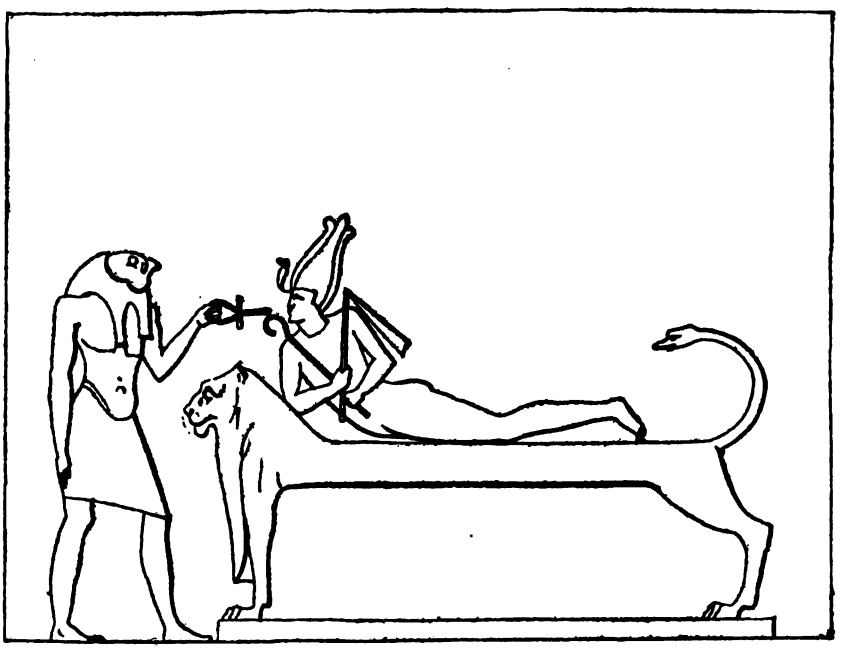


FIG. 183.—Horus, with his Cross, Raising the Dead.

show that Horus was the prototype of royalty, and the representative of divine majesty." The royal Good Shepherd is the antitype of Horus, in this respect.

Wilkinson goes on to say of Horus, that "It was this idea that obtained for him the post of director of the sacred boats; under which form was indicated 'The Governor of the world,' as we are told by Iamblichus; (*De Myst.*, ch. 1;) and there can be little doubt that, from his occupation of steersman in the *baris* of the dead, were borrowed the name and office of Charon, in the mythology of Greece. The hieroglyphic legend accompanying the figure of Horus, is the hawk, sometimes with a *line*, sometimes with the *flagellum of Osiris* over it; the same signs which

are given to the child Harpocrates." "One of the principal duties of Horus was that of introducing the souls of the dead into the presence of Osiris, after they had passed the ordeal of their final judgment. He also assisted Anubis in weighing and ascertaining their good conduct during life, previous to their admission into the august presence of his father, in the blessed regions of Amenti. The hawk, placed on the wooden tablets in the tombs, and sometimes on the mummy case itself, was an emblem of Horus."[1]

This weighing in a balance is referred to by the poor outcast Job, in his complaint and misery, as an answer to the narrow-minded and cold Puritans, who came to comfort him with their pious, dreary homilies on the alleged secret sins that had caused his troubles, thus, "O that some person would weigh my passion; and poise in a balance against it, my calamities. But these would outweigh the sand of the sea though you seem to think my words too vehement. If I have erred, tell me plainly."[2] The book of Job, therefore, was written by some one familiar with the mythology of Egypt, at a time when Horus was plying his vocation of weighing souls during life, before they passed into the presence of Osiris. Wilkinson gives a representation of the four genii or gods of Amenti, having the heads of the hawk, the jackal, the Cynocephalus ape, and that of a man; and they are all in the form of mummies, though sometimes they are seen as men carrying the body of the dead. "Their office was to be present before Osiris in the judgment, and to protect every one who passed into a future state, with their influence. The intestines of the deceased person were taken out and divided into four parts, each one of which was dedicated to one of these deities; and they were either deposited in vases, bearing the heads of these deities respectively, or they were returned into the body, accompanied by these four figures. These four hawk-headed, animal, and human-headed figures, easily recall the four beasts of the Apocalypse, viz., the lion, calf, eagle, and man. (iv. 7.) Amenti, where they presided over the dead, is defined by Plutarch to be 'That subterraneous region, whither they imagined the souls of the dead to go after their decease, and signifies the *receiver* and *giver;* in which we may perhaps trace a proof of its being considered a temporary abode. The resemblance of the names Amenti, Hades, and Ement, the West, is remarkable. This last was looked upon as the end, as the East was the beginning, of the world. There the Sun was buried in the darkness of the night, and there he was, allegorically, to die and pass through another state, previous to his regeneration and reappearance upon earth, after each diurnal revolution.'"[3]

[1] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd Series, I. pp. 395–401.

[2] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd Series, II. pp. 70–5 and pl. 61.

[3] Thompson's *Septuagint.*

Horapollo informs us that the ancient Egyptians signified by the hawk, God, height, excellence, blood, victory, Hor and Hathor.[1] The Cynocephalus, among other things, represents Thoth or Hermes, whose office was to record things, and to ascertain the time of the conjunction of the sun and moon,[2] upon which life depends.

In Denon's plate above, the dead man is the King, as appears from the pointed cap, crook, and *flagellum;* and Horus is raising him up from death by his wand or cross, just as we see Christ doing the same thing in the same way to Lazarus, in our Christian monuments. The mummy figures are as old as the Teraphim of Laban, which his daughter Rachel carried away from home when she married Jacob; or like Micaiah's, but not as objects of worship; only, perhaps, as superstitious charms, or mementoes. Kircher gives several examples of them, and they are images precisely like the gods of Amenti, or the mummy figures of Lazarus, and they have human heads.[3] They are also like the Hor of the Egyptians, or a variety of the sun-god Horus.[4] The Teraphim, therefore, were derived from Egypt, and used from Patriarchal times down to the time of the good king Josiah, who banished them from his kingdom. (II. Kings, xxiii. 24.) As images of the sun, they denoted prosperity, and all that makes life cheerful and happy. In the case of Lazarus, the meaning may be only that of the mummy-like mode of burial; but then, what does that mean? Only that the dead man may be like Horus, to whose care he was committed; or rather like Him whom Horus typifies, the Son of God, who alone has the power of life and death, and who made man in His own Image, or blood and cross. Horus is thus represented as a cross-like, young, mummy figure, because he is the life-giving power of the sun, using his cross to produce life and joy; and he is thus a type of Christ, in His greater conflict with sin, Satan, and death, and His triumph through the Cross. The Teraphim may also have been household mementoes of departed friends, thus cross-like, as symbolical of their restoration. Broad at the shoulders, with small head, and tapering to a point at the feet, these Teraphim suggest this conception of them as the most likely approximation towards a true explanation.

Fig. 184 is another example of Anubis, in his office here of assisting at the renovation and restoration of the dead. This time the soul itself is represented as a human-headed hawk, returning to the dead body, with a cross in one hand, and a sail in the other, indicative of the soul's flight or return, in its transmigration. It is the *baieth* of Horapollo, life and soul together. We can now understand why

[1] *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, pp. 13-15. Cory's Ed.
[2] Horapollo, pp. 31–35.
[3] *Œdipus Egypt.*, I. pp. 261–2.
[4] Id., I. p. 151.
[5] Wilkinson, IV., p. 413.

Mercury appears in the ascent of Elijah, in Fig. 127; for Anubis was Thoth or Mercury, attending the flight of souls up and down in their transmigration; and we can ap-

FIG. 184.—Anubis or Thoth restoring the life and soul.

preciate, also, the picture of him as an Orante, in Chapter II., Fig. 21. As to Fig. 184, reproduced from Wilkinson, I will transcribe his own account of it: "In the group represented in the plate, it will be observed that the mummy has the beard of a a god, or of one deified under the form of Osiris; and the soul has one of a person not yet entered into those regions of eternity, to which it is about to take its flight."[1] It is, therefore, a representation of the soul and life of the mummy on its return, at the day of resurrection, for the life everlasting in both body and soul.

FIG. 185.—Harpy and Soul.

Wilkinson says this figure, (185,) is that of a Greek Harpy flying away with the soul, when it leaves the body, the *Hama*, or *Sada*, of the Arabs, when they

[1] Wilkinson, pp. 441–44, V. and pl. 44. Horapollo, pp. 15–16.

were Pagans.[1] The winged griffin, the sphinxes of the Greeks, and their hieroglyphical zigzag ornament, together with the ibex and leopard, as well as this Harpy, were all borrowed from Egypt. It reminds us of the same subject, as treated by our modern Christian art, when it represents an angel carrying the soul upward. But no such treatment of the soul's departure ever occurs on the early Christian monuments. It is always Christ who appears in the resurrection; the representation of death, in any and every form, is carefully avoided. Nor have we any representations of the resurrection at all, except in the case of Lazarus, which is historical; and in that of Ezekiel's vision, here reproduced from a Vatican Sarcophagus, published by Bosio.[2] (Fig. 186.)

Our Lord is here represented as a noble young personage raising the dead,

**Fig. 186.—Ezekiel's Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones.**

some of whom are just starting into life, and two are already risen in their pristine innocence, before fig-leaves and clothing were necessary. They are like the newly baptised, fresh and clean from all taint of sin and imperfection. The Prophet stands behind our Lord looking over his shoulder at the vision, an anachronism significant both of the source of it and of Him who was yet to come to make the vision a reality. It was some such seeing of the day of Christ as Abraham and Job had. The bas-reliefs are somewhat mutilated, as the hand of one of the Magi, and our Lord's right hand. The position of the latter indicates that it might have had a wand or generator of life in it, as in the case of Lazarus. A roll or book is in the other, viz.: the Gospel of the Resurrection. The newly-risen have bodies, showing the genuine primitive belief to be in a bodily resurrection. They are naked, to

[1] *Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs*, p. 159.

[2] *Rom Sott.*, p. 95.

indicate the new spiritual and immortal body that St. Paul speaks of in his account of the resurrection. (I. Cor. xv.) This is anticipated again in Egypt, after the fashion of its grotesque mythology, as the representation of it here given, shows us. (Fig. 187.) Mr. Sharpe gives this explanation of it: "It was only at a late time, perhaps not till after their intercourse with the Greeks, that some few of the Egyptians entertained the opinion of a spiritual resurrection, without the help of a dead body. They show this opinion in a painting, by giving to a man, at the moment of his death, the two bodies, the one earthly and mortal, and the other angelic and immortal. The vault of heaven is represented by the outstretched figure of the goddess Neith, painted blue. On each side sits a figure of the ram-headed Kneph, holding the feather, the character for Truth, to show that the dead man is righteous, or has been acquitted by the judge, Osiris. In the middle is the earthly body, painted red, falling to the ground in death, while the heavenly body, painted blue, stands upright and holds up his hands in the attitude of prayer. This picture illustrates the opinion of the Apostle Paul, who says, in I. Corinth. xv. 44, "There is an animal body, and there is a spiritual body." But this more spiritual view of the resurrection to a future life, was never generally received by the Egyptians. They clung to the old opinion of the resurrection of the body, and continued to make it into a mummy, to save it for the return of the soul. The two opinions are both spoken of in Acts, xxiii. 8, where we read that the Sadducees say there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, but the Pharisees acknowledge both."[1]

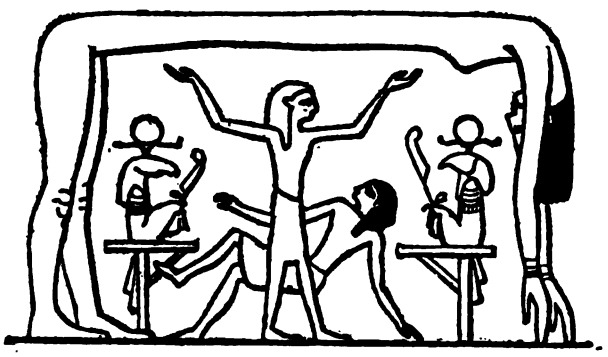


FIG. 187.—Egyptian Spiritual Body.

This resurrection of the spiritual body immediately at death, is, perhaps, that which St. Paul refers to when he says to the Corinthians, respecting the future resurrection at the last day, "How say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" Or, again, it may have been the philosophical opinion of those against whom he counselled St. Timothy, to shun their profane and vain babblings, like Hymenæus and Philetus, who had erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some. (II. Tim. ii. 16–19.)

[1] *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*, pp. 54–5. Lond., 1863.

These teachers of error had adopted the Pagan notion of the Greeks and Egyptians, that the new spiritual resurrection body arose out of the animal body at death, and that, therefore, the future resurrection, as taught by Christianity, was not to be expected. It is an opinion strongly advanced and held by some, even in recent times, but it is no part of Christian doctrine.

The Orante figure in Sharpe's engraving reminds us of the other like ones found in the tombs of Cyprus. And here is one from an Etruscan tomb, still more like the Cypriote Orantes, and is copied from Caylus.[1] (Fig. 188.) It is on one side of a red, earthen vase, which contained the remains of the dead. A great, bearded serpent

FIG. 188—Etruscan Orante Praying for the dead.

is on the other side, emblematic of the course of the sun round the ecliptic, to bring in, at last, the bright and happy day of restoration; and this full-orbed sun is before the woman, a part, only, of which here appears, and to which she seems to be addressing her prayer for the return to life of her departed friend, perhaps a young brother or sister. Or it may be a priestess, or the goddess herself, to whom the care of the dead was committed. At any rate, it is significant of the resurrection, as thus found in a tomb; and confirms my opinion as to the Cypriote Orantes of chapter XI., Figs. 146, 156, and 157.

[1] *Recueil*, I, pl. 32.

Dennis gives us very valuable information as to the care bestowed upon the dead by the old Etruscans. The tombs explored by him at Veii, Bomarzo, Castel D'Asso, &c., are tombs essentially Egyptian, both in structure and adornment—homes hewn in rock, like the homes of the living, and filled with every suggestive symbol and painting of hope and peace. Here on a couch of everlasting rock the brave warrior was laid to rest, in full armour, with the very helmet on which he wore in his last battle, as a hole through one side, and a slash on the other, made by lance or sword, both testify; and around him was his other armour; while on the floor of the tomb were jars or vases, like the one above described, containing human ashes, on the lids of which were human heads or portraits of the deceased. Or, on the couch-like sarcophagus reclined both the lord and the lady, as if in life, and as if at a banquet, in full dress, with rich jewelry on neck, arms, and fingers, and long ear-pendants, all of that exquisite style, which, even yet, is beyond successful imitation. Reclining thus on the left elbow, as on the soft cushion at a Triclinium, the warrior and fair one gazed around on banqueting and rural and hunting scenes, depicted on the walls, to symbolize the bliss on which their spirits had entered; or it may be to indicate their actual pursuits in another world; and these effigies, when such appear, may image forth, not the men and women themselves but their *manes* at the revels in which they were believed to indulge.[1] And these couches and jars show conclusively, as Dennis remarks that, "Among the Etruscans of that distant age, to bury was more honourable than to burn—or at least, they prove that both modes of sepulture were practised at a very early period. With the Etruscans it is difficult to pronounce whether inhumation or adustion was the earlier, as instances of both together are found in the tombs of very remote antiquity. With them, as with the Greeks and Romans, in later periods of their history, both methods seem to have been adopted contemporaneously. In certain sites, however, one or the other mode was the more prevalent. The antiquity of cremation is confirmed by archæological researches—by the cinerary hut-urns of Albano, which both analogy, and the position in which they were found, indicate to be of a very ancient date—and by the very archaic character of some of the "ash-chests" and pottery found in Etruscan tombs. In the early times of the Roman Republic, interment was the general mode; burning, however, seems to have come into use—the Twelve Tables speak of both—yet certain families long adhered to the more ancient mode, the Cornelian *gens*, for instance, the first member of which that was burnt was Sylla, the dictator, who, having dishonoured the corpse of Marius, feared retaliation on his own remains. Burning, at first confined

[1] *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, I. pp. 54–5; 444–6.

to heroes, or to the wealthy, became general, under the Empire, but at length fell out of fashion, and was principally applied to the corpses of freedmen and slaves, and in the fourth century after Christ, was wholly superseded by burial."[1]

An abortive attempt has been made, in our own day, to revive this Pagan mode of disposing of the remains of the dead, perhaps in some instances, with the old philosophic notion of purification by fire; but for the most part, with the design of resolving the body into its native elements as quickly as possible.

Only separated by a few miles from these old Etruscan tombs, were the Christian Catacombs: but how unlike, in every respect, except in the pious reverence for the departed, and the hope of their restoration. No hunting scenes; no revels; no pomps of life; no genii and goblins; no good and evil angel contending for the possession of some female of doubtful character; no train of spirits following the guardians of the dead into Hades; nothing worldly, sensual and devilish appears in these silent abodes of peace and purity; only the Agape and the Eucharist and Baptism and Gospel story are there, with the Good Shepherd and His Lamb, and the Church, His Orante Bride, looking down lovingly and smilingly from the domes, niches, and walls. Inheriting, through Judaism, from Egypt a perfect horror of cremation, as dishonouring the dead, and as incompatible with the dignity and excellence of the human body as a temple of the Holy Ghost, the early Christians had no superstitious notions about preserving the sacred dust of the *corruptible* bodies of their departed brethren and kindred for the final resurrection; but they simply laid them to rest, after the example of Christ, their Lord; and of all that long line of holy ones, from the time of Abraham down to their own day. Egyptian embalming was not their practice, because St. Paul had taught them a better doctrine than that costly process involved, viz.: the doctrine of a new, spiritual, and immortal body like Christ's after His resurrection. And therefore, while they washed the dead body clean, wrapped it in linen and put spices and ointments around it, in honour of what it had once contained of all that was dear and precious and holy, and in anticipation of its more glorious form at the resurrection; they laid it away and hermetically sealed it within its rocky grave or marble coffin, knowing full well that it would in time crumble into a little outline of small white dust. On opening some of these graves, the sweet odour of the spicery has come forth, after hundreds of years of interment, symbol of the richer fragrance of that Christian excellence which had risen up to God like the incense of the morning and evening sacrifice.

And yet burial in rocky everlasting homes far under ground, was derived from

[1] *Etruria*, I., pp. 38–9, and 56; Authorities cited. *Charicles*, Excursus ix.

ancient Egypt; for among the people of that land the desire of immortality in soul and body was very strong. Great pains and expense were taken in embalming the bodies of their dead, wrapping them in countless folds of fine linen or cotton cloth, believing, as they did, that they were either retaining the soul within the body as long as the form of the body could be preserved entire, or were facilitating the reunion of it with the body at the day of resurrection, by preserving the body from corruption.[1] Herodotus tells us "That the Egyptians first laid down the principle of the immortality of the soul, and that, when the body is dissolved, the soul enters into some other animal which is born at the same time; and that, after going the round of all animals that inhabit the land, the waters, and the air, it again enters the body of a man which is then born. This circuit, they say, is performed by the soul in 3,000 years."[2]

St. Augustine, in one of his sermons and elsewhere, asserts that, of the ancients the Egyptians alone believed the resurrection, because they carefully preserved their dead bodies; for his remark is "they have a custom of drying up the bodies and rendering them as durable as brass."[3] The Egyptian tombs were constructed in correspondence with this belief in immortality; for they were either the Pyramids or the vast Catacombs excavated in the rocky hills of Thebes and Karnak, and most elaborately painted and adorned, either with the mystic symbols of their debased mythology, or scenes of royal battles and peaceful life, and imaginary scenes of the future world. Jacob was embalmed and buried in such a tomb at Hebron; and it would be curious, indeed, if some day he should be disinterred *and* photographed. Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds' weight, with which to embalm the body of Jesus in the linen clothes and folds which he wrapped around It. Then It was laid in Joseph's new tomb of rock, wherein none had yet been placed. (St. Jno. xix. 38–42.) It was thus that early Christianity, nearest the time of this sacred burial, showed her regard for Christ's followers at their death.

Prudentius expressly says that it was the prospect of a resurrection that prompted the honours paid to the departed. "There will soon come an age when genial warmth shall revisit these bones, and the soul will resume its former tabernacle, animated with living blood. *The inert corpses, long since corrupted in the tomb, shall be borne through the thin air, in company with their souls.* For this reason is such care bestowed upon the sepulchre; such honour paid to the motionless limbs —such luxury displayed at funerals. We spread the linen cloth of spotless white,

[1] Pettigrew's *Egyptian Mummies*, p. 13. London, 1834.

[2] Book II. c. 123.

[3] *De Div.*, ser. 120, V. p. 1605; 361; 13; 12.

—myrrh and frankincense embalm the body. What mean these excavated rocks? What these fair monuments? What, but that the object entrusted to them is sleeping, and not dead? We will adorn the hidden bones with violets and many a bough; and on the epitaph and cold stones we will sprinkle liquid odours."[1]

Complaint was made in Tertullian's day, that the Christians were poor citizens and useless in the affairs of life; to which complaint Tertullian replies: "We are not Indian Brahmans or Gymnosophists, who live in the woods and exile themselves from ordinary human life. We live with you in the world, abjuring neither forum, nor market, nor bath, nor booth, nor workshop, nor inn, nor any other places of trade. We sail with you, and fight with you, and till the ground with you; and so we unite with you in your traffickings—even in the various arts we make public property of our works for your benefit. We do not go to your spectacles; we certainly buy no frankincense. If the Arabians complain of this, let the Sabeans be well assured that their more precious and costly merchandise is expended as largely in the burying of Christians as in the fumigating of the gods."[2]

From this literary and cotemporary testimony, as well as from the monuments of early Christianity, we learn that all these honours were paid to the dead at and after their burial, in token of their Christian character, and in anticipation of their future resurrection in spiritual bodies.

### *The Last Judgment.*

But between that resurrection and the enjoyment of everlasting life is the *Final Judgment*, which is now to be considered according to the monuments and cotemporary literature of early Christianity. It is very positively stated by Mrs. Jameson, in the "History of our Lord," that "There are no examples of Christ conceived as Judge, or of the Last Judgment, in the early art of Christianity. It would be difficult to define the cause for this, though many may be conjectured."[3] I regret to be compelled to differ from so excellent an authority as this lady on matters of Christian art, in this important particular. I grant that there are no such horrible caricatures of the Last Judgment as Orcagna's, at Pisa; or as Michael Angelo's, in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, at Rome. But we have at least two examples of it, symbolically and tenderly treated, on sarcophagi of the fourth century; and they both relate to the same subject, viz.: the judgment of God on human sin and apostacy in Eden, with the expulsion of Adam and Eve, as a type of the Future and Last Judgment. And, except the Three Hebrew Children in the fiery furnace,

[1] *Cathemerinon*, Hymn ix. [2] *Apologeticus*, c. 42. [3] Vol. II. p. 392. Lond. 1865, 2nd Ed.

I have not seen anything so painful on all the thousands of the early monuments of Christianity. The more painful one of these two representations I omit; and only have to say of it, that our Lord as the youthful Divinity comes to Adam and Eve at the fatal tree, after their fall into idolatry and debasement, with His rod or wand in His hand to drive them out of the Paradise which they had defiled with their sin. He wears a sad and pensive look, not one of wrath or indignation. Eve, with a fig in her hand,—it is indeed a fig, and very significant of her sin,—and Adam with uplifted hand, only look a little surprised. They both hold up their heads and listen to the mandate of their expulsion and toil henceforth, as if it were coupled with a promise. Sorrow is not their expression, but surprised thoughtfulness. The monument is published both by Bosio and Aringhi, and will bear close study, and teach us this very important lesson, viz.: that God's judgment is tempered with mercy,—the latter being an element altogether omitted in Orcagna's and Michael Angelo's treatment of the subject, when they represent the gentle and loving Saviour of men as an angry, frowning, and vindictive Judge, hurling curses, vengeance and death on his tempted and fallen creatures. The Papacy deemed itself Christ's embodied or representative power on earth; and the Papacy was doing the same things to all who opposed its corruptions and arrogance: what wonder is it that these frightful Judgment scenes were produced, especially and most appropriately, the one in that very Vatican which has too long been hurling its anathemas and dealing out its damnation to mankind?

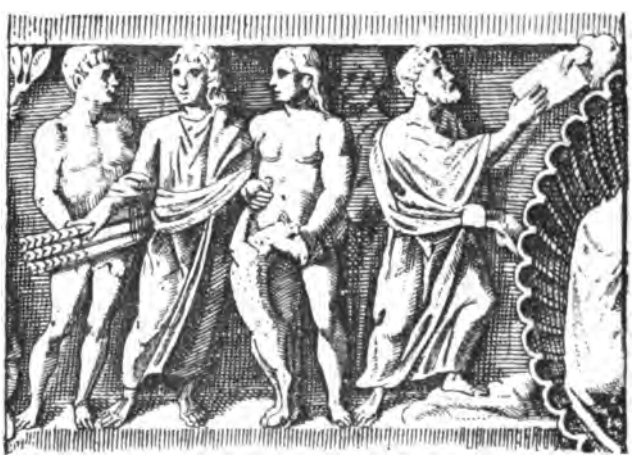


Fig. 189.—Christ as Judge in Eden.

The other sculpture of this primary Judgment in Eden is here given from Bosio.[2] (Fig. 189.) And I simply prefer its selection, because the early Church preferred it, as its repetition seems to indicate; while the other occurs but once. It is but one scene or two selected from others of a different kind on the same sarcophagus. Moses is receiving the law on one hand, and on the other is the scene of our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem to take possession

[1] *Bosio*, p. 159. *Aringhi*, I. p. 254. [2] Id., pp. 294, 295. Id., I. p. 351.

of the Temple and to whip out those who had profaned it, which I have not thought necessary to reproduce, after other examples already given. This grouping is significant of a law broken or afterwards added because of transgression, and the King and Judge is coming to repair it with stripes. Look at this young, smiling face of Christ, adjudging Adam and Eve to their life of toil and degradation, giving the sheaf of wheat to the man for seed to sow the ground, and the lamb to the woman that she might spin its wool and make clothing to cover their nakedness. Look at it again, and see the bread of life for bodily and spiritual nourishment, and the lamb for solemn sacrifice as containing the promise of ultimate redemption and restoration through the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. It is justice tempered with mercy; it is judgment coupled with a promise. Had Mrs. Jameson put this representation of the Judgment into her "History of our Lord," she might well have said of it, as she does say of our Lord Himself, who will come to be our Judge: "There is no form or expression of mercy, pity, or long-suffering, which the mind or the mind's eye may not successfully invoke in picturing the relations of Christ to man; nay, the sterner passages of His course on earth, concerning warning and reproof, may be sympathetically dealt with, for we know that love mingled with them all. But it is not in poet or painter to conceive Him stript of this all-pervading quality, and converted from the Friend of sinners into the minister of that terrible justice which it is otherwise His blessed part to avert."[1] It was this loving and just Saviour that early Christianity thrice depicted on her monuments, with grace, sweetness, and majesty combined, as man's righteous Judge.

Cotemporary Christian literature must here come to our aid in this interpretation of these special monuments. St. Augustine says that "The whole narrative in Genesis, in the most minute details, is a prophecy of Christ and of the Church."[2] St. Irenæus says that "It was God in Christ, by whom man received the punishment of his transgressions, the toilsome task of tilling the earth, to eat bread in the sweat of his face, and to return to the dust from whence he was taken. Likewise also did the woman receive toil, and labour, and groans, and the pangs of parturition, and a state of subjection to serve her husband; so that they should neither perish altogether when cursed of God, nor, by remaining unreprimanded, should be led to despise God. But the curse in all its fullness fell on the serpent, which had beguiled them."[3] And Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, says, "God, the Father of all, cannot be contained in a place, for there is no place of His rest; but His Word, who is also His Son, by whom He made all things, being His Power and Wisdom, assuming the Person of the Father and Lord of all, went to the Garden of Eden in

[1] *Hist. of our Lord*, II. p. 397. [2] *Manichaeans*, book 12, 8. [3] *Heresies*, book III. c. 3.

the Person of God, and conversed with Adam." Again, "God showed great kindness to man in this respect, that He did not suffer him to remain in sin forever: but as it were, in order that, having by punishment expiated the sin, within an appointed time, he should be restored after discipline. Wherefore, also, when man had been formed in this world, it is mystically written in Genesis, as if he had been twice placed in Paradise; so that one was fulfilled when he was first placed there, and the second will be fulfilled after the Resurrection and Judgment."[1]

These explanations cover the whole period of the construction and adornment of the Roman Catacombs, and are sufficiently explicit as to the judgment of Christ in Eden, being the preliminary act and key-note of the Last Judgment. For neither Adam nor Adam's posterity has yet been placed in the heavenly Paradise. All are yet under sentence of condemnation, passed by the Son of God at the expulsion from the earthly paradise, until He comes the second time to judge the earth in righteousness, when the small and great of all nations shall appear before Him. Until death itself is utterly abolished, with every sin and sorrow; and until even good and holy men are delivered from the power of the grave, that old sentence pronounced upon our apostate Parents, will remain in force. The mercy and love of it will ultimately deliver and restore; but the justice still abides. The shadow of death still hangs over all our existence, from cradle to grave—from grave to judgment. When will the morning come, and the Sign of the Son of Man appear? When will that blazing Cross span the new heavens, and light up the new earth? And when will its glorious effulgence be the abiding symbol of the Life Everlasting? The Last Judgment must be, or all things and all men have been made in vain. Creation and Redemption are alike to no purpose, unless the glowing Cross of Light and Life succeed the cross of darkness and death; unless the new Jerusalem take the place of the old Jerusalem; and unless Heaven and earth be themselves recreated and merged into one lasting Paradise, into which there shall be no serpent to enter, no sin to make sorrow, and no death to blight and destroy. It cannot come too soon. The world is burdened and weary of its sin, its misery, and itself. The Church is looking in faith and patience for some signs of the Coming of the Son of Man. The saints departed out of this life, who were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held, are crying with a loud voice from the altar under which they have been resting in peace for centuries, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell in the earth?" So the saints intercede for it; and so do all men long for and need it.

[1] *Autolycus*, cc. 22, and 26.

HIC DALMATA CRISTI
MORTE REDEMPTUS
QUIESCET IN PACE
ET DIEM FUTURI JUDICII
INTERCEDENTIBUS SANCTIS
LETUS SPECTIT.

"Here Delmata rests in Peace, redeemed by the Death of Christ; and joyful he looks forward to the Day of the future Judgment, the Saints interceding for It." So reads an epitaph on an old tomb-stone of the latter part of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, in the south of France.[1] Brief and comprehensive, it tells the whole story of Christian faith and hope respecting the last Judgment and the Life Everlasting.

## *Life Everlasting.*

The Pagan conception of the Life Everlasting is developed in the story of Cupid and Psyche, as so beautifully told by Apuleius. It is here transcribed from a Tarsine sarcophagus, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and one

FIG. 190.—The Death of Psyche.

on which the Apostle Paul may have looked, in his native city, with far different feelings than the crowds of idle people do, who visit the Museum and gaze on this rich treasure in stupid wonder. On the end of the sarcophagus, next to the entrance, we have the death of Psyche represented, after this manner. (Fig. 190.)

[1] Le Blant, *Inscriptions*, &c., II. pp. 198–203, No. 478.

Psyche has been separated from the Divine Love by too much desire or curiosity, and by willful disobedience; she is now sleeping in Hades, whither she had been sent by Venus, or too much passion; and Cupid now comes with his bow and arrow, or the potent instruments of life, to awake her out of sleep.[1]

If this be so, then the bow is what Bryant claims it to be, the sign or counterpart of the Bow of promise, which God set in the heavens as the sign of the Covenant of life to mankind. He says that Iris and Eros mean the same thing, viz.: God's Love to men.[2] The wings of Cupid represent the colours of the Iris. Among the Egyptians, Psyche was the most pleasing of emblems. Originally she was the Aurelia, or the butterfly; but in process of time she was represented as a lovely female child with the wings of the butterfly. "The Aurelia, after its first

FIG. 191.—The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche.

stage as an Eruca, or worm, lies for a season in a manner dead; and is enclosed in a sort of coffin. In this state of darkness it remains all winter; but at the return of spring it bursts its bonds, and comes out with new life, and in the most beautiful attire. The Egyptians thought this a very proper picture of the soul of man, and of the immortality to which it aspired. But they made it more particularly an emblem of Osiris; who having been confined in an ark or coffin, and in a state of death, at last quitted his prison, and enjoyed a renewal of life. This circumstance of the second birth is continually described under the character of Psyche. And

[1] Taylor's *Apuleius*, pp. 88–135. Lond., 1822.

[2] *Ancient Mythology*, II. pp. 346–54. 2nd 4to Ed., Lond., 1775.

as the whole was owing to Divine Love, of which Eros was an emblem, we find this person often introduced as a concomitant of Psyche. They are generally described as accidentally meeting, and enjoying a pleasing interview, which is attended with embraces and salutes, and every mark of reconciliation and favour. From this union of the Divine Love and the human soul, the ancients dated the institution of marriage."[1] Perhaps the most beautiful representation of the marriage of Cupid and Psyche is that of the famous gem of the Duke of Marlborough, so well engraved by Bartolozzi, and reproduced by Bryant in his learned work on Ancient Mythology.[2] But it is also represented on the Tarsine sarcophagus, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in the opposite end from the death of Psyche. It is given above, in Fig. 191.

The Dove is here, sacred to Venus and love. The bow has accomplished its purpose of restoration to life, and the eternal union and happiness have begun, never more to end or to be interrupted. The tree of life is here, and the tree of knowledge has vanished away. Only Love or Charity remains. Psyche had been too curious under this tree of knowledge, and had offended the Divine Love, for which she suffered separation and death. But now again she is admitted into favour and loving union with the Divine Charity for evermore.

But this is all Pagan, some one says, and is only an idle fancy, originating in Egypt, and handed down through modifications of the Greek and Roman literature and art. So it is; but early Christianity adopted it and spiritualized it; for we find it on her monuments. Look at this Christian representation of it, found on the bottom of a tazza or drinking cup, used in the Agapæ and the Eucharistic celebrations of the Divine Love to the soul of man. (Fig. 192.)

Fig. 192.—Cupid and Psyche in Christian Art.

Used as this cup was, it

[1] *Anc. Myth.*, II. pp. 385-6.

[2] Id., II. p. 392.

would signify two things to the early Christians; (1) the union of the soul with Christ in the holy Eucharist and Agape; and (2) its final union with Him in the Life Everlasting. To the capacious mind and loving heart of the Primitive Church, this old Pagan fable had a precious truth in it, which Paganism had utterly perverted and corrupted into licentiousness; and she would restore it to its true and original meaning, just as she did the story of Orpheus and Apollo, or as she restored the Cross. For the inscription on this broken glass cup is this: "*Anima Dulcis Fruamur nos Sine Bile Zeses*," or, "Sweet soul, let us have delight without vexation. Live thou." It means the unalloyed bliss of Paradise, where the soul alone finds its true and lasting happiness in union with the Divine Love. The picture is an exact reproduction from Buonarruoti's plate, as he gives and describes it.[1]

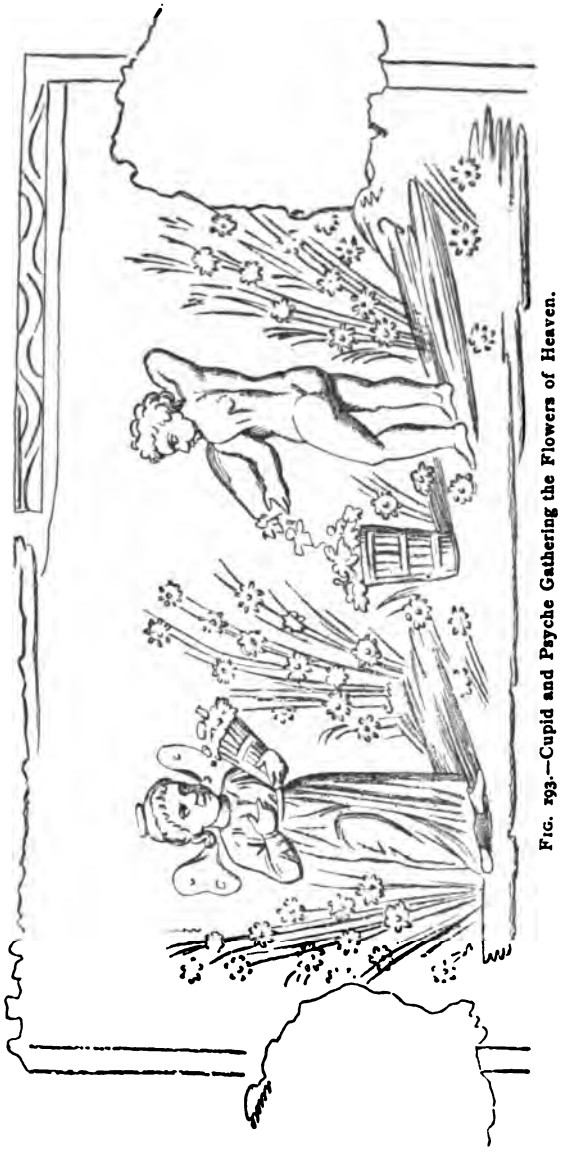


FIG. 193.—Cupid and Psyche Gathering the Flowers of Heaven.

Among the more recent discoveries on the Christian monuments at Rome, are three other representations of Cupid and Psyche, in fresco. Two of these show them together, gathering the flowers of Paradise, and one has a dove over each of their heads. The third represents Psyche alone, with a basket of flowers. I here give one of these, the least mutilated, by the falling of the plaster. (Fig. 193.) They are all to be found in Garrucci's recent republication of some

[1] *Osservazioni*, &c., pl. 28, no. 3, pp 193–206.

the Christian monuments, still in progress near Florence.[1] Gathering the flowers of heaven, as here represented, is surely as pleasant an occupation as the psalm-singing and idle rest predicated of the redeemed soul, by some modern Christians. Occupation it is, like that of our first parents in the earthly paradise, before they fell into worse practices. It is the symbol of all that is pure, innocent, and delightful.

But the doctrine of the Resurrection and Eternal Life was not only taught by the fable of Cupid and Psyche, both in Paganism and early Christianity; it was also taught by the story of the Phœnix. Clement of Alexandria thus speaks of it: "Let us consider that wonderful sign of the resurrection, which takes place in Eastern lands, *i. e.*, in Arabia and the surrounding countries. There is a certain bird, called the Phœnix. It is the only one of its kind, and lives 500 years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die, it builds itself a nest of frankincense and myrrh and other spices, into which, at the accomplished season, it enters and dies. But as the flesh decays, a certain kind of worm is produced, which, feeding on the flesh of the dead bird, brings forth feathers. Then when it has gained strength, it takes up the nest containing the bones of its parent, and carries them from Arabia into Egypt, to the city of Heliopolis. There, in the sight of all men, flying in the open day, it places the nest and bones on the altar of the sun; and having done this, it hastens back to its former abode. *The Priests then inspect the registers of the dates, and find that the Phœnix has returned exactly when the* 500 *years was ended.* Do we deem it any great and wonderful thing for the Maker of all to raise up again those who had piously served him in the good assurance of faith, when even by this bird He shows us the mightiness of His power to do it?"[2]

Tertullian says: "If all nature but faintly figures our resurrection; if creation affords no sign precisely like it, inasmuch as its several phenomena can hardly be said to die so much as to come to an end, nor again to be considered as reanimated so much as only reformed; then take a complete and undeniable symbol of our hope, for it shall be an animated being, subject alike to life and death. I refer to the bird which is peculiar to the East, famous for its singularity, marvellous from its posthumous life, which it renews in voluntary death; once more a Phœnix, where just before there was none; once more himself, but just now not existing; another, yet the same. Its dying day is its birthday, for on one and the same day it departs and returns. What can be more express and significant? God, even in

[1] *Storia Dell' Arte Cristiana*, pl. 20, nos. 1, 2, and 3. Prato.

[2] 1st Epistle, cc. 25 and 26.

His own Scriptures, says: "The righteous shall flourish like the Phœnix;" (Ps. xcii. 12;) that is, shall flourish or revive, from death, from the grave—to teach you to believe that a bodily substance can be recovered even from the fire. Must men die once for all, while birds in Arabia are sure of a resurrection?"[1] Tertullian here adopts the reading of the Septuagint, in using the word Phœnix, which also means a Palm-tree.

The beautiful poem, attributed to Lactantius, on the Phœnix, is obviously astronomical; and it says that the Phœnix unites the Peacock and Pheasant in itself; and that the Egyptians consider the day of its appearance as the beginning of a new era.[2]

We shall better understand this fable of the Phœnix, as used by some of the Christian Fathers to illustrate the doctrine of the Resurrection and Eternal Life, by referring to the express account of it given by Herodotus. When he was in Egypt, he was told that the Phœnix was of great rarity, only coming there once in 500 years, when it dies and another appears. It is reported to be like the eagle, and of a red and golden plumage. But he never saw one, except in pictures. (ii. 73.) Or we may consult Pliny, who says: "It surpasses all other birds; but I do not know if it be fable that there is only one in the whole world, and that seldom seen. According to report, it is the size of an eagle, of a gold colour about the neck, the rest being purple, its tail blue, varied with red feathers, its face and head covered with rich plumage, with a tuft on top. It is sacred to the sun; lives 660 years; when old it dies in its aromatic nest, and produces a worm out of which the young Phœnix rises; and carries its nest to the altar of the temple at Heliopolis, in Egypt. *The revolution of the great year corresponds with the life of this bird, in which the seasons and stars return to their first places.*" (x. 2.) The story of the Phœnix rising from its ashes, must be a later invention, for no account of it appears in the above statements, unless it be implied in Tertullian's. And Tacitus says "That the opinions vary as to the number of the years, the most common one being this, that it is 500 years, though some make it 1461 years." (*Ann.* VI. 28.)

The fact is that no such bird as the Phœnix ever existed; it was only one of the constellations in the old Egyptian Zodiac. It has been identified by the laborious researches of Mr. R. S. Poole, assisted by the astronomer royal of England, Mr. Airy, as the bird of Osiris, or Osir, so often invoked by the souls in Hades for their deliverance, as the Book of the Dead shows us. The Phœnix is the *Benno*, the Swan of the Greeks, the Eagle of the Romans, and I may add the Peacock of the Hindus, as the symbol of immortality in the heavens. In the Egyptian constella-

[1] *De Res. Car.*, c. 13.

[2] Works, II. pp. 214–19, *Ante-Nicene Lib.*, vol. 22.

tion of the Phœnix or Benno, Sothis, or Sirius, or the Dog-star, was the most conspicuous, the brightest star in the whole heavens, even brighter than the sun by 300 times, and greater in bulk by 2,000 times, according to Mr. Proctor, though from its great distance it does not so appear. When this Dog-star marked the Summer solstice, it was the period of the new year, *i. e.*, the great year or cycle of 1461 years, when the stars and planets returned to the same place as at first; and it was then, or about the time of the summer solstice, also, that the Nile began to rise, which is the very life of Egypt. This Phœnix cycle of 1461 years was discovered, not long since, on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, and was identified there as the Benno, or Osir, of Osiris. It signified, like the great Sothic and other less periods and cycles, the beginning and the ending of all things,—the end of all the round of human life, and the beginning of a new era, both occurring together, as in the death and birth of the fabulous Phœnix. Mr. Poole says: "Sothis, the Dog-Star, was considered as sacred to both powers of nature, Osiris with Isis as the Good Power, and Typhon as the Evil Power; since at the time of its rising they were considered as conflicting; for the Nile then began to show the first symptoms of rising, and, at the same time, the great heat was parching up the cultivated soil."[1] The Benno, then, was the sign of the constellation in which the Dog-star rose to mark a new era and a new year together: just as when the star or conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the Constellation of the Fishes marked the Advent of Christ. This Benno is a bird of the crane or heron species; and one can be seen on the sarcophagus of the Fisherman, standing before our Lord, assisting him to fish. (Fig. 50.)

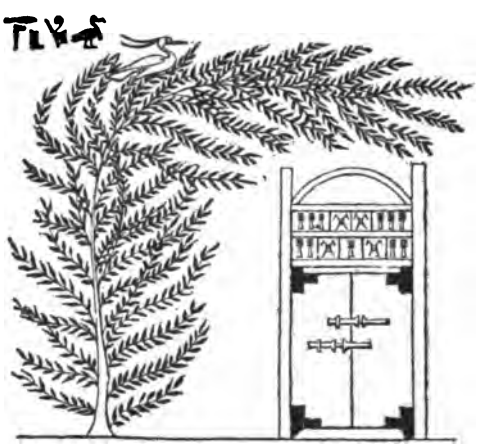


Fig. 194.—Phœnix or Benno over the tomb of Osiris.

We have this Benno, also, sitting in the Tamarisk or holy tree, over the tomb of Osiris, as if watching and waiting for the happy time to arrive when Osiris would come forth from his long imprisonment. It is here given, from Wilkinson,[2] (Fig. 194,) who says of it: "The tamarisk was a holy tree, from having been chosen to overshadow the sepulchre of Osiris, in commemoration of the chest containing his body having lodged in the branches of one of these trees, on the coast of Byblus, where,

[1] *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, p. 35. Lond., 1851.

[2] *Anct. Egypt.*, V. 262.

driven ashore by the waves of the sea, it was discovered by Isis. The tree is represented in the sacred chamber dedicated to that god at Philæ, and in a small sepulchre at How. (Diospolis parva.) It is in this latter that the bird Benno is seated in its branches, accompanied by the name of Osiris, of whom it was an emblem; and in the former chamber of the god at Philæ two priests are seen watering the tree. This confirms in a remarkable manner the account of Plutarch, who, in describing "the tomb of Osiris at Philæ, crowned with flowers at the solemnization of his funeral rites by the priests," says, "it is overshadowed by the branches of a tamarisk tree, whose size exceeds that of an olive."[1]

Flowers still adorn Christian coffins and graves, and willow trees droop their graceful branches over them, in token of resurrection and future life; but surely they are not now used by Pagan Egyptian priests or people. They have become most Christian, like a good many other innocent and suggestive customs of ancient Paganism.

There is good reason to think that the tamarisk, from its hardness and durability, like our best cedar, was used by Moses in making the Hebrew ark of the Covenant, as the repository of the sacred things. My own palmer staff, cut in the jungle of the Jordan, near Jericho, is part of a small tamarisk, worth more than its weight in gold.

"There can be no doubt," says Mr. Poole, "that the Benno is the Phœnix, or the constellation partly or wholly corresponding with the Cygnus, and, perhaps, also with the Aquila."[2] Rawlinson does not hesitate to adopt this view of the matter, even in rejecting Wilkinson's theory of another bird with human head and hands as the Phœnix. He says: "It is evident that Mr. Poole is right in considering the Benno, the bird of Osiris, the true Phœnix."[3] Wilkinson's bird simply marked the period of the soul's separate existence in Hades, which was 3,000 years; while the Phœnix or Benno represents and marks the new era of regenerate life. The great Phœnix cycle seems to have been fixed about the time of Abraham's visit to Egypt, or more than 2,000 years B. C.; and as Mr. Poole says: "The Phœnix, that mythic bird, respecting which the learned have been at variance from the times of the Greeks and Romans to the present day, is at length identified, and the period of its appearance ascertained, and whose manifestation was celebrated on the first day of Thoth, the beginning of the Egyptian year."[4] This celebration was one of the principal festivals of the Egyptians. It took place at the Summer Solstice, when the Nile began to rise. "Men and women assembled from all parts of the country in the towns of their respective nomes; grand feasts were proclaimed,

[1] *Anc. Egypt*, V. pp. 262–3. [2] *Horæ*, p. 42. [3] *Herodotus*, II. p. 104, 2nd Ed. [4] *Horæ Ægypt*, pp. 46–7.

and all the enjoyments of the table were united with the solemnity of a holy festival. Music, the dance, and appropriate hymns, marked the respect they felt for the Deity."[1]

Nearly a century before either Wilkinson or Poole wrote of the Phœnix and the Phœnix cycle, the great French astronomer, M. Bailly thus spoke of it: "It is impossible to doubt that the Phœnix is an emblem of a solar revolution, which revives in the moment it expires. If any one questions the truth of this, he will find the proof of it in those authors who assign to the Phœnix a life of 1,461 years, *i. e.*, the time of the Sothic period, or of a revolution of a great solar year of the Egyptians."[2] But it was reserved for Mr. Poole to discover and verify the fact of it. and to ascertain the Phœnix period from the Zodiac of the Memnonium at Thebes.

The prose Edda of the Norsemen makes the sun itself a sort of Phœnix, when it speaks of the conflagration of the universe, on this wise: "But what thou wilt deem more wonderful is, that the sun shall have brought forth a daughter more lovely than herself, who shall go in the same track formerly trodden by her mother. As it is said:

> "The radiant sun
> A daughter bears,
> Ere Fenrir takes her.
> On her mother's course
> Shall ride that maid,
> When the gods have perished."[3]

We also find the Phœnix in the Arabian tale of Sinbad the Sailor, in that monstrous bird which picked up elephants and carried them to her nest to feed her young, a picture of which Lane has given in his beautiful edition of the Arabian Nights.[4] It was the Rokh or Oriental *anka* and *seemurgh*, and like our own eagle, but much larger, of which it is said "that when the young *anka* has grown up, if it be a female, the old female bird burns herself; and if a male, the old male bird does so. This reminds us of the Phœnix."

It would seem, therefore, that this fable of the Phœnix was once universal; and if the fathers of the Primitive Church used it to illustrate the doctrine of the Resurrection and Everlasting Life, they are not now to be derided by religious bigots, whose ignorance is only surpassed by their pious intolerance, and whose zeal for a party or for themselves outruns all discretion. When these fathers had before

[1] Wilkinson's *Anct. Egypt*, V. pp. 291–2.
[2] Mallett's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 458, Bohn's Ed.
[3] *History of Asia*, pp. 214–15.
[4] Vol. III. pp 16, 86 7. New Ed.

them such conjectures about the meaning of the Phœnix as Pliny's; and above all, when they read the Psalms and the Book of Job, as they most likely did in the prevalent Greek version, always cited by Christ and His Apostles instead of the original Hebrew, and therefore having the sanction of their use and authority; and when they found the Phœnix mentioned there as an illustration of the present life succeeded by eternal life, they might surely use it for the same purpose. For that just, upright, and sorely-afflicted man, Job, says: "I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days like the Phœnix." (xxix. 18.) The Greek word is φοίνιξ, as it is in Psalm xcii. 12. As I before remarked, this word also means a palm-tree, and never "*sand*"; but as the palm-tree is very long-lived, and is itself a symbol of glorious immortality often used on early Christian monuments, the meaning is the same.

Wilkinson says this of it: "In the time of Herodotus, as the learned Larcher observes, the notion of the Phœnix rising from its ashes had not yet been entertained. Suidas, who flourished about the tenth century, states, that from its ashes issued a worm which changed itself into a Phœnix; and the early fathers of the Greek and Latin Church availed themselves of this accredited fable as a proof of the resurrection. But though the story of its rising from its ashes may have been a late invention, the Phœnix itself was of very ancient date, being found on monuments erected about the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. And we even find mention of this long-lived bird in the book of Job. This, at least, is the opinion of Bede, who, in accordance with the Septuagint translation of the word we render '*sand*,' reads as above. Dr. Prichard, Gesenius, and others, adopt the same interpretation of the passage."[1]

Charles Thompson, the American translator of the Septuagint, renders the passage thus: "Therefore I said, my youth shall advance to old age. Like the stock of a palm, I shall live long." (Job, xxix. 18.)

On the early Christian monuments the same idea of the Phœnix as a symbol of the Resurrection and Everlasting Life, is transferred to the Peacock, from a notion then prevalent that its flesh was imputrescent, as well as for the splendour of its plumage, which it renews every spring; and more especially from the magnificence of its tail full of the eyes of the dead, according to an old fable. St. Augustine says of the flesh of the Peacock: "Who but God the Creator of all things has given to the flesh of the Peacock its antiseptic property? This property, when I first heard of it, seemed to me incredible; but it happened at Carthage that a bird of this kind was cooked and served up to me, and, taking a suitable

[1] *Anc. Egypt*, IV. pp. 305–6.

slice of flesh from its breast, I ordered it to be kept, and when it had been kept as many days as make other flesh stinking, it was produced and set before me, and emitted no offensive smell. And after it had been laid by for thirty days and more, it was still in the same stage; and a year after, the same still, except that it was a little more shrivelled, and drier."[1] This was a long experiment in practical philosophy, and it ought to be tried again, to verify St. Augustine's statement.

I do not know whether Hindustan had any influence on Christian art in the

FIG. 195.—Saraswati and the Peacock.

adoption of the Peacock as the symbol of a glorious immortality; but the fact is that the Peacock figures in its mythology as the attribute of Brahma's consort, *Saraswati*, the Minerva or wisdom of heaven and earth. She rides a Peacock, just as Agni rides a ram. (Fig. 195.) Near the close of the tenth chapter of the tenth book of the *Rig Veda*, occurs this passage respecting *Saraswati*: "I uphold both the sun and the ocean, the firmament and fire. I support the moon. I grant wealth to the honest votary who performs sacrifices, offers oblations, and satisfies the deities.

[1] *De Civ. Dei.*, lib. xxi. c. 4.

Me, who am the queen of heaven, the bestower of wealth, the possessor of knowledge, and first of such as merit worship, the gods render universally present everywhere, and pervader of all beings. I make strong whom I choose; I make him *Brahma*, holy and wise. Originating all beings, I pass like the breeze; I am above this heaven, beyond this earth; and what is the great one, that I am."[1]

Colebrooke gives this citation from one of the *Puranas* respecting this goddess: "Thou art called she who promotes growth; regent of air with 35,000,000 of holy places in the sky, on earth, and in the space between; among the gods thou art named the lotos; able, bird, body of the universe, female cherisher of science, cheerful, merciful, consoler, giver of consolation, &c."[2]

In the Christian cemeteries at Rome, there are several examples of the Peacock as the symbol of all that wisdom, which is the fear and love of God, that shall never die. One is here reproduced from Bosio.[3] (Fig. 196.) It is a fresco, in one of the *arcosolia* of the cemetery of Priscilla. No. 1 represents this *arcosolium*, or niche. No. 2 is the Good Shepherd and His flock, in which two cocks are seen as emblems of watchfulness. No. 3 is the Orante Bride of Christ, veiled. No. 4 is the Peacock, with tail spread. And No. 5 is Noah in a font, adorned with three lions' heads, emblematic of the Trinity. In another example the Peacock is seen so standing on a globe, as if to intimate its supremacy over it.[4] But here the grouping is obvious, at a glance, in its deep significance. The Peacock is encircled and between the Church and its Baptismal symbol of Regeneration and the Resurrection, to denote everlasting life in God and in His blessed Heaven, obtained for all His people, His Jewish and Gentile flock, by the Good Shepherd through their prayer and watchfulness.

De Rossi, also, has discovered other examples of the Peacock in the Christian cemeteries at Rome, of which he gives two, in colored lithographic engravings.[5] From these early cemeteries, the Peacock was transferred to the East, and appears in the first Byzantine churches; as for instance, in St. George's Thessalonica, in the mosaics of the dome, as given in colour by Texier and Pullan.[6] So then it is to be concluded, that the Phœnix and the Peacock had some precious significance to the early Christians, beyond the mere fables that had grown up around these birds in Paganism, even the cherished hope and longing for the Resurrection and Everlasting Life.

And here I end my work, in the same hope and expectation. The survey of religion has here been a varied one, but not without finding a common principle

[1] Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 128, and plate 45. [2] *Essays*, I. p. 137. [3] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 531.
[4] *Rom. Sott.*, p. 557. [5] *Rom. Sott.*, II. plates 27 and 28. [6] *Byzantine Architecture*, pl. 30.

of unity. The comparison between Christianity and Paganism, in the use of symbols, leaves no regret for the superiority of our holy and blessed religion over all others. The fine grains of gold washed down to us from the wild mountains, by the turbid and rushing streams of Pagan idolatry, are precious evidences that all religion had its origin in the everlasting Hills beyond. Larger and more valuable crystals and lumps of this gold gleam among the rocky hills of Judea; but it was reserved for Christianity as the rightful owner of all the gold and silver of Truth, to mine, and gather up, and assay, and coin this precious metal to enrich the world. Without this, the world would be poor indeed.

FIG. 196.—The Peacock as a Symbol of Immortality.

From all this monumental evidence, in Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity, as to the main elements and essentials of all Faith and Religion, I conclude with hese twelve deductions:

I. That religion, as distinct from mere poetry, art, science, and philosophy, has been and is now a fact, among all civilized people, in every age of the world's history.

II. That this religion is essentially one in faith and practice, under various modifications, perversions, corruptions, and developments.

III. That this unity of religion has had its origin in the human mind and soul, as deriving all their thought, hope, and aspiration from some common Source of mind and soul.

IV. That, as like produces like, in all other departments of the universe with which we are acquainted, mind and soul cannot originate from matter.

V. That, therefore, all mind, soul, thought, and rational emotion, must have had their origin in some corresponding Intelligence, distinct from matter, which Intelligence made all things, and man himself.

VI. That Christianity is a clearer, simpler, purer, and more rational embodiment of religious thought and fact, and more refined in its worship, than either the Jewish, or any of the Pagan religions.

VII. That, therefore, Christianity is the superior of all other religions, and must have originated with some Superior Being, whose name it bears; and if superior, then that Being came from God as His Wisdom, to make known, demonstrate, and embody that Religion, as the final answer to all human inquiry, hope, thought, and aspiration, hitherto contained in other forms and phases of Religion.

VIII. That Christianity itself, to be of any avail and benefit to mankind, must be embodied in some compact system, not only for preservation, but also for propagation and development.

IX. That this system is a well-organized Church, cotemporaneous and coextensive with Christianity itself.

X. That this Church must be one, and have one and the same Author as Christianity itself.

XI. That, therefore, the Church in its Teaching, Sacraments, Administration, and Discipline, is of co-ordinate benefit and authority with Christianity, as one and inseparable, as national and universal.

XII. And finally, that both Christianity and the Church are for a good purpose in the accomplishment of human welfare, here and hereafter; and that both Christianity and the Church shall be merged into something else, when that purpose is finally attained, even the Life Everlasting, when this world and its sin, suffering, and sorrow, with Death and Amenti, Sheol and Hades or hell, are abolished.

Go forth, little book, and the favour of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost go with thee, child of my love, care, and anxious thought through all these years

of toil and study; I know not what shall befall thee; but speak a word for the faith and love of God in Christ to His Church of Jew and Gentile, when thy father's voice is silent.

> "And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end: and much study is a weariness to the flesh. Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep His commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."
>
> *Eccles.* xii. 12–14.

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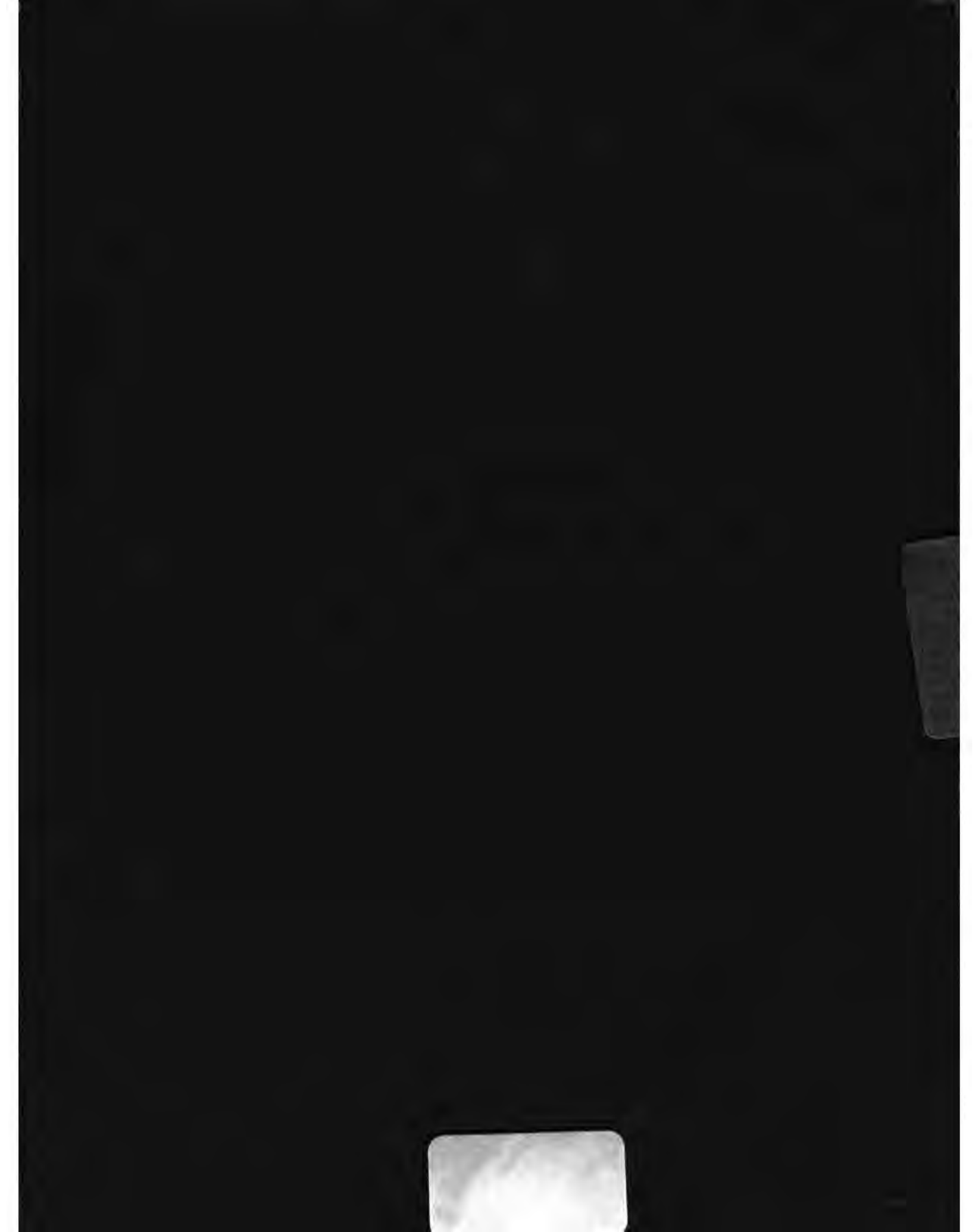
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